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A

GENERAL COLLECTION

OF THE

BEST AND MOST INTERESTING

VOYAGES AND TRAVELS

IN ALL PARTS OF THE WORLD;

MANY OF WHICH ARE NOW FIRST TRANSLATED INTO ENGLISH.

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BY JOHN PINKERTON,

AUTHOR OF MODERN GEOGRAPHY, &c. &c.

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ILLUSTRATED WITH PLATES.

VOLUME THE ELEVENTH.

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A GENERAL

GENERAL COLLECTION

OF

VOYAGES AND TRAVELS.

THE ASIATIC ISLANDS, AUSTRALASIA, AND POLYNESIA.

OMITTING the more ancient accounts of the Asiatic Islands (namely the Philippines, Borneo, Celebez, the Sumatran Chain, and the Moluccas) from that of Pigafotta, who accompanied Magellan, the first circumnavigator, as being rather curious than interesting at the present period, our Accounts shall begin with that of our great countryman Dampier, the Cook of a former age.

DAMPIER'S ACCOUNT OF THE PHILIPPINES.*

CHAPTER I.—*They resolve to go to Mindanao.—Their Departure from Guam.—Of the Philippine Islands.—The Isle Luconia, and its chief Town and Port, Manilo, Manila, or Manilbo.—Of the rich Trade we might establish with these Islands.—St. John's Island.—They arrive at Mindanao.—The Island described.—Its Fertility.—The Libby Trees, and the Sago made of them.—The Plantain Tree, Fruit, Liquor, and Cloth.—A smaller Plantain at Mindanao.—The Bonano.—Of the Clove-Bark, Cloves and Nutmegs, and the Methods taken by the Dutch to monopolize the Spices.—The Betel Nut, and Arek Tree.—The Durien, and the Jaca Tree and Fruit.—The Beasts of Mindanao.—Centepees, or Forty Legs, a venomous Insect, and others.—Their Fowls, Fish, &c.—The Temperature of the Climate, with the Course of the Winds, Tornadoes, Rain, and Temper of the Air throughout the Year.*

WHILE we lay at Guam, we took up a resolution of going to Mindanao, one of the Philippine Islands, being told by the friar and others that it was exceedingly stored with provisions, that the natives were Mahometans, and that they had formerly a commerce with the Spaniards, but that now they were at war with them.

* From his Voyages, vol. i. 7th edit. 1729, 4 vols. 8vo. The chapters are numbered in the order they now printed. A new edition of this valuable work is wanted, arranged in the order of the countries described.

This iſland was therefore thought to be a convenient place for us to go; for beſides that it was in our way to the Eaſt Indies, which we had reſolved to viſit, and that the weſterly monſoon was at hand, which would oblige us to ſhelter ſomewhere in a ſhort time; and that we could not expect good harbours in a better place than in ſo large an iſland as Mindanao: beſides all this, I ſay, the inhabitants of Mindanao being then, as we were told (though falſely) at wars with the Spaniards, our men, who it ſhould ſeem were very ſqueamiſh of plundering without licence, derived hopes from thence of getting a commiſſion there from the Prince of the iſland, to plunder the Spaniſh ſhips about Manila, and ſo to make Mindanao their common rendezvous. And if Captain Swan was minded to go to an Engliſh port, yet his men, who thought he intended to leave them, hoped to get veſſels and pilots at Mindanao fit for their turn, to cruize on the coaſt of Manila. As for Captain Swan, he was willing enough to go thither, as beſt ſuiting his own deſign; and therefore this voyage was concluded on by general conſent.

Accordingly June 2d, 1686, we left Guam, bound for Mindanao. We had fair weather and a pretty ſmart gale of wind at eaſt for three or four days, and then it ſhifted to the ſouth-weſt, being rainy; but it ſoon came about again to the eaſt and blew a gentle gale: yet it often ſhuffled about to the ſouth-eaſt; for though in the Eaſt Indies the winds ſhift in April, yet we found this to be the ſhifting ſeaſon for the winds here; the other ſhifting ſeaſon being in October ſooner or later all over India. As to our courſe from Guam to the Philippine iſlands, we found it, as I intimated before, agreeable enough with the account of our common drafts.

The 21ſt day of June we arrived at the iſland St. John, which is one of the Philippine iſlands. The Philippines are a great company of large iſlands, taking up about thirteen degrees of latitude in length, reaching near upon from the third degree of north latitude to the nineteenth degree, and in breadth about ſix degrees of longitude. They derive this name from Philip II. King of Spain; and even now do they moſt of them belong to that crown.

The chiefeſt iſland in this range is Luconia, which lies on the north of them all. At this iſland Magellan died on the voyage that he was making round the world. For after he had paſſed thoſe ſtraits between the ſouth end of America and Terra del Fuego, which now bear his name, and had ranged down in the South Seas on the back of America; from thence ſtretching over to the Eaſt Indies, he fell in with the Ladrone Iſlands, and from thence ſteering eaſt ſtill, he fell in with theſe Philippine Iſlands, and anchored at Luconia, where he warred with the native Indians, to bring them in obedience to his maſter the King of Spain, and was by them killed with a poiſoned arrow. It is now wholly under the Spaniards, who have ſeveral towns there. The chief is Manilo, which is a large ſea-port town near the ſouth-eaſt end, oppoſite to the iſland Mindora. It is a place of great ſtrength and trade: the two great Acapulco ſhips before mentioned fetching from hence all ſorts of Eaſt India commodities; which are brought hither by foreigners eſpecially by the Chineſe and the Portugueſe. Sometimes the Engliſh merchants of Fort St. George ſend their ſhips hither as it were by ſtealth, under the charge of Portugueſe pilots and mariners; for as yet we cannot get the Spaniards there to a commerce with us or the Dutch, although they have but few ſhips of their own. This ſeems to ariſe from a jealouſy or fear of diſcovering the riches of theſe iſlands; for moſt, if not all, the Philippine iſlands are rich in gold, and the Spaniards have no place of much ſtrength in all theſe iſlands, that I could ever hear of, beſides Manilo itſelf. Yet they have villages and towns on ſeveral of the Iſlands, and padres or prieſts to inſtruct the native Indians, from whom they get their gold.

The Spaniſh inhabitants, of the ſmaller iſlands eſpecially, would willingly trade with

us

us if the government was not ſo ſevere againſt it; for they have no goods but what are brought from Manilo at an extraordinary dear rate. I am of the opinion that if any of our nations will ſeek a trade with them, they would not loſe their labour; for the Spaniards can and will ſmuggle (as our ſeamen call trading by ſtealth) as well as any nation that I know; and our Jamaicans are to their profit ſenſible enough of it. And I have been informed that Captain Goodlud of London, in a voyage which he made from Mindanao to China, touched at ſome of theſe iſlands, and was civilly treated by the Spaniards, who bought ſome of his commodities, giving him a very good price for the ſame.

There are about twelve or fourteen more large iſlands lying to the ſouthward of Luconia; moſt of which, as I ſaid before, are inhabited by the Spaniards. Beſides theſe, there are an infinite number of ſmall iſlands of no account, and even the great iſlands, many of them are without names; or at leaſt ſo variouſly ſet down, that I find the ſame iſlands named by divers names.

The iſland St. John and Mindanao are the ſouthernmoſt of all theſe iſlands, and are the only iſlands in all this range that are not ſubject to the Spaniards.

St. John's Iſland is on the eaſt ſide of the Mindanao, and diſtant from it three or four leagues. It is in latitude about ſeven or eight degrees north. This iſland is in length about thirty-eight leagues, ſtretching north-north-weſt and ſouth-ſouth-eaſt, and it is in breath about twenty-four leagues in the middle of the iſland: The northernmoſt end is broader, and the ſouthernmoſt is narrower. This iſland is of a good height, and is full of many ſmall hills. The land at the ſouth-eaſt end, where I was aſhore, is of a black fat mould; and the whole iſland ſeems to partake of the ſame fatneſs, by the vaſt number of large trees that it produceth; for it looks all over like one great grove.

As we were paſſing by the ſouth-eaſt end we ſaw a canoe of the natives under the ſhore; therefore one of our canoes went after to have ſpoken with her; but ſhe run away from us, ſeeing themſelves chaced, put their canoe aſhore, leaving her, fled into the woods, nor would be allured to come to us, although we did what we could to entice them; beſides theſe men, we ſaw no more here, nor ſign of any inhabitants at this end.

When we came on board our ſhip again, we ſteered away for the iſland Mindanao, which was now fair in ſight of us, it being about ten leagues diſtant from this part of St. John's. The twenty-ſecond day we came within a league of the eaſt ſide of the iſland Mindanao, and having the wind at ſouth-eaſt we ſteered toward the north end, keeping on the eaſt ſide, till we came into the latitude of ſeven degrees forty minutes, and there we anchored in a ſmall bay, about a mile from the ſhore, in ten fathom water, rocky foul ground.

Some of our books gave us an account that Mindanao city and iſle lies in ſeven degrees forty minutes. We gueſſed that the middle of the iſland might lie in this latitude, but we were at a great loſs where to find the city, whether on the eaſt or weſt ſide. Indeed, had it been a ſmall iſland, lying open to the eaſtern wind, we might probably have ſearched firſt on the weſt ſide; for commonly the iſlands within the tropics, or within the bounds of the trade-winds, have their harbours on the weſt ſide, as beſt ſheltered; but the iſland Mindanao being guarded on the eaſt ſide by St. John's iſland, we might as reaſonably expect to find the harbour and city on this ſide, as any where elſe; but coming into the latitude in which we judged the city might be, found no canoes or people that might give us any umbrage of a city, or place of trade near at hand, though we coaſted within a league of the ſhore.

The iſland Mindanao is the biggeſt of all the Philippine iſlands, except Luconia. It is about ſixty leagues long, and forty or fifty broad. The ſouth end is in about five degrees north, and the north-weſt end reacheth almoſt to eight degrees north. It is a very mountainous iſland, full of hills and valleys. The mould in general is deep and black, and extraordinary fat and fruitful. The ſides of the hills are ſtony, yet productive enough of very large tall trees. In the heart of the country there are ſome mountains that yield good gold. The valleys are well moiſtened with pleaſant brooks, and ſmall rivers of delicate water; and have trees of divers ſorts flouriſhing and green all the year. The trees in general are very large, and moſt of them are of kinds unknown to us.

There is one ſort which deſerves particular notice, called by the natives libby trees. Theſe grow wild in great groves of five or ſix miles long, by the ſides of the rivers. Of theſe trees ſago is made, which the poor country people eat inſtead of bread three or four months in the year. This tree for its body and ſhape is much like the palmeto tree or the cabbage tree, but not ſo tall as the latter. The bark and wood is hard and thin like a ſhell, and full of white pith, like the pith of an elder. This tree they cut down, and ſplit it in the middle and ſcrape out all the pith, which they beat luſtily with a wooden peſtle in a great mortar or trough, and then put it into a cloth or ſtrainer held over a trough; and pouring water in among the pith, they ſtir it about in the cloth: ſo the water carries all the ſubſtance of the pith through the cloth down into the trough, leaving nothing in the cloth but a light ſort of huſk, which they throw away; but that which falls into the trough ſettles in a ſhort time to the bottom like mud; and then they draw off the water and take up the muddy ſubſtance, wherewith they make cakes; which being baked proves very good bread.

The Mindanao people live three or four months of the year on this food for their bread-kind. The native Indians of Teranate and Tidore, and all the ſpice-iſlands, have plenty of theſe trees, and uſe them for food in the ſame manner, as I have been informed by Mr. Caril Rofy, who is now commander of one of the King's ſhips. He was one of our company at this time; and being left with Captain Swan at Mindanao, went afterwards to Teranate, and lived there among the Dutch a year or two. The ſago which is tranſported into other parts of the Eaſt Indies is dried in ſmall pieces, like little ſeeds or comfits, and commonly eaten with milk of almonds, by thoſe that are troubled with the flux; for it is a great binder, and very good in that diſtemper.

In ſome places of Mindanao there is plenty of rice; but in the hilly land they plant yams, potatoes, and pumpkins; all which thrive very well. The other fruits of this iſland are water-melons, muſk-melons, plantains, bonanoes, guavas, nutmegs, cloves, betel-nuts, durians, jacks, or jacas, cocoa-nuts, oranges, &c.

The plantain I take to be the king of all fruit, not except the coco itſelf. The tree that bears this fruit is about three feet, or three feet and an half round, and about ten or twelve feet high. Theſe trees are not raiſed from ſeed (for they ſeem not to have any), but from the roots of other old trees. If theſe young ſuckers are taken out of the ground, and planted in another place, it will be fifteen months before they bear, but if let ſtand in their own native ſoil they will bear in twelve months. As ſoon as the fruit is ripe the tree decays, but then there are many young ones growing up to ſupply its place. When this tree firſt ſprings out of the ground, it comes up with two leaves; and by that time it is a foot high, two more ſpring up in the inſide of them, and in a ſhort time after two more within them; and ſo on. By that time the tree is a month old, you may perceive a ſmall body almoſt as big as one's arm, and then there are eight or ten leaves, ſome of them four or five feet high. The firſt

leaves that it ſhoots forth are not above a foot long, and half a foot broad; and the ſtem that bears them no bigger than one's finger; but as the tree grows higher the leaves are larger. As the young leaves ſpring up in the inſide, ſo the old leaves ſpread off, and their tops droop downward, being of a greater length and breadth, by how much they are nearer the root, and at laſt decay and rot off: but ſtill there are young leaves ſpring up out of the top, which makes the tree look always green and flouriſhing. When the tree is full grown, the leaves are ſeven or eight feet long, and a foot and half broad; towards the end they are ſmaller, and end with a round point. The ſtem of the leaf is as big as a man's arm, almoſt round, and about a foot in length, between the leaf and the body of the tree. That part of the ſtem which comes from the tree, if it be the outſide leaf, ſeems to incloſe half the body as it were with a thick hide; and right againſt it, on the other ſide of the tree, is another ſuch anſwering to it. The next two leaves in the inſide of theſe, grow oppoſite to each other in the ſame manner, but ſo that if the two outward grow north and ſouth, theſe grow eaſt and weſt, and thoſe ſtill within them keep the ſame order. Thus the body of this tree ſeems to be made up of many thick ſkins, growing one over another, and when it is full grown, there ſprings out of the top a ſtrong ſtem, harder in ſubſtance than any other part of the body. This ſtem ſhoots forth at the heart of the tree, is as big as a man's arm, and as long; and the fruit grows in cluſters round it, firſt bloſſoming and then ſhooting forth the fruit. It is ſo excellent that the Spaniards give it the pre-eminence of all other fruit, as moſt conducing to life. It grows in a cod about ſix or ſeven inches long, and as big as a man's arm. The ſhell, rind or cod is ſoft, and of a yellow colour when ripe. It reſembles in ſhape a hog's-gut pudding. The incloſed fruit is no harder than butter in winter, and is much of the colour of the pureſt yellow butter. It is of a delicate taſte, and melts in one's mouth like marmalet. It is all pure pulp, without any ſeed, kernel or ſtone. This fruit is ſo much eſteemed by all Europeans that ſettle in America, that when they make a new plantation, they commonly begin with a good plantain-walk, as they call it, or a field of plantains; and as their family increaſeth, ſo they augment the plantain walk, keeping one man purpoſely to prune the trees, and gather the fruit as he ſees convenient. For the trees continue bearing, ſome or other, moſt part of the year; and this is many times the whole food on which a whole family ſubſiſts. They thrive only in rich fat ground, for poor ſandy will not bear them. The Spaniards in their towns in America, as at Havana, Cartagena, Portobel, &c. have their markets full of plantains, it being the common food for poor people: their common price is half a riol, or three-pence a dozen. When this fruit is only uſed for bread, it is roaſted or boiled when it's juſt full grown, or not yet ripe or turned yellow. Poor people or negroes, that have neither fiſh nor fleſh to eat with it, make ſauce with cod-pepper, ſalt and lime juice, which makes it eat very ſavory; much better than a cruſt of bread alone. Sometimes for a change they eat a roaſted plantain, and a ripe raw plaintain together, which is inſtead of bread and butter. They eat very pleaſant ſo, and I have made many a good meal in this manner. Sometimes our Engliſh take five or ſeven ripe plantains, and maſhing them together, make them into a lump, and boil them inſtead of a bag-pudding; which they call a buff-jacket: and this is a very good way for a change. This fruit makes alſo very good tarts; and the green plantains ſliced thin and dried in the ſun and grated, will make a ſort of flour which is very good to make puddings. A ripe plantain ſliced and dried in the ſun may be preſerved a great while; and then eat like figs very ſweet and pleaſant. The Darien Indians preſerve them a long time, by drying them gently over the fire; maſhing them firſt,

firſt, and moulding them into lumps. The Moſkito Indians will take a ripe plantain and roaſt it; then take a pint and a half of water in a calabaſh, and ſqueeze the plantain in pieces with their hands mixing it with water; then they drink it all off together. This they call Miſhlaw, and it is pleaſant and ſweet, and nouriſhing; ſomewhat like lambs-wool (as it is called) made with apples and ale: and of this fruit alone many thouſand of Indian families in the Weſt Indies have their whole ſubſiſtence. When they make drink with them, they take ten or twelve ripe plantains and maſh them well in a trough: then they put two gallons of water among them; and this in two hours time will ferment and froth like wort. In four hours it is fit to drink, and then they bottle it, and drink it as they have occaſion: but this will not keep above twenty-four or thirty hours. Thoſe therefore that uſe this drink brew it in this manner every morning. When I went firſt to Jamaica I could reliſh no other drink they had there. It drinks briſk and cool, and is very pleaſant. This drink is windy, and ſo is the fruit eaten raw; but boiled or roaſted it is not ſo. If this drink is kept above thirty hours it grows ſharp: but if then it be put out in the ſun, it will become very good vinegar. This fruit grows all over the Weſt-Indies (in the proper climates), at Guniea, and in the Eaſt-Indies.

As the fruit of this tree is of great uſe for food, ſo is the body no leſs ſerviceable to make cloaths; but this I never knew till I came to this iſland. The ordinary people of Mindanao do wear no other cloth. The tree never bearing but once, and ſo being felled when the fruit is ripe, they cut it down cloſe by the ground if they intend to make cloth with it. One blow with a hatchet or long knife will ſtrike it aſunder; then they cut off the top, leaving the trunk eight or ten feet long, ſtripping off the outer rind, which is thickeſt towards the lower end; having ſtript two or three of theſe rinds the trunk becomes in a manner all of one bigneſs, and of a whitiſh colour: then they ſplit the trunk in the middle; which being done, they ſplit the two halves again, as near the middle as they can. This they leave in the ſun two or three days, in which time part of the juicy ſubſtance of the tree dries away, and then the ends will appear full of ſmall threads. The women, whoſe employment is to make the cloth, take hold of thoſe threads one by one, which rend away eaſily from one end of the trunk to the other, in bigneſs like whited-brown thread; for the threads are naturally of a determinate bigneſs, as I obſerved their cloth to be all of one ſubſtance and equal fineneſs; but it is ſtubborn when new, wears out ſoon, and when wet feels a little ſlimy. They make their pieces ſeven or eight yards long, their warp and woof all one thickneſs and ſubſtance.

There is another ſort of plantains in that iſland, which are ſhorter and leſs than the others, which I never ſaw any where but here. Theſe are full of black ſeeds mixed quite through the fruit. They are binding, and are much eaten by thoſe that have fluxes. The country people gave them us for that uſe, and with good ſucceſs.

The bonano tree is exactly like the plantain for ſhape and bigneſs, not eaſily diſtinguiſhable from it but by its fruit, which is a great deal ſmaller, and not above half ſo long as a plantain, being alſo more mellow and ſoft, leſs luſcious, yet of a more delicate taſte. They uſe this for the making drink oftener than plantains, and it is beſt when uſed for drink, or eaten as fruit; but it is not ſo good for bread, nor doth it eat well at all when roaſted or boiled; ſo tis only neceſſity that makes any uſe it this way. They grow generally where plaintains do, being ſet intermixed with them purpoſely in their plantain-walks. They have plenty of clove-bark, of which I ſaw a ſhip-load: and as for cloves Raja Laut, whom I ſhall have occaſion to mention, told me, that if the Engliſh would ſettle there, they could order matters ſo in a little time, as to ſend

a ſhip-load of cloves from thence every year. I have been informed that they grow on the boughs of a tree about as big as a plum-tree, but I never happened to ſee any of them.

I have not ſeen the nutmeg-trees any where; but the nutmegs this iſland produceth are fair and large, yet they have no great ſtore of them, being unwilling to propagate them or the cloves, for fear that ſhould invite the Dutch to viſit them, and bring them into ſubjection, as they have done the reſt of the neighbouring iſlands where they grow. For the Dutch being ſeated among the ſpice-iſlands, have monopolized all the trade into their own hands, and will not ſuffer any of the natives to diſpoſe of it but to themſelves alone. Nay, they are ſo careful to preſerve it in their own hands, that they will not ſuffer the ſpice to grow in the uninhabited iſlands, but ſend ſoldiers to cut the trees down. Captain Roſy told me, that while he lived with the Dutch he was ſent with other men to cut down the ſpice trees; and that he himſelf did at ſeveral times cut down ſeven or eight hundred trees. Yet although the Dutch take ſuch care to deſtroy them, there are many uninhabited iſlands that have great plenty of ſpice-trees, as I have been informed by Dutchmen that have been there, particularly by a captain of a Dutch ſhip that I met with at Achin, who told me, that near the iſland Banda there is an iſland where the cloves falling from the trees do lie and rot on the ground, and they are at the time when the fruit falls three or four inches thick under the trees. He and ſome others told me, that it would not be a hard matter for an Engliſh veſſel to purchaſe a ſhip's cargo of ſpice of the natives of ſome of theſe ſpice-iſlands.

He was a free merchant that told me this. For by that name the Dutch and Engliſh in the Eaſt Indies diſtinguiſh thoſe merchants who are not ſervants to the Company. The free merchants are not ſuffered to trade to the ſpice-iſlands, nor to many other places where the Dutch have factories; but on the other hand, they are ſuffered to trade to ſome places where the Dutch Company themſelves may not trade, as to Achin particularly, for there are ſome Princes in the Indies, who will not trade with the Company for fear of them. The ſeamen that go to the ſpice-iſlands are obliged to bring no ſpice from thence for themſelves, except a ſmall matter for their own uſe, about a pound or two. Yet the maſters of thoſe ſhips do commonly ſo order their buſineſs, that they often ſecure a good quantity, and ſend it aſhore to ſome place near Batavia, before they come into that harbour, (for it is always brought thither firſt before it is ſent to Europe,) and if they meet any veſſel at ſea that will buy their cloves, they will ſell ten or fifteen tons out of one hundred, and yet ſeemingly carry their complement to Batavia; for they will pour water among the remaining part of their cargo, which will ſwell them to that degree, that the ſhip's hold will be as full again as it was before any were ſold. This trick they uſe whenever they diſpoſe of any clandeſtinely; for the cloves when they firſt take them in are extraordinary dry, and ſo will imbibe a great deal of moiſture. This is but one inſtance of many hundreds of little deceitful arts the Dutch ſeamen have in theſe parts among them, of which I have both ſeen and heard ſeveral. I believe there are no where greater thieves, and nothing will perſuade them to diſcover one another: for ſhould any do it, the reſt would certainly knock him on the head. But to return to the products of Mindanao.

The betel-nut is much eſteemed here, as it is in moſt places of the Eaſt Indies. The betel-tree grows like the cabbage-tree, but it is not ſo big nor ſo high. The body grows ſtraight, about twelve or fourteen feet high, without leaf or branch, except at the head. There it ſpreads forth long branches like other trees of the like nature, as the cabbage-tree, the coco-nut-tree, and the palm. Theſe branches are about ten or twelve feet long, and their ſtems near the head of the tree, as big as a man's arm. On the top of the tree among the branches the betel-nut grows on a tough ſtem as big

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as a man's finger, in cluſters much as the cocoa-nuts do, and they grow forty or fifty in a cluſter. This fruit is bigger than a nutmeg, and is much like it but rounder. It is much uſed all over the Eaſt Indies. Their way is to cut it in four pieces, and wrap one of them up in an arek-leaf, which they ſpread with a ſoft paſte made of lime or plaſter, and then chew it altogether. Every man in theſe parts carries his lime-box by his ſide, and dipping his finger into it, ſpreads his betel and arek-leaf with it. The arek is a ſmall tree or ſhrub, of a green bark, and the leaf is long and broader than a willow. They are packed up to ſell into parts that have them not, to chew with the betel. The betel-nut is moſt eſteemed when it is young, and before it grows hard, and then they cut it only in two pieces with the green huſk or ſhell on it. It is then exceeding juicy, and therefore makes them ſpit much. It taſtes rough in the mouth, and dyes the lips red, and makes the teeth black, but it preſerves them, and cleanſeth the gums. It is alſo accounted very wholeſome for the ſtomach; but ſometimes it will cauſe great giddineſs in the head of thoſe that are not uſed to chew it. But this is the effect only of the old nut, for the young nuts will not do it. I ſpeak of my own experience.

This iſland produceth alſo durians and jacks. The trees that bear the durians are as big as apple-trees, full of boughs. The rind is thick and rough: the fruit is ſo large that they grow only about the bodies, or on the limbs near the body, like the cacao. The fruit is about the bigneſs of a large pumpkin, covered with a thick green rough rind. When it is ripe the rind begins to turn yellow, but it is not fit to eat till it opens at the top. Then the fruit in the inſide is ripe, and ſends forth an excellent ſcent. When the rind is opened, the fruit may be ſplit into four quarters; each quarter hath ſeveral ſmall cells that incloſe a certain quantity of the fruit, according to the bigneſs of the cell, for ſome are larger than others: the largeſt of the fruit may be as big as a pullet's egg. It is as white as milk and as ſoft as cream, and the taſte very delicious as thoſe that are accuſtomed to them; but thoſe who have not been uſed to eat them will diſlike them at firſt, becauſe they ſmell liked roaſted onions. This fruit muſt be eaten in its prime, (for there is no eating of it before it is ripe,) and even then it will not keep above a day or two before it putrefies, and turns black or of a dark colour, and then it is not good. Within the fruit there is a ſtone as big as a ſmall bean, which hath a thin ſhell over it. Thoſe that are minded to eat the ſtones or nuts roaſt them, and then a thin ſhell comes off, which incloſes the nut, and it eats like a cheſnut.

The jack or jaca is much like the durian both in bigneſs and ſhape. The trees that bear them alſo are much alike, and ſo is their manner of the fruits growing; but the inſide is different: for the fruit of the durian is white, that of the jack is yellow, and fuller of ſtones. The durian is moſt eſteemed; yet the jack is a very pleaſant fruit, and the ſtones or kernels are good roaſted.

There are many other ſorts of grain, roots and fruits in this iſland, which to give a particular deſcription of would fill up a large volume.

In this iſland are alſo many ſorts of beaſts, both wild and tame; as horſes, bulls and cows, buffaloes, goats, wild hogs, deer, monkies, guanos, lizards, ſnakes, &c. I never ſaw or heard of any beaſts of prey here, as in many other places. The hogs are ugly creatures; they have all great knobs growing over their eyes, and there are multitudes of them in the woods. They are commonly very poor, yet ſweet. Deer are here very plentiful in ſome places, where they are not diſturbed.

Of the venomous kind of creatures here are ſcorpions, whoſe ſting is in their tail; and centapees, called by the Engliſh forty-legs, both which are alſo common in the Weſt Indies, in Jamaica, and elſewhere. Theſe centapees are four or five inches long,

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as big as a goose-quill, but flattish, of a dun or reddish colour on the back, but belly whitish, and full of legs on each side the belly. Their sting or bite is more raging than the scorpion. They lie in old houses and dry timber. There are several sorts of snakes, some very poisonous. There is another sort of creature like a guano both in colour and shape, but four times as big, whose tongue is like a small harpoon, having two beards like the beards of a fish-hook; they are said to be very venomous, but I know not their names. I have seen them in other places also, as at Pulo Condore, or the island Condore, and at Achin, and have been told that they are in the Bay of Bengal.

The fowls of this country are ducks and hens: other tame fowl I have not seen nor heard of any. The wild fowl are pigeons, parrots, parroquets, turtle-doves, and abundance of small fowls. There are bats as big as a kite.

There are a great many harbours, creeks, and good bays for ships to ride in; and rivers navigable for canoes, proes or barks, which are all plentifully stored with fish of divers sorts, so is also the adjacent sea. The chiefest fish are bonetas, snooks, cavallys, bremes, mullets, ten-pounders, &c. Here are also plenty of sea turtle, and small manatee, which are not near so big as those in the West Indies. The biggest that I saw would not weigh above six hundred pound; but the flesh both of the turtle and manatee are very sweet.

The weather at Mindanao is temperate enough as to heat, for all it lies so near the equator, and especially on the borders near the sea. There they commonly enjoy the breezes by day, and cooling land-winds at night. The winds are easterly one part of the year, and westerly the other. The easterly winds begin to blow in October, and it is the middle of November before they are settled. These winds bring fair weather. The westerly winds begin to blow in May, but are not settled till a month afterwards. The west winds always bring rain, tornadoes, and very tempestuous weather. At the first coming on of these winds they blow but faintly, but then the tornadoes rise one in a day, sometimes two: these are thunder showers which commonly come against the wind, bringing with them a contrary wind to what did blow before. After the tornadoes are over, the wind shifts about again, and the sky becomes clear, yet then in the vallies and the sides of the mountains there riseth a thick fog which covers the land. The tornadoes continue thus for a week or more; then they come thicker, two or three in a day, bringing violent gusts of wind and terrible claps of thunder. At last they come so fast, that the wind remains in the quarter from whence these tornadoes do rise, which is out of the west, and there it settles till October or November. When these westward winds are thus settled the sky is all in mourning, being covered with black clouds, pouring down excessive rains, sometimes mixt with thunder and lightning, that nothing can be more dismal. The winds raging to that degree that the biggest trees are torn up by the roots, and the rivers swell and overflow their banks, and drown the low land, carrying great trees into the sea. Thus it continues sometimes a week together before the sun or stars appear. The fiercest of this weather is in the latter end of July and in August, for then the towns seem to stand in a great pond, and they go from one house to another in canoes. At this time the water carries away all the filth and nastiness from under their houses. Whilst this tempestuous season lasts the weather is cold and chilly. In September the weather is more moderate, and the winds are not so fierce, nor the rain so violent. The air thenceforward begins to be more clear and delightsome; but then in the morning there are thick fogs, continuing till ten or eleven o'clock before the sun shines out, especially when it has rained in the night. In October the easterly winds begin to blow again, and bring fair weather till April. Thus much concerning the natural state of Mindanao.

CHAP. II.—*Of the Inhabitants, and civil State of the Iſle of Mindanao.—The Mindanayans, Hillanoones, Sologues, and Alfoores.—Of the Mindanayans, properly ſo called; their Manners and Habits.—The Habits and Manners of their Women.—A comical Cuſtom at Mindanao.—Their Houſes, their Diet, and Waſhings.—The Languages ſpoken there, and Tranſactions with the Spaniards.—Their Fear of the Dutch, and ſeeming Deſire of the Engliſh.—Their Handicrafts, and peculiar Sort of Smith's Bellows.—Their Shipping, Commodities and Trade.—The Mindanao and Manilla Tobacco.—A Sort of Leproſy there, and other Diſtempers.—Their Marriages.—The Sultan of Mindanao, his Poverty, Power, Family, &c.—The Proes or Boats here.—Raja Laut the General, Brother to the Sultan, and his Family.—Their Way of Fighting.—Their Religion.—Raja Laut's Devotion.—A Clock or Drum in their Moſques.—Of their Circumciſion, and the Solemnity then uſed.—Of other their Religious Obſervations and Superſtitions.—Their Abhorrence of Swine's Fleſh, &c.*

THIS iſland is not ſubject to one Prince, neither is the language one and the ſame; but the people are much alike in colour, ſtrength and ſtature. They are all or moſt of them of one religion, which is Mahometaniſm, and their cuſtoms and manner of living are alike. The Mindanao people, more particularly ſo called, are the greateſt nation in the iſland, and trading by ſea with other nations they are therefore the more civil. I ſhall ſay but little of the reſt, being leſs known to me, but ſo much as hath come to my knowledge take as follows: there are, beſides the Mindanayans the Hilanoones (as they call them), or the Mountaneers, the Sologues and Alfoores.

The Hilanoones live in the heart of the country; they have little or no commerce by ſea, yet they have proes that row with twelve or fourteen oars a piece. They enjoy the benefit of the gold mines; and with their gold buy foreign commodities of the Mindanao people. They have alſo plenty of bees'-wax, which they exchange for other commodities.

The Sologues inhabit the north-weſt end of the iſland. They are the leaſt nation of all; they trade to Manila in proes, and to ſome of the neighbouring iſlands, but have no commerce with the Mindanao people.

The Alfoores are the ſame with the Mindanayans, and were formerly under the ſubjection of the Sultan of Mindanao, but were divided between the Sultan's children, and have of late had a Sultan of their own; but having by marriage contracted an alliance with the Sultan of Mindanao, this has occaſioned that Prince to claim them again as his ſubjects; and he made war with them a little after we went away, as I afterwards underſtood.

The Mindanayans properly ſo called, are men of mean ſtatures, ſmall limbs, ſtraight bodies and little heads. Their faces are oval, their foreheads flat, with black ſmall eyes, ſhort low noſes, pretty large mouths; their lips thin and red, their teeth black, yet very ſound, their hair black and ſtraight, the colour of their ſkin tawny, but inclining to a brighter yellow than ſome other Indians, eſpecially the women. They have a cuſtom to wear their thumb-nails very long, eſpecially that on their left thumb, for they do never cut it but ſcrape it often. They are indued with good natural wits, are ingenious, nimble and active when they are minded, but generally very lazy and thieviſh, and will not work except forced by hunger. This lazineſs is natural to moſt Indians; but theſe people's lazineſs ſeems rather to proceed not ſo much from their natural inclinations, as from the ſeverity of their Prince, of whom they ſtand in awe: for he dealing with them very arbitrarily, and taking from them what they get, this

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damps their induſtry, ſo they never ſtrive to have any thing but from hand to mouth. They are generally proud and walk very ſtately. They are civil enough to ſtrangers, and will eaſily be acquainted with them, and entertain them with great freedom; but they are implacable to their enemies, and very revengeful if they are injured, frequently poiſoning ſecretly thoſe that have affronted them.

They wear but few cloaths; their heads are circled with a ſhort turbat, fringed or laced at both ends; it goes once about the head, and is tied in a knot, the laced ends hanging down. They wear frocks and breeches, but no ſtockings nor ſhoes.

The women are fairer than the men; and their hair is black and long, which they tie in a knot, that hangs back in their poles. They are more round viſaged than the men, and generally well featured; only their noſes are very ſmall, and ſo low between their eyes, that in ſome of the female children the riſing that ſhould be between the eyes is ſcarce diſcernible; neither is there any ſenſible riſing in their foreheads. At a diſtance they appear very well; but being nigh, theſe impediments are very obvious. They have very ſmall limbs. They wear but two garments; a frock and a ſort of petticoat; the petticoat is only a piece of cloth, ſowed both ends together: but it is made two feet too big for their waiſts, ſo that they may wear either end uppermoſt: that part that comes up to their waiſt, becauſe it is ſo much too big, they gather it in their hands, and twiſt it till it ſits cloſe to their waiſts, tucking in the twiſted part between their waiſt and the edge of the petticoat, which keeps it cloſe. The frock ſits looſe about them, and reaches down a little below the waiſt. The ſleeves are a great deal longer than their arms, and ſo ſmall at the end, that their hands will ſcarce go through. Being on the ſleeve ſits in folds about the wriſt, wherein they take great pride.

The better ſort of people have their garments made of long cloth; but the ordinary ſort wear cloth made of plantain-tree, which they call Saggen, by which name they call the plantain. They have neither ſtocking nor ſhoe, and the women have very ſmall feet.

The women are very deſirous of the company of ſtrangers, eſpecially of white men: and doubtleſs would be very familiar, if the cuſtom of the country did not debar them from that freedom, which ſeems coveted by them. Yet from the higheſt to the loweſt they are allowed liberty to converſe with, or treat ſtrangers in the ſight of their huſbands.

There is a kind of begging cuſtom at Mindanao, that I have not met elſewhere with in all my travels; and which I believe is owing to the little trade they have, which is thus: when ſtrangers arrive here, the Mindanao men will come aboard, and invite them to their houſes, and inquire who has a comrade, (which word I believe they have from the Spaniards) or a pagally, and who has not. A comrade is a familiar male friend; a pagally is an innocent platonic friend of the other ſex. All ſtrangers are in a manner obliged to accept of this acquaintance and familiarity, which muſt be firſt purchaſed with a ſmall preſent, and afterwards confirmed with ſome gift or other to continue the acquaintance: and as often as the ſtranger goes aſhore, he is welcome to his comrade or pagally's houſe, where he may be entertained for his money to eat, drink, or ſleep; and complimented, as often as he comes aſhore with, tobacco and betel-nut, which is all the entertainment he muſt expect gratis. The richeſt men's wives are allowed the freedom to converſe with her pagally in public, and may give or receive preſents from him. Even the Sultan's and general's wives, who are always coopt up, will yet look out of their cages when a ſtranger paſſeth by, and demand of

him if he wants a pagally: and to invite him to their friendſhip, will ſend a preſent of tobacco and betel-nut to him by their ſervants.

The chiefeſt city on this iſland is called by the ſame name of Mindanao. It is ſeated on the ſouth ſide of the iſland in latitude ſeven degrees twenty minutes north on the banks of a ſmall river, about two miles from the ſea. The manner of building is ſomewhat ſtrange, yet generally uſed in this part of the Eaſt Indies. Their houſes are all built on poſts, about fourteen, ſixteen, eighteen, or twenty feet high. Theſe poſts are bigger or leſs, according to the intended magnificence of the ſuperſtructure. They have but one floor, but many partitions or rooms, and a ladder or ſtairs to go up out of the ſtreets. The roof is large and covered with palmeto or palm-leaves. So there is a clear paſſage like a piazza (but a filthy one) under the houſe. Some of the poorer people that keep ducks or hens, have a fence made round the poſts of their houſes, with a door to go in and out; and this under room ſerves for no other uſe. Some uſe this place for the common draught of their houſes, but building moſtly cloſe by the river in all parts of the Indies, they make the river receive all the filth of their houſe; and at the time of the land-floods, all is waſhed very clean.

The Sultan's houſe is much bigger than any of the reſt. It ſtands on about one hundred and eighty great poſts or trees, a great deal higher than the common building, with great broad ſtairs made to go up. In the firſt room he hath about twenty iron guns, all ſaker and minion, placed on field-carriages. The general and other great men have ſome guns alſo in their houſes. About twenty paces from the ſultan's houſe there is a ſmall low houſe, built purpoſely for the reception of ambaſſadors or merchant ſtrangers. This alſo ſtands on poſts, but the floor is not raiſed above three or four feet above the ground, and is neatly matted purpoſely for the ſultan and his council to ſit on; for they uſe no chairs, but ſit croſs-legged like tailors on the floor.

The common food at Mindanao is rice, or ſago, and a ſmall fiſh or two. The better ſort eat buffalo, or fowls ill dreſt, and abundance of rice with it. They uſe no ſpoons to eat their rice, but every man takes a handful out of the platter, and by wetting his hand in water, that it may not ſtick to his hand, ſqueezes into a lump, as hard as poſſibly he can make it, and then crams it into his mouth. They all ſtrive to make theſe lumps as big as their mouth can receive them; and ſeem to vie with each other, and glory in taking in the biggeſt lump; ſo that ſometimes they almoſt choke themſelves. They always waſh after meals, or if they touch any thing that is unclean; for which reaſon they ſpend abundance of water in their houſes. This water, with the waſhing of their diſhes, and what other filth they make, they pour down near their fire place: for their chambers are not boarded, but floored with ſplit bamboes, like lathe, ſo that the water preſently falls underneath their dwelling rooms, where it breeds maggots, and makes a prodigious ſtink. Beſides this filthineſs, the ſick people eaſe themſelves, and make water in their chambers; there being a ſmall hole made purpoſely in the floor, to let it drop through. But healthy ſound people commonly eaſe themſelves and make water in the river. For that reaſon you ſhall always ſee abundance of people of both ſexes in the river, from morning till night; ſome eaſing themſelves, others waſhing their bodies or clothes. If they come into the river purpoſely to waſh their clothes, they ſtrip and ſtand naked till they have done; then put them on, and march out again: both men and women take great delight in ſwimming, and waſhing themſelves, being bred to it from their infancy. I do believe it is very wholeſome to waſh mornings and evenings in theſe hot countries, at leaſt three or four

days in the week: for I did uſe myſelf to it when I lived afterwards at Bencooly, and found it very refreſhing and comfortable. It is very good for thoſe that have fluxes to waſh and ſtand in the river mornings and evenings. I ſpeak it experimentally, for I was brought very low with that diſtemper at Achin; but by waſhing conſtantly mornings and evenings I found great benefit, and was quickly cured by it.

In the city of Mindanao they ſpeak two languages indifferently, their own Mindanao language, and the Malaya: but in other parts of the iſland they ſpeak only their proper language, having little commerce abroad. They have ſchools, and inſtruct their children to read and write, and bring them up in the Mahometan religion. Therefore many of the words, eſpecially their prayers, are in Arabic; and many of the words of civility the ſame as in Turkey; and eſpecially when they meet in the morning, or take leave of each other, they expreſs themſelves in that language.

Many of the old people, both men and women, can ſpeak Spaniſh, for the Spaniards were formerly ſettled among them, and had ſeveral forts on this iſland; and then they ſent two friars to the city to convert the Sultan of Mindanao and his people. At that time theſe people began to learn Spaniſh, and the Spaniards incroached on them, and endeavoured to bring them into ſubjection; and probably before this time had brought them all under their yoke, if they themſelves had not been drawn off from this iſland to Manila, to reſiſt the Chineſe, who threatened to invade them there. When the Spaniards were gone, the old Sultan of Mandanao, father to the preſent, in whoſe time it was, razed and demoliſhed their forts, brought away their guns, and ſent away the friars; and ſince that time will not ſuffer the Spaniards to ſettle on the iſlands.

They are now moſt afraid of the Dutch, being ſenſible how they have inſlaved many of the neighbouring iſlands. For that reaſon they have a long time deſired the Engliſh to ſettle among them, and have offered them any convenient place to build a fort in, as the general himſelf told us; giving this reaſon, that they do not find the Engliſh ſo incroaching as the Dutch or Spaniſh. The Dutch are no leſs jealous of their admitting the Engliſh, for they are ſenſible what detriment it would be to them if the Engliſh ſhould ſettle here.

There are but few tradeſmen at the city of Mindanao. The chiefeſt trades are goldſmiths, blackſmiths, and carpenters. There are but two or three goldſmiths; theſe will work in gold or ſilver, and make any thing that you deſire: but they have no ſhop furniſhed with ware ready made for ſale. Here are ſeveral blackſmiths who work very well, conſidering the tools that they work with. Their bellows are much different from ours: they are made of a wooden cylinder, the trunk of a tree, about three feet long, bored hollow like a pump, and ſet upright on the ground, on which the fire itſelf is made. Near the lower end there is a ſmall hole, in the ſide of the trunk next the fire, made to receive a pipe, through which the wind is driven to the fire by a great bunch of fine feathers faſtened to one end of the ſtick, which cloſing up the inſide of the cylinder, drives the air out of the cylinder through the pipe: two of theſe trunks or cylinders are placed ſo nigh together, that a man ſtanding between them may work them both at once alternately, one with each hand. They have neither vice nor anvil, but a great hard ſtone or a piece of an old gun, to hammer upon: yet they will perform their work, making both common utenſils and iron-works about ſhips to admiration. They work altogether with charcoal. Every man almoſt is a carpenter, for they can work with the axe and adz. Their axe is but ſmall, and ſo made that they can take it out of the helve, and by turning it make an adz of it. They have no ſaws; but when they make plank, they ſplit the tree in

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two, and make a plank of each part, plaining it with the axe and adz. This requires much pains, and takes up a great deal of time; but they work cheap, and the goodneſs of the plank thus hewed, which hath its grain preſerved entire, makes amends for their coſt and pains.

They build good and ſerviceable ſhips or barks for the ſea, ſome for trade, others for pleaſure; and ſome ſhips of war. Their trading veſſels they ſend chiefly to Manila. Thither they tranſport bees'-wax, which, I think, is the only commodity beſides gold that they vend there. The inhabitants of the city of Mindanao get a great deal of bees'-wax themſelves: but the greateſt quantity they purchaſe is of the mountaineers, from whom they alſo get the gold which they ſend to Manila; and with theſe they buy their calicoes, muſlins, and China ſilk. They ſend ſometimes their barks to Borneo and other iſlands; but what they tranſport thither, or import from thence, I know not. The Dutch come hither in ſloops from Ternate and Tidore, and buy rice, bees'-wax, and tobacco: for here is a great deal of tobacco grows on this iſland, more than in any iſland or country in the Eaſt Indies, that I know of, Manila only excepted. It is an excellent ſort of tobacco; but theſe people have not the art of managing this trade to their beſt advantage, as the Spaniards have at Manila. I do believe the ſeeds were firſt brought hither from Manila by the Spaniards, and even thither, in all probability from America: the difference between the Mindanao and Manila tobacco is, that the Mindanao tobacco is of a darker colour; and the leaf larger and groſſer than the Manila tobacco, being propagated or planted in a fatter ſoil. The Manila tobacco is of a bright yellow colour, of an indifferent ſize, not ſtrong, but pleaſant to ſmoke. The Spaniards at Manila are very curious about this tobacco, having a peculiar way of making it up neatly in the leaf. For they take two little ſticks, each about a foot long, and flat, and placing the ſtalks of the tobacco leaves in a row, forty or fifty of them between the two ſticks, they bind them hard together, ſo that the leaves hang dangling down; one of theſe bundles is ſold for a rial at Fort St. George: but you may have ten or twelve pounds of tobacco at Mindanao for a rial; and the tobacco is as good, or rather better than the Manila tobacco, but they have not that vent for it as the Spaniards have.

The Mindanao people are much troubled with a ſort of leproſy, the ſame as we obſerved at Guam. This diſtemper runs with a dry ſcurf all over their bodies, and cauſeth great itching in thoſe that have it, making them frequently ſcratch and ſcrub themſelves, which raiſeth the outer ſkin in ſmall whitiſh flakes, like the ſcales of little fiſh, when they are raiſed on end with a knife. This makes their ſkin extraordinary rough, and in ſome you ſhall ſee broad white ſpots in ſeveral parts of their body. I judge ſuch have had it, but were cured; for their ſkins were ſmooth, and I did not perceive them to ſcrub themſelves: yet I have learnt from their own mouths that theſe ſpots were from this diſtemper. Whether they uſe any means to cure themſelves, or whether it goes away of itſelf, I know not: but I did not perceive that they made any great matter of it, for they did never refrain any company for it; none of our people caught it of them, for we were afraid of it, and kept off. They are ſometimes troubled with the ſmall-pox, but their ordinary diſtempers are fevers, agues, fluxes, with great pains and gripings in their guts. The country affords a great many drugs and medicinal herbs, whoſe virtues are not unknown to ſome of them that pretend to cure the ſick.

The Mindanao men have many wives: but what ceremonies are uſed when they marry I know not. There is commonly a great feaſt made by the bridegroom to entertain his friends, and the moſt part of the night is ſpent in mirth.

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The Sultan is abſolute in his power over all his ſubjects. He is but a poor Prince; for as I mentioned before, they have but little trade, and therefore cannot be rich. If the ſultan underſtands that any man has money, if it be but twenty dollars, which is a great matter among them, he will ſend to borrow ſo much money, pretending urgent occaſions for it; and they dare not deny him. Sometimes he will ſend to ſell one thing or another that he hath to diſpoſe of, to ſuch whom he knows to have money, and they muſt buy it, and give him his price; and if afterwards he hath occaſion for the ſame thing, he muſt have it if he ſends for it. He is but a little man, between fifty or ſixty years old, and by relation very good-natured, but over-ruled by thoſe about him. He has a queen, and keeps about twenty-nine women, or wives more, in whoſe company he ſpends moſt of his time. He has one daughter by his ſultaneſs or queen, and a great many ſons and daughters by the reſt. Theſe walk about the ſtreets, and would be always begging things of us; but it is reported, that the young Princeſs is kept in a room and never ſtirs out, and that ſhe did never ſee any man but her father and Raja Laut her uncle, being then about fourteen years old.

When the ſultan viſits his friends he is carried in a ſmall couch on four men's ſhoulders, with eight or ten armed men to guard him; but he never goes far this way; for the country is very woody, and they have but little paths, which renders it the leſs commodious. When he takes his pleaſure by water, he carries ſome of his wives along with him. The proes that are built for this purpoſe, are large enough to entertain fifty or ſixty perſons or more. The hull is neatly built, with a round head and ſtern, and over the hull there is a ſmall ſlight houſe built with bamboos; the ſides are made up with ſplit bamboos, about four feet high, with little windows in them of the ſame, to open and ſhut at their pleaſure. The roof is almoſt flat, nearly thatched with palmeto leaves. This houſe is divided into two or three ſmall partitions or chambers, one particularly for himſelf. This is neatly matted underneath and round the ſides, and there is a carpet and pillows for him to ſleep on. The ſecond room is for his women, much like the former. The third is for the ſervants, who tend them with tobacco and betel-nut; for they are always chewing or ſmoking. The fore and afterparts of the veſſel are for the mariners to ſit and row. Beſides this, they have outlayers, ſuch as thoſe I deſcribed at Guam; only the boats and outlayers here are larger. Theſe boats are more round, like a half-moon almoſt; and the bamboos or outlayers that reach from the boat are alſo crooked. Beſides, the boat is not flat on one ſide here, as at Guam; but hath a belly and outlayers on each ſide: and whereas at Guam there is a little boat faſtened to the outlayers, that lies in the water; the beams or bamboos here are faſtened traverſewiſe to the outlayers on each ſide, and touch not the water like boats, but one, three, or four feet above the water, and ſerve for the barge-men to ſit and row and paddle on; the inſide of the veſſel, except only juſt afore and abaft, being taken up with the apartments for the paſſengers. There run acroſs the outlayers two tier of beams for the paddlers to ſit on, on each ſide the veſſel. The lower tier of theſe beams is not above a foot from the water; ſo that upon any the leaſt reeling of the veſſel, the beams are dipped into the water, and the men that ſit are wet up to their waſte; their feet ſeldom eſcaping the water. And thus, as all our veſſels are rowed from within, theſe are paddled from without.

The ſultan hath a brother called Raja Laut, a brave man. He is the ſecond man in the kingdom. All ſtrangers that come hither to trade muſt make their addreſs to him, for all ſea-affairs belong to him. He liceaſeth ſtrangers to import or export any commodity, and 'tis by his permiſſion that the natives themſelves are ſuffered to trade: nay,

the very fiſhermen muſt take a permit from him; ſo that there is no man can come into the river or go out of it but by his leave. He is two or three years younger than the ſultan, and a little man like him. He has eight women, by ſome of whom he hath iſſue. He hath only one ſon, about twelve or fourteen years old, who was circumciſed while we were there. His eldeſt ſon died a little before we came hither, for whom he was ſtill in great heavineſs. If he had lived a little longer he ſhould have married the young princeſs; but whether this ſecond ſon muſt have her I know not, for I did never hear any diſcourſe about it. Raja Laut is a very ſharp man: he ſpeaks and writes Spaniſh, which he learned in his youth. He has, by often converſing with ſtrangers, got a great ſight into the cuſtoms of other nations, and by Spaniſh books has ſome knowledge of Europe. He is general of the Mindanayans, and is accounted an expert ſoldier, and a very ſtout man; and the women in their dances, ſing many ſongs in his praiſe.

The ſultan of Mindanao ſometimes makes war with his neighbours the mountaineers, or Alfoores. Their weapons are ſwords, lances, and ſome hand-creſſets. The creſſet is a ſmall thing like a bayonet, which they always wear in war or peace, at work or play, from the greateſt of them to the pooreſt, or the meaneſt perſons. They do never meet each other ſo as to have a pitched battle, but they build ſmall works or forts of timber, wherein they plant little guns, and lie in ſight of each other two or three months ſkirmiſhing every day in ſmall parties, and ſometimes ſurpriſing a breaſt-work; and whatever ſide is like to be worſted, if they have no probability to eſcape by flight, they ſell their lives as dear as they can; for there is ſeldom any quarter given, but the conqueror cuts and hacks his enemies to pieces.

The religion of theſe people is Mahometaniſm. Friday is their ſabbath: but I did never ſee any difference that they make between this day and any other day; only the ſultan himſelf goes then to the moſque twice. Raja Laut never goes to the moſque, but prays at certain hours, eight or ten times in a day; wherever he is, he is very punctual to his canonical hours, and if he be aboard will go aſhore, on purpoſe to pray; for no buſineſs nor company hinders him from this duty. Whether he is at home or abroad, in a houſe or in the field, he leaves all his company, and goes about one hundred yards off, and there kneels down to his devotion. He firſt kiſſes the ground, then prays aloud, and divers times in his prayers he kiſſes the ground, and does the ſame when he leaves off. His ſervants and his wives and children talk and ſing, or play how they pleaſe all the time, but himſelf is very ſerious. The meaner ſort of people have little devotion; I did never ſee any of them at their prayers, or go into a moſque.

In the ſultan's moſque there is a great drum, with but one head, called a gong; which is inſtead of a clock. This gong is beaten at twelve o'clock, at three, ſix, and nine; a man being appointed for that ſervice. He has a ſtick as big as a man's arm, with a great knob at the end, bigger than a man's fiſt, made with cotton, bound faſt with ſmall cords: with this he ſtrikes the gong as hard as he can, about twenty ſtrokes; beginning to ſtrike leiſurely the firſt five or ſix ſtrokes, then he ſtrikes faſter, and at laſt ſtrikes as faſt as he can; and then he ſtrikes again ſlower and ſlower ſo many more ſtrokes: thus he riſes and falls three times, and then leaves off till three hours after. This is done night and day.

They circumciſe the males at eleven or twelve years of age, or older; and many are circumciſed at once. This ceremony is performed with a great deal of ſolemnity. There had been no circumciſion for ſome years before our being here; and then there was one for Raja Laut's ſon. They chooſe to have a general circumciſion when the Sultan

Sultan or general, or ſome other great perſon hath a ſon fit to be circumciſed; for with him a great many more are circumciſed. There is notice given, about eight or ten days before, for all men to appear in arms; and great preparation is made againſt the ſolemn day. In the morning, before the boys are circumciſed, preſents are ſent to the father of the child that keeps the feaſt, which, as I ſaid before, is either the ſultan or ſome great perſon; and about ten or eleven o'clock the Mahometan prieſt does his office. He takes hold of the foreſkin with two ſticks, and with a pair of ſciſſars ſnips it off. After this moſt of the men, both in city and country being in arms before the houſe, begin to act as if they were engaged with an enemy, having ſuch arms as I deſcribed. Only one acts at a time; the reſt make a great ring of two or three hundred yards round about him. He that is to exerciſe comes into the ring with a great ſhriek or two, and a horrid look; then he fetches two or three large ſtately ſtrides and falls to work. He holds his broad-ſword in one hand, and his lance in the other, and traverſes his ground, leaping from one ſide of the ring to the other; and, in a menacing poſture and look, bids defiance to the enemy whom his fancy frames to him; for there is nothing but air to oppoſe him. Then he ſtamps and ſhakes his head, and grinning with his teeth makes many rueful faces. Then he throws his lance, and nimbly ſnatches out his creſſet, with which he hacks and hews the air like a mad-man, often ſhrieking. At laſt being almoſt tired with motion, he flies to the middle of the ring, where he ſeems to have his enemy at his mercy, and with two or three blows cuts on the ground as if he was cutting off his enemy's head. By this time he is all of a ſweat, and withdraws triumphantly out of the ring, and preſently another enters with the like ſhrieks and geſtures. Thus they continue combating their imaginary enemy all the reſt of the day; towards the concluſion of which the richeſt men act, and at laſt the general, and then the ſultan concludes this ceremony: he and the general, with ſome other great men, are in armour, but the reſt have none. After this the ſultan returns home, accompanied with abundance of people, who wait on him there till they are diſmiſſed. But at the time when we were there, there was an after-game to be played; for the general's ſon being then circumciſed, the ſultan intended to give him a ſecond viſit in the night, ſo they all waited to attend him thither. The general alſo provided to meet him in the beſt manner, and therefore deſired Captain Swan with his men to attend him. Accordingly Captain Swan ordered us to get our guns and wait at the general's houſe till further orders. So about forty of us waited till eight o'clock in the evening; when the general with Captain Swan, and about one thouſand men, went to meet the ſultan, with abundance of torches that made it as light as day. The manner of the march was thus: firſt of all there was a pageant, and upon it two dancing women gorgeouſly apparelled, with coronets on their heads, full of glittering ſpangles, and pendants of the ſame, hanging down over their breaſt and ſhoulders. Theſe are women bred up purpoſely for dancing: their feet and legs are but little employed, except ſometimes to turn round very gently; but their hands, arms, head, and body, are in continual motion, eſpecially their arms, which they turn and twiſt ſo ſtrangely, that you would think them to be made without bones. Beſides the two dancing women, there were two old women in the pageant holding each a lighted torch in their hands, cloſe by the two dancing women, by which light the glittering ſpangles appeared very gloriouſly. This pageant was carried by ſix luſty men: then came ſix or ſeven torches, lighting the general and Captain Swan, who marched ſide by ſide next, and we that attended Captain Swan followed cloſe after, marching in order ſix and ſix abreaſt, with each man his gun on his ſhoulder,

and torches on each ſide. After us came twelve of the general's men, with old Spaniſh matchlocks, marching four in a row. After them about forty lances, and behind them as many with great ſwords, marching all in order. After them came abundance only with creſſets by their ſides, who marched up cloſe without any order. When we came near the ſultan's houſe, the ſultan and his men met us, and we wheeled off to let them paſs. The ſultan had three pageants went before him: in the firſt pageant were four of his ſons, who were about ten or eleven years old; they had gotten abundance of ſmall ſtones, which they roguiſhly threw about on the people's heads: in the next were four young maidens, nieces to the ſultan, being his ſiſter's daughters; and in the third, there was three of the ſultan's children, not above ſix years old. The ſultan himſelf followed next, being carried in his couch, which was not like your Indian palankin, but open, and very little and ordinary. A multitude of people came after, without any order: but as ſoon as he was paſt by, the general and Captain Swan, and all our men, cloſed in juſt behind the ſultan, and ſo all marched together to the general's houſe. We came thither between ten and eleven o'clock, where the greateſt part of the company were immediately diſmiſſed; but the ſultan and his children, and his nieces, and ſome other perſons of quality, entered the general's houſe. They were met at the head of the ſtairs by the general's women, who with a great deal of reſpect conducted them into the houſe. Captain Swan, and we that were with him, followed after. It was not long before the general cauſed his dancing-women to enter the room and divert the company with that paſtime. I had forgot to tell you that they have none but vocal muſic here, by what I could learn, except only a row of a kind of bells without clappers, ſixteen in number, and their weight increaſing gradually from about three to ten pound weight. Theſe are ſet in a row on a table in the general's houſe, where for ſeven or eight days together before the circumciſion day, they were ſtruck each with a little ſtick for the biggeſt part of the day, making a great noiſe, and they ceaſed that morning. So theſe dancing-women ſung themſelves, and danced to their own muſic. After this the general's women, and the ſultan's ſons, and his nieces, danced. Two of the ſultan's nieces were about eighteen or nineteen years old, the other two were three or four years younger. Theſe young ladies were very richly dreſſed, with looſe garments of ſilk, and ſmall coronets on their heads. They were much fairer than any women I did ever ſee there, and very well featured; and their noſes, though but ſmall, yet higher than the other women's, and very well proportioned. When the ladies had very well diverted themſelves and the company with dancing, the general cauſed us to fire ſome ſky-rockets, that were made by his and Captain Swan's order purpoſely for this night's ſolemnity; and after that the ſultan and his retinue went away, with a few attendants, and we all broke up: and thus ended this day's ſolemnity. But the boys, being ſore with their amputation, went ſtraddling for a fortnight after.

"They are not, as I ſaid before, very curious, or ſtrict in obſerving any days, or times of particular devotions, except it be Ramdam time, as we call it. The Ramdam time was then in Auguſt, as I take it, for it was ſhortly after our arrival here. In this time they faſt all day, and about ſeven o'clock in the evening they ſpend near an hour in prayer. Towards the latter end of their prayer they loudly invoke their prophet for about a quarter of an hour, both old and young bawling out very ſtrangely, as if they intended to fright him out of his ſleepineſs or neglect of them. After their prayer is ended, they ſpend ſome time in feaſting before they take their repoſe. Thus they do every day for a whole month at leaſt; for ſometimes it is two or three days longer before.

before the Ramdam ends: for it begins at the new moon, and lasts till they see the next new moon, which sometimes in thick hazy weather is not till three or four days after the change, as it happened while I was at Achin, where they continued the Ramdam till the new moon's appearance. The next day after they have seen the new moon, the guns are all discharged about noon, and then the time ends.

A main part of their religion consists in washing often, to keep themselves from being defiled; or after they are defiled to cleanse themselves again. They also take great care to keep themselves from being polluted, by tasting or touching any thing that is accounted unclean; therefore swine's flesh is very abominable to them; nay, any one that hath either tasted of swine's flesh, or touched those creatures, is not permitted to come into their houses in many days after, and there is nothing will scare them more than a swine. Yet there are wild hogs in the islands, and those so plentiful, that they will come in troops out of the woods in the night into the very city, and come under their houses to rummage up and down the filth that they find there. The natives therefore would even desire us to lie in wait for the hogs to destroy them, which we did frequently, by shooting them and carrying them presently on board, but were prohibited their houses afterwards.

And now I am on this subject, I cannot omit a story concerning the general. He once desired to have a pair of shoes made after the English fashion, though he did very seldom wear any; so one of our men made him a pair, which the general liked very well. Afterwards some body told him, that the thread wherewith the shoes were sewed were pointed with hog's bristles. This put him into a great passion; so he sent the shoes to the man that made them, and sent him withal more leather to make another pair, with threads pointed with some other hair, which was immediately done, and then he was well pleased.

CHAP. III. — *Their coasting along the Isle of Mindanao, from a Bay on the East Side to another at the South-east End. — Tornados and boisterous Weather. — The South-east Coast, and its Savannah and Plenty of Deer. — They coast along the South Side to the River of Mindanao City, and anchor there. — The Sultan's Brother and Son come aboard, and invite them to settle there. — Of the Feasibleness and probable Advantage of such a Settlement from the neighbouring Gold and Spice Islands. — Of the best Way to Mindanao by the South Sea and Terra Australis; and of an accidental Discovery there by Captain Davis, and a Probability of a greater. — The Capacity they were in to settle here. — The Mindanayans measure their Ship. — Captain Swan's Present to the Sultan: his Reception of it, and Audience given to Captain Swan, with Raja Laut, the Sultan's Brother's Entertainment of him. — The Contents of two English Letters shewn them by the Sultan of Mindanao. — Of the Commodities, and the Punishments there. — The General's Caution how to demean themselves; at his Persuasion they lay up their Ships in the River. — The Mandanayans' Caresses. — The great Rains and Floods of the City. — The Mandanayans have Chinese Accountants. — How their Women dance. — A Story of one John Thacker. — Their Bark eaten up, and their Ship endangered by the Worm. — Of the Worms here and elsewhere. — Of Captain Swan. — Raja Laut, the General's Deceitfulness. — Hunting wild Kine. — The Prodigality of some of the English. — Captain Swan treats with a young Indian of a Spice-Island. — A Hunting Voyage with the General. — His punishing a Servant of his. — Of his Wives and Women. — A Sort of strong Rice-Drink. — The General's foul Dealing and Exactions. — Captain Swan's Uneasiness and indiscreet Management. — His Men mutiny. — Of a Snake twisting*

about one of their Necks.— The main Part of the Crew go away with the Ship, leaving Captain Swan and ſome of his Men: ſeveral others poiſoned there.

HAVING in the two laſt chapters given ſome account of the natural, civil, and religious ſtate of Mindanao, I ſhall now go on with the proſecution of our affairs during our ſtay there.

It was in a bay on the north-eaſt ſide of the iſland that we came to an anchor, as hath been ſaid. We lay in this bay but one night, and part of the next day. Yet there we got ſpeech with ſome of the natives, who by ſigns made us to underſtand, that the city of Mindanao was on the weſt ſide of the iſland. We endeavoured to perſuade one of them to go with us to be our pilot, but he would not: therefore in the afternoon we looſed from hence, ſteering again to the ſouth-eaſt, having the wind at ſouth-weſt. When we came to the ſouth-eaſt end of the iſland Mindanao, we ſaw two ſmall iſlands about three leagues diſtant from it. We might have paſſed between them and the main iſland, as we learnt ſince; but not knowing them, nor what dangers we might encounter there, we choſe rather to ſail to the eaſtward of them; but meeting very ſtrong weſterly winds we got nothing forward in many days. In this time we firſt ſaw the iſlands Meangis, which are about ſixteen leagues diſtant from the Mindanao, bearing ſouth-eaſt. I ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak more of them hereafter.

The 4th day of July we got into a deep bay, four leagues north-weſt from the two ſmall iſlands before mentioned. But the night before, in a violent tornado, our bark being unable to bear any longer, bore away, which put us in ſome pain for fear ſhe was overſet, as we had like to have been ourſelves. We anchored on the ſouth-weſt ſide of the bay, in fifteen fathoms water, about a cable's length from ſhore. Here we were forced to ſhelter ourſelves from the violence of the weather, which was ſo boiſterous with rains and tornados and a ſtrong weſterly wind, that we were very glad to find this place to anchor in, being the only ſhelter on this ſide from the weſt winds.

This bay is not above two miles wide at the mouth, but farther in it is three leagues wide, and ſeven fathoms deep, running north-north-weſt. There is a good depth of water about four or five leagues in, but rocky foul ground for about two leagues in from the mouth on both ſides of the bay, except only in that place where we lay. About three leagues in from the mouth, on the eaſtern ſide, there are fair ſandy bays, and very good anchoring in four, five and ſix fathoms. The land on the eaſt ſide is high, mountainous and woody, yet very well watered with ſmall brooks, and there is one river large enough for canoes to enter. On the weſt ſide of the bay the land is of a mean height with a large ſavannah bordering on the ſea, and ſtretching from the mouth of the bay a great way to the weſtward.

This ſavannah abounds with long graſs, and it is plentifully ſtocked with deer. The adjacent woods are a covert for them in the heat of the day; but mornings and evenings they feed in the open plains as thick as in our parks in England. I never ſaw any where ſuch plenty of wild deer, though I have met with them in ſeveral parts of America, both in the north and ſouth ſeas.

The deer live here pretty peaceably and unmoleſted, for there are no inhabitants on that ſide of the bay. We viſited this ſavannah every morning, and killed as many deer as we pleaſed, ſometimes ſixteen or eighteen in a day; and we did eat nothing but veniſon all the time we ſtayed there.

We ſaw a great many plantations by the ſides of the mountains, on the eaſt ſide of the bay, and we went to one of them, in hopes to learn of the inhabitants whereabouts the city was, that we might not over-ſail in the night, but they fled from us.

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We lay here till the twelfth day before the winds abated of their fury, and then we ſailed from hence, directing our courſe to the weſtward. In the morning we had a land-wind at north. At eleven o'clock the ſea breeze came at weſt juſt in our teeth, but it being fair weather we kept on our way, turning and taking the advantage of the land-breezes by night and the ſea-breezes by day.

Being now paſt the ſouth-eaſt part of the iſland we coaſted down on the ſouth ſide, and we ſaw abundance of canoes a fiſhing, and now and then a ſmall village. Neither were theſe inhabitants afraid of us, as the former, but came aboard; yet we could not underſtand them nor they us but by ſigns: and when we mentioned the word Mindanao they would point towards it.

The 18th day of July we arrived before the river of Mindanao, the mouth of which lies in latitude 6 degrees 22 minutes north, and is laid in 231 degrees 12 minutes longitude weſt, from the Lizard in England. We anchored right againſt the river in fifteen fathom water, clear hard ſand; about two miles from the ſhore, and three or four miles from a ſmall iſland that lay without us to the ſouthward. We fired ſeven or nine guns, I remember not well which, and were anſwered again with three from the ſhore, for which we gave one again. Immediately after our coming to an anchor, Raja Laut and one of the Sultan's ſons came off in a canoe, being rowed with ten oars, and demanded in Spaniſh what we were, and from whence we came? Mr. Smith (he who was taken priſoner at Leon in Mexico) anſwered in the ſame language that we were Engliſh, and that we had been a great while out of England. They told us that we were welcome, and aſked us a great many queſtions about England; eſpecially concerning our Eaſt India merchants, and whether we were ſent by them to ſettle a factory here? Mr. Smith told them that we came hither only to buy proviſion. They ſeemed a little diſcontented when they underſtood that we were not come to ſettle among them; for they had heard of our arrival on the eaſt ſide of the iſland a great while before, and entertained hopes that we were ſent purpoſely out of England hither to ſettle a trade with them, which it ſhould ſeem they are very deſirous of: for Captain Goodlud had been here not long before to treat with them about it; and when he went away told them, as they ſaid, that in ſhort time they might expect an ambaſſador from England to make a full bargain with them.

Indeed, upon mature thoughts, I ſhould think we could not have done better than to have complied with the deſire they ſeemed to have of our ſettling here; and to have taken up our quarters among them. For as thereby we might better have conſulted our own profit and ſatisfaction, than by the other looſe roving way of life; ſo it might probably have proved of public benefit to our nation, and been a means of introducing an Engliſh ſettlement and trade, not only here, but through ſeveral of the ſpice-iſlands which lie in its neighbourhood.

For the iſlands Meangis, which I mentioned in the beginning of this chapter, lie within twenty leagues of Mindanao. Theſe are three ſmall iſlands that abound with gold and cloves, if I may credit my author, Prince Jeoly, who was born on one of them, and was at that time a ſlave in the city of Mindanao. He might have been purchaſed by us of his maſter for a ſmall matter (as he was afterwards by Mr. Moody, who came hither to trade, and laded a ſhip with clove-bark), and by tranſporting him home to his own country, we might have gotten a trade there. But of Prince Jeoly I ſhall ſpeak more hereafter. Theſe iſlands are as yet probably unknown to the Dutch, who, as I ſaid before, endeavour to engroſs all the ſpice into their own hands.

There was another opportunity offered us here of ſettling on another ſpice-iſland that was very well inhabited: for the inhabitants fearing the Dutch, and underſtanding that the Engliſh were ſettling at Mindanao, their Sultan ſent his nephew to Minda-

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nao while we were there to invite us thither. Captain Swan conferred with him about it divers times, and I do believe he had ſome inclination to accept the offer, and I am ſure moſt of the men were for it; but this never came to a head, for want of a true underſtanding between Captain Swan and his men, as may be declared hereafter.

Beſide the benefit which might accrue from this trade with Meangis, and other the ſpice-iſlands, the Philippine iſlands themſelves, by a little care and induſtry, might have afforded us a very beneficial trade, and all theſe trades might have been managed from Mindanao, by ſettling there firſt. For that iſland lieth very convenient for trading either to the ſpice-iſlands, or to the reſt of the Philippine iſlands; ſince as its ſoil is much of the ſame nature with either of them, ſo it lies as it were in the centre of the gold and ſpice trade in theſe parts; the iſlands north of Mindanao abounding moſt in gold, and thoſe ſouth of Meangis in ſpice.

As the iſland Mindanao lies very convenient for trade ſo conſidering its diſtance, the way thither may not be over long and tireſome. The courſe that I would chooſe ſhould be to ſet out of England about the latter end of Auguſt, and to paſs round Terra del Fuego, and ſo ſtretching over towards new Holland, coaſt it along that ſhore till I came near to Mindanao; or firſt I would coaſt down near the American ſhore, as far as I found convenient, and then direct my courſe accordingly for the iſland. By this I ſhould avoid coming near any of the Dutch ſettlements, and be ſure to meet always with a conſtant briſk eaſterly trade-wind, after I was once paſt Terra del Fuego. Whereas in paſſing about the Cape of Good Hope, after you are ſhot over the Eaſt Indian occean and are to come to the iſlands, you muſt paſs through the Streights of Malacca or Sandy, or elſe ſome other ſtreights eaſt from Java, where you will be ſure to meet with contrary winds, go on which ſide of the equator you pleaſe; and this would require ordinarily ſeven or eight months for the voyage, but the other I ſhould hope to perform in ſix or ſeven at moſt. In your return from thence alſo you muſt obſerve the ſame rule as the Spaniards do in going from Manila to Acapulco; only as they run towards the north pole for variable winds, ſo you muſt run to the ſouthward, till you meet with a wind that will carry you over to Terra del Fuego. There are places enough to touch at for refreſhment, either going or coming. You may touch going thither on either ſide of Terra Patagonia, or, if you pleaſe, at the Gallapagoes Iſlands, where there is refreſhment enough; and returning you may probably touch ſomewhere on New Holland, and ſo make ſome profitable diſcovery in theſe places without going out of your way. And to ſpeak my thoughts freely, I believe it is owing to the neglect of this eaſy way that all that vaſt tract of Terra Auſtralis which bounds the South Sea is yet undiſcovered: thoſe that croſs that ſea ſeeming to deſign ſome buſineſs on the Peruvian or Mexican coaſt, and ſo leaving that at a diſtance. To confirm which, I ſhall add what Captain Davis told me lately, that after his departure from us at the haven of Ria Lexa, (as is mentioned in the eight chapter,) he went after ſeveral traverſes to the Gallapagoes, and that ſtanding thence ſouthward for wind, to bring him about Terra del Fuego, in the latitude of twenty-ſeven ſouth, about five-hundred leagues from Copayapo, on the coaſt of Chili, he ſaw a ſmall ſandy iſland juſt by him; and that they ſaw to the weſtward of it a long tract of pretty high land, tending away towards the north-weſt out of ſight. This might probably be the coaſt of Terra Auſtralis Incognita.

But to return to Mindanao: as to the capacity we were then in, of ſettling ourſelves at Mindanao, although we were not ſent out of any ſuch deſign of ſettling, yet we were as well provided or better, conſidering all circumſtances, than if we had. For there was ſcarce any uſeful trade but ſome or other of us underſtood it. We had ſawyers, carpenters, joiners, brickmakers, bricklayers, ſhoemakers, tailors, &c.

we only wanted a good ſmith for great work; which we might have had at Mindanao. We were very well provided with iron, lead, and all ſorts of tools, as ſaws, axes, hammers, &c. We had powder and ſhot enough, and very good ſmall arms. If we had deſigned to build a fort, we could have ſpared eight or ten guns out of our ſhip, and men enough to have managed it, and any affair of trade beſide. We had alſo a great advantage above raw men that are ſent out of England into theſe places, who proceed uſually too cautiouſly, coldly and formally, to compaſs any conſiderable deſign, which experience better teaches than any rules whatſoever; beſides the danger of their lives in ſo great and ſudden a change of air: whereas we were all inured to hot climates, hardened by many fatigues, and in general daring men, and ſuch as would not be eaſily baffled. To add one thing more, our men were almoſt tired, and began to deſire a *quietus eſt;* and therefore they would gladly have ſeated themſelves any where. We had a good ſhip too, and enough of us (beſide what might have been ſpared to manage our new ſettlement) to bring the news with the effects to the owners in England: for Captain Swan had already five thouſand pounds in gold, which he and his merchants received for goods ſold moſtly to Captain Harris and his men: which if he had laid but part of it out in ſpice, as probably he might have done, would have ſatisfied the merchants to their hearts' content. So much by way of digreſſion.

To proceed therefore with our firſt reception at Mindanao; Raja Laut and his nephew ſat ſtill in their canoa, and would not come aboard us; becauſe as they ſaid, they had no orders from the Sultan. After about half an hour's diſcourſe they took their leaves; firſt inviting Captain Swan aſhore, and promiſing to aſſiſt him in getting proviſion; which they ſaid at preſent was ſcarce, but in three or four months' time the rice would be gathered in, and then he might have as much as he pleaſed: and that in the mean time he might ſecure his ſhip in ſome convenient place, for fear of the weſterly winds, which they ſaid would be very violent at the latter end of this month, and all the next, as we found them.

We did not know the quality of theſe two perſons till after they were gone; elſe we ſhould have fired ſome guns at their departure: when they were gone a certain officer under the Sultan came aboard and meaſured our ſhip. A cuſtom derived from the Chineſe, who always meaſure the length and breadth, and the depth of the hold of all ſhips that come to load there: by which means they know how much each ſhip will carry. But for what reaſon this cuſtom is uſed either by the Chineſe, or Mindanao men, I could never learn; unleſs the Mindanayans deſign by this means to improve their ſkill in ſhipping, againſt they have a trade.

Captain Swan conſidering that the ſeaſon of the year would oblige us to ſpend ſome time at this iſland, thought it convenient to make what intereſt he could with the Sultan; who might afterwards either obſtruct or advance his deſigns. He therefore immediately provided a preſent to ſend aſhore to the Sultan, viz. three yards of ſcarlet cloth, three yards of broad gold lace, a turkiſh ſcimiter and a pair of piſtols: and to Raja Laut he ſent three yards of ſcarlet cloth, and three yards of ſilver lace. This preſent was carried by Mr. Henry More in the evening. He was firſt conducted to Raja Laut's houſe; where he remained till report thereof was made to the Sultan, who immediately gave order for all things to be made ready to receive him.

About nine o'clock at night, a meſſenger came from the Sultan to bring the preſent away. Then Mr. More was conducted all the way with torches and armed men, till he came to the houſe where the Sultan was. The Sultan with eight or ten men of his council were ſeated on carpets, waiting his coming. The preſent

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that Mr. More brought was laid down before them, and was very kindly accepted by the Sultan, who cauſed Mr. More to ſit down by them, and aſked a great many queſtions of him. The diſcourſe was in Spaniſh by an interpreter. This conference laſted about an hour, and then he was diſmiſt, and returned again to Raja Laut's houſe. There was a ſupper provided for him, and the boat's crew; after which he returned aboard.

The next day the Sultan ſent for Captain Swan; he immediately went on ſhore with a flag flying in the boat's head, and two trumpets ſounding all the way. When he came aſhore, he was met at his landing by two principal officers, guarded along with ſoldiers and abundance of people gazing to ſee him. The Sultan waited for him in his chamber of audience, where Captain Swan was treated with tobacco and betel, which was all his entertainment.

The Sultan ſent for two Engliſh letters for Captain Swan to read, purpoſely to let him know, that our Eaſt India merchants did deſign to ſettle here, and that they had already ſent a ſhip hither. One of theſe letters was ſent to the Sultan from England, by the Eaſt India merchants. The chiefeſt things contained in it, as I remember, for I ſaw it afterwards in the ſecretary's hand, who was very proud to ſhew it to us, was to deſire ſome privileges, in order to the building of a fort there. This letter was written in a very fair hand; and between each line there was a gold line drawn. The other letter was left by Captain Goodlud, directed to any Engliſhmen who ſhould happen to come thither. This related wholly to trade, giving an account at what rate he had agreed with them for goods of the iſland, and how European goods ſhould be ſold to them, with an account of their weights and meaſures, and their difference from ours.

The rate agreed on for Mindanao gold was fourteen Spaniſh dollars, (which is a current coin all over India) the Engliſh ounce, and eighteen dollars the Mindanao ounce. But for bee's-wax and clove-bark, I do not remember the rates, neither do I well remember the rates of Europe commodities; but I think the rate of iron was not above four dollars a hundred. Captain Goodlud's letter concludes thus: "Truſt none of them, for they are all thieves, but tace is Latin for a candle." We underſtood afterwards that Captain Goodlud was robbed of ſome goods by one of the general's men, and that he that robbed him was fled into the mountains, and could not be found while Captain Goodlud was here. But the fellow returning back to the city ſome time after our arrival here, Raja Laut brought him bound to Captain Swan, and told him what he had done, deſiring him to puniſh him for it as he pleaſed: but Captain Swan excuſed himſelf, and ſaid it did not belong to him, therefore he would have nothing to do with it. However, the general Raja Laut would not pardon him, but puniſhed him according to their own cuſtom, which I did never ſee but at this time.

He was ſtript ſtark naked in the morning at ſun riſing, and bound to a poſt, ſo that he could not ſtir hand nor foot, but as he was moved; and was placed with his face eaſtward againſt the ſun. In the afternoon they turned his face towards the weſt, that the ſun might ſtill be in his face; and thus he ſtood all day, parched in the ſun (which ſhines here exceſſively hot) and tormented with the moſkitos or gnats: after this the general would have killed him, if Captain Swan had conſented to it. I did never ſee any put to death: but I believe they are barbarous enough in it. The general told us himſelf that he put two men to death in a town where ſome of us were with him; but I heard not the manner of it. Their common way of puniſhing is to ſtrip them in this manner, and place them in the ſun; but ſometimes they lay

them flat on their backs on the ſand, which is very hot; where they remain a whole day in the ſcorching ſun, with the moſkitoes biting them all the time.

This action of the general in offering Captain Swan the puniſhment of the thief, cauſed Captain Swan afterwards to make him the ſame offer of his men, when any had offended the Mindanao men: but the general left ſuch offenders to be puniſhed by Captain Swan, as he thought convenient. So that for the leaſt offence Captain Swan puniſhed his men, and that in the ſight of the Mindanaians; and I think ſometimes only for revenge; as he did once puniſh his chief mate Mr. Teat, he that came Captain of the bark to Mindanao. Indeed at that time Captain Swan had his men as much under command as if he had been in a King's ſhip: and had he known how to uſe his authority, he might have led them to any ſettlement, and have brought them to aſſiſt him in any deſign he had pleaſed.

Captain Swan being diſmiſſed from the Sultan, with abundance of civility, after about two hours diſcourſe with him, went thence to Raja Laut's houſe. Raja Laut had then ſome difference with the Sultan, and therefore he was not preſent at the Sultan's reception of our captain; but waited his return, and treated him and all his men with boiled rice and fowls. He then told Captain Swan again, and urged it to him, that it would be beſt to get his ſhip into the river as ſoon as he could, becauſe of the uſual tempeſtuous weather of this time of the year; and that he ſhould want no aſſiſtance to further him in any thing. He told him alſo, that as we muſt of neceſſity ſtay here ſome time, ſo our men would often come aſhore; and he therefore deſired him to warn his men to be careful to give no affront to the natives; who he ſaid, were very revengeful. That their cuſtoms being different from ours, he feared that Captain Swan's men might ſome time or other offend them, though ignorantly; that therefore he gave him this friendly warning to prevent it: that his houſe ſhould always be open to receive him or any of his men, and that he, knowing our cuſtoms, would never be offended at any thing. After a great deal of ſuch diſcourſe he diſmiſt the captain and his company, who took their leave and came aboard.

Captain Swan having ſeen the two letters, did not doubt but that the Engliſh did deſign to ſettle a factory here: therefore he did not much ſcruple the honeſty of theſe people, but immediately ordered us to get the ſhip into the river. The river upon which the city of Mindanao ſtands is but ſmall, and hath not above ten or eleven foot water on the bar at a ſpring tide. Therefore we lightened our ſhip, and the ſpring coming on, we with much ado got her into the river, being aſſiſted by fifty or ſixty Mindanaian fiſhermen, who lived at the mouth of the river; Raja Laut himſelf being aboard our ſhip to direct them. We carried her about a quarter of a mile up, within the mouth of the river, and there moored her, head and ſtern in a hole, where we always rode afloat. After this the citizens of Mindanao came frequently aboard to invite our men to their houſes, and to offer us pagallies. It was a long time ſince any of us had received ſuch friendſhip, and therefore we were the more eaſily drawn to accept of their kindneſſes; and in a very ſhort time moſt of our men got a comrade or two, and as many pagallies; eſpecially ſuch of us as had good clothes, and ſtore of gold, as many had, who were of the number of thoſe that accompanied Captain Harris over the Iſthmus of Darien, the reſt of us being poor enough. Nay, the very pooreſt and meaneſt of us could hardly paſs the ſtreets, but we were even hauled by force into their houſes, to be treated by them: although their treats were but mean, viz. tobacco, or betel-nut, or a little ſweet ſpiced water; yet their ſeeming ſincerity, ſimplicity, and the manner of beſtowing theſe gifts, made them very acceptable.

When we came to their houſes, they would always be praiſing the Engliſh, as declaring that the Engliſh and Mindanaians were all one. This they expreſt by putting their two fore-fingers cloſe together, and ſaying that the Engliſh and Mindanaians were "ſamo, ſamo" that is, all one. Then they would draw their fore-fingers half a foot aſunder, and ſay the Dutch and they were Bugeto, which ſignifies ſo, that they were at ſuch a diſtance in point of friendſhip: and for the Spaniards, they would make a greater repreſentation of diſtance than for the Dutch: fearing theſe, but having felt, and ſmarted from the Spaniards, who had once almoſt brought them under.

Captain Swan did ſeldom go into any houſe at firſt, but into Raja Laut's. There he dined commonly every day; and as many of his men as were aſhore, and had no money to entertain themſelves, reſorted thither about twelve o'clock, where they had rice enough boiled and well-dreſt, and ſome ſcraps of fowls, or bits of buffaloe, dreſt very naſtily. Captain Swan was ſerved a little better, and his two trumpeters ſounded all the time that he was at dinner. After dinner Raja Laut would ſit and diſcourſe with him moſt part of the afternoon. It was now the Ramdam time, therefore the general excuſed himſelf, that he could not entertain our captain with dances, and other paſtimes, as he intended to do when this ſolemn time was paſt; beſides, it was the very heighth of the wet ſeaſon, and therefore not ſo proper for paſtimes.

We had now very tempeſtuous weather, and exceſſive rains, which ſo ſwelled the river, that it overflowed its banks; ſo that we had much ado to keep our ſhip ſafe: for every now and then we ſhould have a great tree come floating down the river and ſometimes lodge againſt our bows, to the endangering the breaking our cables, and either the driving us in, over the banks, or carrying us out to ſea; both which would have been very dangerous to us, eſpecially being without ballaſt.

The city is about a mile long, of no great breadth, winding with the banks of the river on the right hand going up, though it hath many houſes on the other ſide too. But at this time it ſeemed to ſtand as in a pond, and there was no paſſing from one houſe to another but in canoes. This tempeſtuous rainy weather happened the latter end of July, and laſted moſt part of Auguſt.

When the bad weather was a little aſſuaged, Captain Swan hired a houſe to put our ſails and goods in, while we careened our ſhip. We had a great deal of iron and lead, which was brought aſhore into this houſe. Of theſe commodities Captain Swan ſold to the ſultan or general, eight or ten tuns, at the rates agreed on by Captain Goodlud, to be paid in rice. The Mindanaians are no good accomptants; therefore the Chineſe that live here do caſt up their accompts for them. After this, Captain Swan bought timber trees of the general, and ſet ſome of our men to ſaw them into planks, to ſheath the ſhip's bottom. He had two whip-ſaws on board, which he brought out of England, and four or five men that knew the uſe of them, for they had been ſawyers in Jamaica.

When the Ramdam time was over, and the dry time ſet in a little, the general to oblige Captain Swan, entertained him every night with dances. The dancing women that are purpoſely bred up to it, and make it their trade, I have already deſcribed. But beſide them all the women in general are much addicted to dancing. They dance forty or fifty at once; and that ſtanding all round in a ring, joined hand in hand, and ſinging and keeping time. But they never budge out of their places, nor make any motion till the chorus is ſung; then all at once they throw out one leg, and bawl out aloud; and ſometimes they only clap their hands when the chorus is ſung. Captain Swan to retaliate the general's favours ſent for his violins, and ſome that could

dance Engliſh dances; wherewith the general was well very pleaſed. They commonly ſpent the biggeſt part of the night in theſe ſort of paſtimes.

Among the reſt of our men that did uſe to dance thus before the general, there was one John Thacker, who was a ſeaman bred, and could neither write nor read; but had formerly learnt to dance in the muſic-houſes about Wapping: this man came into the South-ſeas with Captain Harris, and getting with him a good quantity of gold, and being a pretty good huſband of his ſhare, had ſtill ſome left, beſides what he laid out in a very good ſuit of cloaths. The general ſuppoſed by his garb and his dancing, that he had been of noble extraction; and to be ſatisfied of his quality, aſked of one of our men, if he did not gueſs aright of him? The man of whom the general aſked this queſtion told him he was much in the right; and that moſt of our ſhip's company were of the like extraction, eſpecially all thoſe that had fine cloaths; and that they came aboard only to ſee the world, having money enough to bear their expences whereever they came; but that for the reſt, thoſe that had but mean cloaths, they were only common ſeamen. After this, the general ſhewed a great deal of reſpect to all that had good cloaths, but eſpecially to John Thacker, till Captain Swan came to know the buſineſs, and marred all; undeceiving the general, and drubbing the nobleman: for he was ſo much incenſed againſt John Thacker, that he could never endure him afterwards, though the poor fellow knew nothing of the matter.

About the middle of November we began to work on our ſhip's bottom, which we found very much eaten with the worm: for this is a horrid place for worms. We did not know this till after we had been in the river a month; and then we found our canoes bottoms eaten like honey-combs; our bark, which was a ſingle bottom, was eaten through; ſo that ſhe could not ſwim. But our ſhip was ſheathed, and the worm came no further than the hair between the ſheathing plank, and the main plank. We did not miſtruſt the general's knavery till now: for when he came down to our ſhip, and found us ripping off the ſheathing plank, and ſaw the firm bottom underneath, he ſhook his head, and ſeemed to be diſcontented; ſaying, he did never ſee a ſhip with two bottoms before. We were told that in this place, where we now lay, a Dutch ſhip was eaten up in two months' time, and the general had all her guns; and it is probable he did expect to have had ours: which I do believe was the main reaſon that made him ſo forward in aſſiſting us to get our ſhip into the river, for when we came out again we had no aſſiſtance from him. We had no worms till we came to this place: for when we careened at the Marias, the worm had not touched us; nor at Guam, for there we ſcrubbed; nor after we came to the iſland Mindanao; for at the ſouth-eaſt end of the iſland we heeled and ſcrubbed alſo. The Mindanaians are ſo ſenſible of theſe deſtructive inſects, that whenever they come from ſea, they immediately hale their ſhip into a dry dock, and burn her bottom, and there let her lie dry till they are ready to go to ſea again. The canoes or prows they hale up dry, and never ſuffer them to be long in the water. It is reported that thoſe worms which get into a ſhip's bottom in the ſalt water, will die in the freſh water; and that the freſh water worms will die in ſalt water; but in the brackiſh water both ſorts will increaſe prodigiouſly. Now this place where we lay was ſometimes brackiſh water, yet commonly freſh; but what ſort of worm this was I know not. Some men are of opinion, that theſe worms breed in the plank; but I am perſuaded they breed in the ſea: for I have ſeen millions of them ſwimming in the water, particularly in the bay of Panama; for there Captain Davis, Captain Swan, and myſelf, and moſt of our men, did take notice of them divers times, which was the reaſon of our cleaning ſo often while we were there: and theſe were the largeſt worms that I did ever ſee. I have alſo

ſeen them in Virginia, and in the bay of Campeachy; in the latter of which places the worms eat prodigiouſly. They are always in bays, creeks, mouths of rivers, and ſuch places as are near the ſhore; being never found far out at ſea, that I could ever learn: yet a ſhip will bring them lodged in its plank for a great way.

Having thus ript off all our worm-eaten plank, and clapped on new, by the beginning of December 1686, our ſhip's bottom was ſheathed and tallowed, and the 10th day we went over the bar and took aboard the iron and lead that we could not ſell, and began to fill our water, and fetch aboard rice for our voyage: but Captain Swan remained aſhore ſtill, and was not yet determined when to ſail, or whither. But I am well aſſured that he did never intend to cruize about Manila, as his crew deſigned; for I did once aſk him, and he told me, that what he had already done of that kind he was forced to; but now being at liberty, he would never more engage in any ſuch deſign: for, ſaid he, there is no Prince on earth is able to wipe off the ſtain of ſuch actions. What other deſigns he had I know not, for he was commonly very croſs; yet he did never propoſe doing any thing elſe, but only ordered the proviſion to be got aboard in order to ſail; and I am confident if he had made a motion to go to any Engliſh factory, moſt of his men would have conſented to it, though probably ſome would have ſtill oppoſed it. However, his authority might ſoon have over-ſwayed thoſe that were refractory; for it was very ſtrange to ſee the awe that theſe men were in of him, for he puniſhed the moſt ſtubborn and daring of his men. Yet when we had brought the ſhip out into the road, they were not altogether ſo ſubmiſſive as while it lay in the river, though even then it was that he puniſhed Captain Teat.

I was at that time a hunting with the general for beef, which he had a long time promiſed us. But now I ſaw that there was no credit to be given to his word; for I was a week out with him and ſaw but four cows, which were ſo wild, that we did not get one. There were five or ſix more of our company with me; theſe who were young men, and had Dalilahs there, which made them fond of the place, all agreed with the general to tell Captain Swan that there were beeves enough, only they were wild. But I told him the truth, and adviſed him not to be too credulous of the general's promiſes. He ſeemed to be very angry, and ſtormed behind the general's back, but in his preſence was very mute, being a man of ſmall courage.

It was about the 20th day of December when we returned from hunting, and the general deſigned to go again to another place to hunt for beef; but he ſtaid till after Chriſtmas day, becauſe ſome of us deſigned to go with him; and Captain Swan had deſired all his men to be aboard that day, that we might keep it ſolemnly together: and accordingly he ſent aboard a buffalo the day before, that we might have a good dinner. So the 25th day about 10 o'clock, Captain Swan came aboard, and all his men who were aſhore: for you muſt underſtand that near a third of our men lived conſtantly aſhore, with their comrades and pagallies, and ſome with women ſervants, whom they hired of their maſters for concubines. Some of our men alſo had houſes, which they hired or bought, for houſes are very cheap, for five or ſix dollars. For many of them having more money then they knew what to do with, eaſed themſelves here of the trouble of telling it, ſpending it very laviſhly, their prodigality making the people impoſe upon them, to the making the reſt of us pay the dearer for what we bought, and to endangering the like impoſitions upon ſuch Engliſhmen as may come here hereafter. For the Mindanaians knew how to get our ſquires' gold from them (for we had no ſilver), and when our men wanted ſilver, they would change now and then an ounce of gold, and could get for it no more than ten or eleven dollars for a Mindanao ounce, which they would not part with again under eighteen dollars. Yet this,

this, and the great prices the Mindanaians ſet on their goods, were not the only way to leſſen their ſtocks; for their pagallies and comrades would often be begging ſomewhat of them, and our men were generous enough, and would beſtow half an ounce of gold at a time, in a ring for their pagallies, or in a ſilver wriſtband, or hoop to come about their arms, in hopes to get a night's lodging with them.

When we are all aboard on Chriſtmas day, Captain Swan and his two merchants; I did expect that Captain Swan would have made ſome propoſals, or have told us his deſigns; but he only dined and went aſhore again, without ſpeaking any thing of his mind. Yet even then I do think that he was driving on a deſign of going to one of the ſpice-iſlands to load with ſpice; for the young man before-mentioned, who I ſaid was ſent by his uncle, the ſultan of a ſpice-iſland near Ternate, to invite the Engliſh to their iſland, came aboard at this time, and after ſome private diſcourſe with Captain Swan, they both went aſhore together. This young man did not care that the Mindanaians ſhould be privy to what he ſaid. I have heard Captain Swan ſay that he offered to load his ſhip with ſpice, provided he would build a ſmall fort, and leave ſome men to ſecure the iſland from the Dutch; but I am ſince informed, that the Dutch have now got poſſeſſion of the iſland.

The next day after Chriſtmas, the general went away again, and five or ſix Engliſhmen with him, of whom I was one, under pretence of going a hunting; and we all went together by water in his prow, together with his women and ſervants, to the hunting-place. The general always carried his wives and children, his ſervants, his money and goods with him: ſo we all embarked in the morning, and arrived there before night. I have already deſcribed the faſhion of their prows, and the rooms made in them. We were entertained in the general's room or cabin. Our voyage was not ſo far, but that we reached our fort before night.

At this time one of the general's ſervants had offended, and was puniſhed in this manner: he was bound faſt flat on his belly, on a bamboo belonging to the prow, which was ſo near the water, that by the veſſel's motion, it frequently delved under water, and the man along with it; and ſometimes when hoiſted up, he had ſcarce time to blow before he would be carried under water again.

When we had rowed about two leagues, we entered a pretty large deep river, and rowed up a league further, the water ſalt all the way. There was a pretty large village, the houſes built after the country faſhion. We landed at this place, where there was a houſe made ready immediately for us. The general and his women lay at one end of the houſe, and we at the other end, and in the evening all the women in the village danced before the general.

While we ſtaid here, the general with his men went out every morning betimes, and did not return till four or five o'clock in the afternoon, and he would often compliment us, by telling us what good truſt and confidence he had in us, ſaying that he left his women and goods under our protection, and that he thought them as ſecure with us ſix, (for we had all our arms with us) as if he had left one hundred and nine of his own men to guard them. Yet for all this great confidence, he always left one of his principal men, for fear ſome of us ſhould be too familiar with his women.

They did never ſtir out of their own room when the general was at home, but as ſoon as he was gone out they would preſently come into our room, and ſit with us all day, and aſk a thouſand queſtions of us concerning our Engliſh women, and our cuſtoms. You may imagine that before this time ſome of us had attained ſo much of their language as to underſtand them, and give them anſwers to their demands. I remember that one day they aſked how many wives the King of England had? We told them

but

but one, and that our Engliſh laws did not allow of any more. They ſaid it was a ſtrange cuſtom that a man ſhould be confined to one woman; ſome of them ſaid it was a very bad law, but others again ſaid it was a good law; ſo there was a great diſpute among them about it. But one of the general's women ſaid poſitively, that our law was better than theirs, and made them all ſilent by the reaſon which ſhe gave for it. This was the War Queen, as we called her, for ſhe did always accompany the general whenever he was called out to engage his enemies, but the reſt did not.

By this familiarity among the women, and by often diſcourſing them, we came to be acquainted with their cuſtoms and privileges. The general lies with his wives by turns, but ſhe by whom he had the firſt ſon has a double portion of his company: for when it comes to her turn ſhe has him two nights, whereas the reſt have him but one. She with whom he is to lie at night, ſeems to have a particular reſpect ſhewn her by the reſt all the precedent day; and for a mark of diſtinction, wears a ſtriped ſilk handkerchief about her neck, by which we knew who was Queen that day.

We lay here about five or ſix days, but did never in all that time ſee the leaſt ſign of any beef, which was the buſineſs we came about, neither were we ſuffered to go out with the general to ſee the wild kine, but we wanted for nothing elſe: however this did not pleaſe us, and we often importuned him to let us go out among the cattle. At laſt he told us, that he had provided a jar of rice-drink to be merry with us, and after that we ſhould go with him.

This rice-drink is made of rice boiled and put into a jar, where it remains a long time ſteeping in water. I know not the manner of making it, but it is very ſtrong pleaſant drink. The evening when the general deſigned to be merry, he cauſed a jar of this drink to be brought into our room, and he began to drink firſt himſelf, then afterwards his men, ſo they took turns till they were all as drunk as ſwine, before they ſuffered us to drink; after they had enough then we drank, and they drank no more, for they will not drink after us. The general leaped about our room a little while, but having his load, ſoon went to ſleep.

The next day we went out with the general into the ſavannah, where we had near one hundred men making of a large pen to drive the cattle into: for that is the manner of their hunting, having no dogs. But I ſaw not above eight or ten cows, and thoſe as wild as deer, ſo that we got none this day: yet the next day ſome of his men brought in three heifers, which they killed in the ſavannah. With theſe we returned aboard, they being all that we got there.

Captain Swan was much vexed at the general's actions; for he promiſed to ſupply us with as much beef as we ſhould want, but now either could not or would not make good his promiſe. Beſide he failed to perform his promiſe in a bargain of rice, that we were to have for the iron which we ſold him, but he put us off ſtill from time to time, and would not come to any account. Neither were theſe all his tricks; for a little before his ſon was circumciſed, (of which I ſpake in the foregoing chapter,) he pretended a great ſtreight for money to defray the charges of that day, and therefore deſired Captain Swan to lend him about twenty ounces of gold; for he knew that Captain Swan had a conſiderable quantity of gold in his poſſeſſion, which the general thought was his own, but indeed he had none but what belonged to the merchants; however he lent it the general; but when he came to an account with Captain Swan, he told him, that it was uſual at ſuch ſolemn times to make preſents, and that he received it as a gift. He alſo demanded payment for the victuals that our captain and his men did eat at his houſe. Theſe things ſtartled Captain Swan, yet how to help himſelf he knew not. But all this, with other inward troubles, lay hard on our captain's

tain's ſpirits, and put him very much out of humour: for his own company were preſſing him every day to be gone, becauſe now was the heighth of the eaſterly monſoon, the only wind to carry us farther into the Indies.

About this time ſome of our men, who were weary and tired with wandering, ran away into the country and abſconded, they being aſſiſted, as was generally believed, by Raja Laut. There were others alſo, who fearing we ſhould not go to an Engliſh port, bought a canoe, and deſigned to go in her to Borneo: for not long before the Mindanao veſſel came from thence, and brought a letter directed to the chief of the Engliſh factory at Mindanao. This letter the general would have Captain Swan have opened, but he thought it might come from ſome of the Eaſt India merchants whoſe affairs he would not intermeddle with, and therefore did not open it. I ſince met with Captain Bowry at Achin, and telling him this ſtory, he ſaid that he ſent that letter, ſuppoſing that the Engliſh were ſettled there at Mindanao; and by this letter we alſo thought that there was an Engliſh factory at Borneo, ſo here was a miſtake on both ſides. But this canoe wherewith ſome of them thought to go to Borneo, Captain Swan took from them, and threatened the undertakers very hardly; however this did not ſo far diſcourage them, for they ſecretly bought another; but their deſigns taking air, they were again fruſtrated by Captain Swan.

The whole crew were at this time under a general diſaffection, and full of very different projects, and all for want of action. The main diviſion was between thoſe that had money and thoſe that had none. There was a great difference in the humours of theſe; for they that had money lived aſhore, and did not care for leaving Mindanao, whilſt thoſe that were poor lived aboard, and urged Captain Swan to go to ſea. Theſe began to be unruly as well as diſſatisfied, and ſent aſhore the merchants' iron to ſell for rack and honey to make punch, wherewith they grew drunk and quarrelſome; which diſorderly actions deterred me from going aboard, for I did ever abhor drunkenneſs, which now our men that were aboard abandoned themſelves wholly to.

Yet theſe diſorders might have been cruſhed if Captain Swan had uſed his authority to ſuppreſs them: but he with his merchants living always aſhore, there was no command, and therefore every man did what he pleaſed, and encouraged each other in his villanies. Now Mr. Harthop, who was one of Captain Swan's merchants, did very much importune him to ſettle his reſolutions, and declare his mind to his men, which at laſt he conſented to do; therefore he gave warning to all his men to come aboard the 13th day of January 1687.

We did all earneſtly expect to hear what Captain Swan would propoſe, and therefore were very willing to go aboard; but unluckily for him, two days before this meeting was to be, Captain Swan ſent aboard his gunner, to fetch ſomething aſhore out of his cabin. The gunner rummaging to find what he was ſent for, among other things took out the captain's journal from America to the iſland Guam, and laid down by him. This journal was taken up by one John Read, a Briſtol man, whom I have mentioned in my fourth chapter. He was a pretty ingenious young man, and of a very civil carriage and behaviour. He was alſo accounted a good artiſt, and kept a journal, and was now prompted by his curioſity to peep into Captain Swan's journal to ſee how it agreed with his own; a thing very uſual among the ſeamen that keep journals, when they have an opportunity, and eſpecially young men who have no great experience. At the firſt opening of the book he lighted on a place in which Captain Swan had inveighed bitterly againſt moſt of his men, eſpecially againſt another John Reed a Jamaica man. This was ſuch ſtuff as he did not ſeek after: but hitting ſo pat on this ſubject his curioſity led him to pry farther, and therefore while the gunner was buſy he conveyed

veyed the book away to look over it at his leiſure. The gunner having diſpatched his buſineſs, locked up the cabin-door, not miſſing the book, and went aſhore. Then John Reed ſhewed it to his nameſake and to the reſt that were aboard, who were by this time the biggeſt part of them ripe for miſchief; only wanting ſome fair pretence to ſet themſelves to work about it. Therefore looking on what was written in this journal to be matter ſufficient for them to accompliſh their ends, Captain Teat, who as I ſaid before had been abuſed by Captain Swan, laid hold on this opportunity to be revenged for his injuries; and aggravated the matter to the heighth, perſuading the men to turn out Captain Swan from being commander, in hopes to have commanded the ſhip himſelf. As for the ſeamen they were eaſily perſuaded to any thing, for they were quite tired with this long and tedious voyage, and moſt of them deſpaired of ever getting home, and therefore did not care what they did, or whither they went. It was only want of being buſied in ſome action that made them ſo uneaſy; therefore they conſented to what Teat propoſed, and immediately all that were aboard bound themſelves by oath to turn Captain Swan out, and to conceal this deſign from thoſe that were aſhore until the ſhip was under ſail; which would have been preſently if the ſurgeon or his mate had been aboard, but they were both aſhore, and they thought it no prudence to go to ſea without a ſurgeon; therefore the next morning they ſent aſhore one John Cookworthy to haſten off either the ſurgeon or his mate, by pretending that one of the men in the night broke his leg by falling into the hold. The ſurgeon told him that he intended to come aboard the next day with the captain, and would not come before, but ſent his mate Herman Coppinger.

This man ſometime before this was ſleeping at his pagally's and a ſnake twiſted himſelf about his neck, but afterwards went away without hurting him. In this country it is uſual to have the ſnakes come into the houſes and into the ſhips too, for we had ſeveral came aboard our ſhip when we lay in the river. But to proceed; Herman Coppinger provided to go aboard, and the next day being the time appointed for Captain Swan and all his men to meet aboard, I went aboard with him, neither of us diſtruſted what was deſigning by thoſe aboard till we came thither; then we found it was only a trick to get the ſurgeon off; for now, having obtained their deſires, the canoe was ſent aſhore again immediately, to deſire as many as they could meet to come aboard, but not to tell the reaſon leſt Captain Swan ſhould come to hear of it.

The thirteenth day in the morning they weighed, and fired a gun; Captain Swan immediately ſent aboard Mr. Nelly, who was now his chief mate, to ſee what the matter was; to him they told all their grievances, and ſhewed him the journal. He perſuaded them to ſtay till the next day for an anſwer from Captain Swan and the merchants; ſo they came to an anchor again, and the next morning Mr. Harthop came aboard; he perſuaded them to be reconciled again, or at leaſt to ſtay and get more rice, but they were deaf to it, and weighed again while he was aboard. Yet at Mr. Harthop's perſuaſion they promiſed to ſtay till two o'clock in the afternoon for Captain Swan, and the reſt of the men if they would come aboard; but they ſuffered no man to go aſhore, except one William Williams that had a wooden leg, and another that was a lawyer.

If Captain Swan had yet come aboard, he might have daſhed all their deſigns; but he neither came himſelf, as a captain of any prudence and courage would have done, nor ſent till the time was expired. So we left Captain Swan and about thirty-ſix men aſhore in the city, and ſix or eight that run away; and about ſixteen we had buried there, the moſt of which died by poiſon. The natives are very expert at poiſoning, and do it upon ſmall occaſions; nor did our men want for giving offence, through their general rogueries, and ſometimes by dallying too familiarly with their women, even before

their faces. Some of their poiſons are ſlow and lingering, for we had ſome now aboard who were poiſoned there, but died not till ſome months after.

CHAP. IV. — *They depart from the River of Mindanao. — Of the Time loſt or gained in ſailing round the World: with a Caution to Seamen about the Allowance they are to take for the Difference of the Sun's Declination. — The South Coaſt of Mindanao. — Chambongo Town and Harbour, with its neighbouring Quays. — Green Turtle. — Ruins of a Spaniſh Fort. — The Weſtermoſt Point of Mindanao. — Two Prows of the Sologues laden from Manila. — An Iſle to the Weſt of Sebo. — Walking Canes. — Iſle of Batts, very large; and numerous Turtle and Manatee. — A dangerous Shoal. — They ſail by Panay belonging to the Spaniards, and others of the Philippine Iſlands. — Iſle of Mindora. — Two Barks taken. — A further Account of the Iſle Luconia, and the City and Harbour of Manila. — They go off Pulo Condore to lie there. — The Shoals of Pracel, &c. — Pulo Condore. — The Tar Tree. — The Mango. — Grape Tree. — The wild or Baſtard Nutmeg. — Their Animals. — Of the Migration of the Turtle from Place to Place. — Of the commodious Situation of Pulo Condore; its Water, and its Cochin-Chineſe Inhabitants. — Of the Malayan Tongue. — The Cuſtom of proſtituting their Women in theſe Countries, and in Guinea. — The Idolatry here, at Tunquin, and among the Chineſe Seamen, and of a Proceſſion at Fort St. George. — They refit their Ship. — Two of them die of the Poiſon they took at Mindanao. — They take in Water and a Pilot for the Bay of Siam. — Pulo Uby; and Point of Cambodia. — Two Cambodian Veſſels. — Iſles in the Bay of Siam. — The tight Veſſels and Seamen of the Kingdom of Champa. — Storms. — A Chineſe Jonk from Palimbam in Sumatra. — They come again to Pulo Condore. — A bloody Fray with a Malayan Veſſel. — The Surgeon's and the Author's Deſires of leaving their Crew.*

THE 14th day of January 1687, at three o'clock in the afternoon, we ſailed from the river of Mindanao, deſigning to cruiſe before Manila.

It was during our ſtay at Mindanao, that we were firſt made ſenſible of the change of time in the courſe of our voyage: for having travelled ſo far weſtward, keeping the ſame courſe with the ſun, we muſt conſequently have gained ſomething inſenſibly in the length of the particular days, but have loſt in the tale, the bulk or number of the days or hours. According to the different longitudes of England and Mindanao this iſle being weſt from the Lizard, by common computation, about 210 degrees, the difference of time at our arrival at Mindanao ought to be about fourteen hours; and ſo much we ſhould have anticipated our reckoning, having gained it by bearing the ſun company. Now the natural day in every particular place muſt be conſonant to itſelf; but this going about with, or againſt the ſun's courſe, will of neceſſity make a difference in the calculation of the civil day beween any two places. Accordingly at Mindanao and all other places in the Eaſt Indies we found them reckoning a day before us, both natives and Europeans; for the Europeans coming eaſtward by the Cape of Good Hope, in a courſe contrary to the ſun and us, wherever we met they were a full day before us in their accounts. So among the Indian Mahometans here, their Friday, the day of their Sultan's going to their moſques, was Thurſday with us, though it were Friday alſo with thoſe who came eaſtward from Europe. Yet at the Ladrone iſlands we found the Spaniards of Guam keeping the ſame computation with ourſelves; the reaſon of which I take to be that they ſettled that colony by a courſe weſtward from Spain; the Spaniards going firſt to America, and thence to the Ladrones and Philippines. But how the reckoning was at Manila and the reſt of the Spaniſh colonies in the Philippine

iſlands, I know not; whether they keep it as they brought it, or corrected it by the accounts of the natives, and of the Portugueſe, Dutch and Engliſh, coming the contrary way from Europe.

One great reaſon why ſeamen ought to keep the difference of time as exact as they can, is that they may be the more exact in the latitudes. For our tables of the ſun's declination, being calculated for the meridians of the places in which they were made, differ about twelve minutes from thoſe parts of the world that lie on their oppoſite meridians, in the months of March and September; and in proportion to the ſun's declination, at other times of the year alſo. And ſhould they run farther as we did, the difference would ſtill increaſe upon them, and be an occaſion of great errors. Yet even able ſeamen in theſe voyages are hardly made ſenſible of this, though ſo neceſſary to be obſerved, for want of duly attending to the reaſon of it, as it happened among thoſe of our crew; who after we had paſt 180 degrees, began to decreaſe the difference of declination, whereas they ought ſtill to have increaſed it, for it all the way increaſed upon us.

We had the wind at north-north-eaſt, fair clear weather, and a briſk gale. We coaſted to the weſtward, on the ſouth ſide of the iſland of Mindanao, keeping within four or five leagues of the ſhore. The land from hence trends away weſt by ſouth. It is of a good height by the ſea, and very woody, and in the country we ſaw high hills.

The next day we were abreaſt of Cambongo; a town in this iſland, and thirty leagues from the river of Mindanao. Here is ſaid to be a good harbour, and a great ſettlement, with plenty of beef and buffaloe. It is reported that the Spaniards were formerly fortified here alſo: there are two ſhoals lie off this place, two or three leagues from the ſhore. From hence the land is more low and even; yet there are ſome hills in the country.

About ſix leagues before we came to the weſt end of the iſland Mindanao, we fell in with a great many a ſmall low iſlands or keys, and about two or three leagues to the ſouthward of theſe keys, there is a long iſland ſtretching north-eaſt, and ſouth-weſt, about twelve leagues. This iſland is low by the ſea on the north ſide, and has a ridge of hills in the middle, running from one end to the other. Between this iſle and the ſmall keys, there is a good large channel: among the keys alſo there is a good depth of water, and a violent tide; but on what point of the compaſs it flows, I know not, nor how much it riſeth and falls.

The ſeventeenth day we anchored on the eaſt ſide of all theſe keys, in eight fathom water, clean ſand. Here are plenty of green turtle, whoſe fleſh is as ſweet as any in the Weſt Indies: but they are very ſhy. A little to the weſtward of theſe keys on the iſland Mindanao, we ſaw abundance of cocoa-nut trees: therefore we ſent our canoa aſhore, thinking to find inhabitants, but found none, nor ſign of any; but great tracks of hogs, and great cattle; and cloſe by the ſea there were ruins of an old fort; the walls thereof were of a good height, built with ſtone and lime, and by the workmanſhip ſeemed to be Spaniſh. From this place the land trends weſt-north-weſt, and it is of an indifferent height by the ſea. It runs on this point of the compaſs four or five leagues, and then the land trends away north-north-weſt, five or ſix leagues farther, making with many bluff points.

We weighed again the fourteenth day, and went through between the keys; but met ſuch uncertain tides, that we were forced to anchor again. The twenty-ſecond day we got about the weſtermoſt point of all Mindanao, and ſtood to the northward, plying under the ſhore, and having the wind at north-north-eaſt a freſh gale.

gale. As we ſailed along further, we found the land to trend north-north-eaſt. On this part of the iſland the land is high by the ſea, with full bluff points, and very woody. There are ſome ſmall ſandy bays, which afford ſtreams of freſh water.

Here we met with two prows belonging to the Sologues, one of the Mindanaian nations before mentioned. They came from Manila laden with ſilks and calicoes. We kept on this weſtern part of the iſland ſteering northerly, till we came abreaſt of ſome other of the Philippine Iſlands, that lay to the northward of us, then ſteered away towards them; but ſtill keeping on the weſt ſide of them, and we had the winds at north-north-eaſt.

The third of February we anchored in a good bay on the weſt ſide of the iſland, in latitude nine degrees, fifty-five minutes, where we had thirteen fathom water, good ſoft oaze. This iſland hath no name that we could find in any book, but lieth on the weſt ſide of the iſland Sebo. It is about eight or ten leagues long, mountainous and woody. At this place Captain Read, who was the ſame Captain Swan had ſo much railed againſt in his journal, and was now made captain in his room (as Captain Teat was made maſter, and Mr. Henry More quarter-maſter,) ordered the carpenters to cut down our quarter deck to make the ſhip ſnug, and the fitter for ſailing. When that was done we heeled her, ſcrubbed her bottom, and tallowed it. Then we filled all our water, for here is a delicate ſmall run of water.

The land was pretty low in this bay, the mould black and fat, and the trees of ſeveral kinds, very thick and tall. In ſome places we found plenty of canes, ſuch as we uſe in England for walking canes. Theſe were ſhort jointed, not above two feet and a half, or two feet ten inches the longeſt, and moſt of them not above two feet. They run along on the ground like a vine; or taking hold of their trees, they climb up to their very tops. They are fifteen or twenty fathoms long, and much of a bigneſs from the root, till within five or ſix fathoms of the end. They are of a pale green colour, clothed over with a coat of ſhort thick hairy ſubſtance, of a dun colour; but it comes off by only drawing the cane through your hand. We did cut many of them, and they proved very tough heavy canes.

We ſaw no houſes, nor ſign of inhabitants; but while we lay here, there was a canoa with ſix men came into this bay; but whither they were bound, or from whence they came, I know not. They were Indians, and we could not underſtand them.

In the middle of this bay, about a mile from the ſhore, there is a ſmall low woody iſland, not above a mile in circumference; our ſhip rode about a mile from it. This iſland was the habitation of an incredible number of great bats, with bodies as big as ducks, or large fowl, and with vaſt wings: for I ſaw at Mindanao one of this ſort, and I judge that the wings ſtretched out in length, could not be leſs aſunder than ſeven or eight feet from tip to tip; for it was much more than any of us could fathom with our arms extended to the utmoſt. The wings are for ſubſtance like thoſe of other bats, of a dun or mouſe colour. The ſkin or leather of them hath ribs running along it, and draws up in three or four folds; and at the joints of thoſe ribs and the extremities of the wings, there are ſharp and crooked claws, by which they may hang on any thing. In the evening as ſoon as the ſun was ſet, theſe creatures would begin to take their flight from this iſland, in ſwarms like bees, directing their flight over to the main iſland; and whither afterwards I know not. Thus we ſhould ſee them riſing up from the iſland till night hindred our ſight: and in the morning as ſoon as it was

light, we ſhould ſee them returning again like a cloud, to the ſmall iſland, till ſun riſing. This courſe they keep conſtantly while we lay here, affording us every morning and evening an hour's diverſion in gazing at them, and talking about them; but our curioſity did not prevail with us to go aſhore to them, ourſelves and canoas being all the day time taken up in buſineſs about our ſhip. At this iſle alſo we found plenty of turtle and manatee, but no fiſh.

We ſtayed here till the tenth of February, 1687, and then having completed our buſineſs, we ſailed hence with the wind at north. But going out we ſtruck on a rock where we lay two hours: it was very ſmooth water, and the tide of flood, or elſe we ſhould there have loſt our ſhip. We ſtruck off a great piece of our rudder, which was all the damage that we received, but we more narrowly miſt looſing our ſhips this time, than in any other in the whole voyage. This is a very dangerous ſhoal, becauſe it does not break, unleſs probably it may appear in foul weather. It lies about two miles to the weſtward, without the ſmall Batt Iſland. Here we found the tide of flood ſetting to the ſouthward, and the ebb to the northward.

After we were paſt this ſhoal, we coaſted along by the reſt of the Philippine iſlands, keeping on the weſt ſide of them. Some of them appeared to be very mountainous dry land. We ſaw many fires in the night as we paſſed by Panay, a great iſland ſettled by Spaniards: and by the fires up and down it ſeems to be well ſettled by them; for this is a Spaniſh cuſtom, whereby they give notice of any danger or the like from ſea, and it is probable they had ſeen our ſhip the day before. This is an unfrequented coaſt, and it is rare to have any ſhip ſeen there. We touched not at Panay, nor any where elſe, though we ſaw a great many ſmall iſlands to the weſtward of us, and ſome ſhoals, but none of them laid down in our draughts.

The 18th day of February we anchored at the north-weſt end of the iſland Mindora, in ten fathoms water, about three quarters of a mile from the ſhore. Mindora is a large iſland, the middle of it lying in latitude thirteen degrees, about forty leagues long, ſtretching north-weſt and ſouth-eaſt. It is high and mountainous, and not very woody. At this place where we anchored, the land was neither very high nor low. There was a ſmall brook of water, and the land by the ſea was very woody, and the trees high and tall; but a league or two farther in the woods are very thin and ſmall. Here we ſaw great tracks of hog and beef, and we ſaw ſome of each, and hunted them; but they were wild, and we could kill none.

While we were here, there was a canoe with four Indians came from Manila. They were very ſhy of us a while: but at laſt, hearing us ſpeak Spaniſh, they came to us, and told us, that they were going to a friar, that lived at an Indian village towards the ſouth-eaſt end of the iſland. They told us alſo, that the harbour of Manila is ſeldom or never without twenty or thirty ſail of veſſels, moſt Chineſe, ſome Portugueſe, and ſome few the Spaniards have of their own. They ſaid, that when they had done their buſineſs with the friar they would return to Manila, and hope to be back again at this place in four days time. We told them that we came for a trade with the Spaniards at Manila, and ſhould be glad if they would carry a letter to ſome merchant there, which they promiſed to do. But this was only a pretence of ours, to get out of them what intelligence we could as to their ſhipping, ſtrength, and the like, under colour of ſeeking a trade; for our buſineſs was to pillage. Now, if we had really deſigned to have traded there, this was as fair an opportunity as men could have deſired: for theſe men could have brought us to the friar

friar that they were going to, and a ſmall preſent to him would have engaged him to do any kindneſs for us in the way of trade; for the Spaniſh governors do not allow of it, and we muſt trade by ſtealth.

The twenty-firſt day we went from hence with the wind at eaſt-north-eaſt, a ſmall gale. The twenty-third day in the morning we were fair by the ſouth-eaſt end of the iſland Luconia, the place that had been ſo long deſired by us. We preſently ſaw a ſail coming from the northward, and making after her we took her in two hours time. She was a Spaniſh bark, that came from a place called Pangaſanam, a ſmall town on the north end of Luconia, as they told us; probably the ſame with Pongaſſiny, which lies on a bay at the north-weſt ſide of the iſland. She was bound to Manila, but had no goods on board; and therefore we turned her away.

The twenty-third we took another Spaniſh veſſel that came from the ſame place as the other. She was laden with rice and cotton-cloth, and bound for Manila alſo. Theſe goods were purpoſely for the Acapulco ſhip: the rice was for the men to live on while they lay there and in their return, and the cotton-cloth was to make ſail. The maſter of this prize was boatſwain of the Acapulco ſhip which eſcaped us at Guam and was now at Manila. It was this man that gave us the relation of what ſtrength it had, how they were afraid of us there, and of the accident that happened to them, as is before mentioned in the tenth chapter. We took theſe two veſſels within ſeven or eight leagues of Manila.

Luconia I have ſpoken of already; but I ſhall now add this further account of it. It is a great iſland, taking up between ſix and ſeven degrees of latitude in length, and its breadth near the middle is about ſixty leagues, but the ends are narrow. The north end lies in about nineteen degrees north latitude, and the ſouth end is about twelve degrees thirty minutes. This great iſland hath abundance of ſmall keys or iſlands lying about it, eſpecially at the north end. The ſouth ſide fronts towards the reſt of the Philippine iſlands: of theſe that are its neareſt neighbours, Mindora, lately mentioned, is the chief, and gives name to the ſea or ſtreight that parts it and the other iſlands from Luconia, being called the ſtreights of Mindora.

The body of the iſland Luconia is compoſed of many ſpacious plain ſavannahs, and large mountains. The north end ſeems to be more plain and even, I mean freer from hills than the ſouth end; but the land is all along of a good height. It does not appear ſo flouriſhing and green as ſome of the other iſlands in this range; eſpecially that of St. John, Mindanao, Bat Iſland, &c. yet in ſome places it is very woody. Some of the mountains of this iſland afford gold, and the ſavannahs are well ſtocked with herds of cattle, eſpecially buffaloes. Theſe cattle are in great plenty all over the Eaſt Indies; and therefore it is very probable that there were many of theſe here even before the Spaniards came hither. But now there are alſo plenty of other cattle, as I have been told, as bullocks, horſes, ſheep, goats, hogs, &c. brought hither by the Spaniards.

It is pretty well inhabited with Indians, moſt of them, if not all, under the Spaniards, who now are maſters of it. The native Indians do live together in towns; and they have prieſts among them to inſtruct them in the Spaniſh religion.

Manila, the chief, or perhaps the only city, lies at the foot of a ridge of high hills, facing upon a ſpacious harbour near the ſouth-weſt point of the iſland, in about the latitude of fourteen degrees north. It is environed with a high, ſtrong wall, and very well fortified with forts and breaſt-works. The houſes are large, ſtrongly built, and covered with pantile. The ſtreets are large and pretty regular; with a parade in the midſt after the Spaniſh faſhion. There are a great many fair buildings, beſides churches and other religious houſes; of which there are not a few.

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The harbour is ſo large, that ſome hundreds of ſhips may ride here; and is never without many, both of their own and ſtrangers. I have already given you an account of the two ſhips going and coming between this place and Acapulco. Beſides them, they have ſome ſmall veſſels of their own and they do allow the Portugueſe to trade here, but the Chineſe are the chiefeſt merchants, and they drive the greateſt trade; for they have commonly twenty, thirty, or forty jonks in the harbour at a time, and a great many merchants conſtantly reſiding in the city, beſides ſhopkeepers and handy-craftſmen in abundance. Small veſſels run up near the town; but the Acapulco ſhips, and others of greater burden, lie a league ſhort of it, where there is a ſtrong fort alſo, and ſtore-houſes to put goods in.

I had the major part of this relation, two or three years after this time, from Mr. Coppinger, our ſurgeon; for he made a voyage hither from Porto Nova, a town on the coaſt of Coromandel, in a Portugueſe ſhip, as I think. Here he found ten or twelve of Captain Swan's men; ſome of thoſe that we left at Mindanao. For after we came from thence, they bought a prow there, by the inſtigation of an Iriſhman, who went by the name of John Fitz-Gerald, a perſon that ſpoke Spaniſh very well; and ſo in this their prow they came hither. They had been here but eighteen months when Mr. Coppinger arrived here, and Mr. Fitz-Gerald had in this time gotten a Spaniſh Muſteſa woman to wife, and a good dowry with her. He then profeſſed phyſic and ſurgery, and was highly eſteemed among the Spaniards for his ſuppoſed knowledge in thoſe arts; for being always troubled with ſore ſhins while he was with us, he kept ſome plaiſters and ſalves by him; and with theſe he ſet up upon his bare natural ſtock of knowledge, and his experience in kibes. But then he had a very great ſtock of confidence withal to help out the other, and being an Iriſh Roman Catholic, and having the Spaniſh language, he had a great advantage of all his conſorts; and he alone lived well there of them all. We were not within ſight of this town, but I was ſhewn the hills that overlooked it, and drew a draft of them as we lay off at ſea; which I have cauſed to be engraven among a few others that I took myſelf.

The time of the year being now too far ſpent to do any thing here, it was concluded to ſail from hence to Pulo Condore, a little parcel of iſlands, on the coaſt of Cambodia, and carry this prize with us, and there careen if we could find any convenient place for it, deſigning to return hither again by the latter end of May, and wait for the Acapulco ſhip that comes about that time. By our drafts (which we were guided by, being ſtrangers to theſe parts,) this ſeemed to us then to be a place out of the way, where we might lie ſnug for a while, and wait the time of returning for our prey. For we avoided as much as we could the going to lie by at any great place of commerce, leſt we ſhould become too much expoſed, and perhaps be aſſaulted by a force greater than our own.

So having ſet our priſoners aſhore, we ſailed from Luconia the 26th day of February, with the wind eaſt-north-eaſt, and fair weather, and a briſk gale. We were in latitude fourteen degrees north when we began to ſteer away for Pulo Condore, and we ſteered ſouth by weſt. In our way thither we went pretty near the ſhoals of Pracel, and other ſhoals which are very dangerous. We were very much afraid of them, but eſcaped them without ſo much as ſeeing them, only at the very ſouth end of the Pracel ſhoals we ſaw three little ſandy iſlands or ſpots of ſand ſtanding juſt above water within a mile of us.

It was the 13th day of March before we came in ſight of Pulo Condore, or the iſland Condore, as Pulo ſignifies. The 14th day about noon we anchored on the north ſide of the iſland, againſt a ſandy bay, two miles from the ſhore, in ten fathoms clean hard

ſand,

ſand, with both ſhip and prize. Pulo Condore is the principal of a heap of iſlands, and the only inhabited one of them. They lie in latitude eight degrees forty minutes north, and about twenty leagues ſouth, and by eaſt from the mouth of the river of Cambodia. Theſe iſlands lie ſo near together, that at a diſtance they appear to be but one iſland.

Two of theſe iſlands are pretty large, and of a good height; they may be ſeen fourteen or fifteen leagues at ſea; the reſt are but little ſpots. The biggeſt of the two (which is the inhabited one) is about four or five leagues long, and lies eaſt and weſt. It is not above three miles broad at the broadeſt place; in moſt places not above a mile wide. The other large iſland is about three miles long, and half a mile wide. This iſland ſtretcheth north and ſouth. It is ſo conveniently placed at the weſt end of the biggeſt iſland, that between both there is formed a very commodious harbour. The entrance of this harbour is on the north ſide, where the two iſlands are near a mile aſunder. There are three or four ſmall keys, and a good deep channel between them and the biggeſt iſland. Towards the ſouth end of the harbour the two iſlands do in a manner cloſe up, leaving only a ſmall paſſage for boats and canoes. There are no more iſlands on the north ſide, but five or ſix on the ſouth ſide of the great iſland.

The mould of theſe iſlands for the biggeſt part is blackiſh, and pretty deep, only the hills are ſomewhat ſtony. The eaſtern part of the biggeſt iſland is ſandy, yet all clothed with trees of divers ſorts. The trees do not grow ſo thick as I have ſeen them in ſome places, but they are generally large and tall, and fit for any uſe.

There is one ſort of tree much larger than any other on this iſland, and which I have not ſeen any where elſe. It is about three or four feet diameter in the body, from whence is drawn a ſort of clammy juice, which being boiled a little becomes perfect tar; and if you boil it much it will become hard as pitch. It may be put to either uſe: we uſed it both ways, and found it to be very ſerviceable. The way that they get this juice, is by cutting a great gap horizontally in the body of the tree, half through and about a foot from the ground; and then cutting the upper part of the body aſlope inwardly downward, till in the middle of the tree it meets with the traverſe cutting or plain. In this plain horizontal ſemicircular ſtump they make a hollow like a baſon, that may contain a quart or two. Into this hole the juice which drains from the wounded upper part of the tree falls, from whence you muſt empty it every day. It will run thus for ſome months, and then dry away, and the tree will recover again.

The fruit trees that nature hath beſtowed on theſe iſles are mangoes, and trees bearing a ſort of grape, and other trees bearing a kind of wild or baſtard nutmegs. Theſe all grow wild in the woods, and in very great plenty.

The mangoes here grow on trees as big as apple trees: thoſe at Fort St. George are not ſo large. The fruit of theſe is as big as a ſmall peach; but long and ſmaller towards the top: it is of a yellowiſh colour when ripe; it is very juicy, and of a pleaſant ſmell, and delicate taſte. When the mango is young they cut them in two pieces and pickle them with ſalt and vinegar, in which they put ſome cloves of garlick. This is an excellent ſauce, and much eſteemed; it is called mango-achar. Achar, I preſume, ſignifies ſauce. They make in the Eaſt Indies, eſpecially at Siam and Pegu, ſeveral ſorts of achar, as of the young tops of bamboos, &c. Bamboo-achar and mango-achar are moſt uſed. The mangoes were ripe when we were there, as were alſo the reſt of theſe fruits, and they have then ſo delicate a fragrancy, that we could ſmell them out in the thick woods if we had but the wind of them, while we were a good way from them, and could not ſee them; and we generally found them out this way.

Mangoes are common in many places of the Eaſt Indies; but I did never know any grow wild only at this place. Theſe, though not ſo big as thoſe I have ſeen at Achin, and at Maderas or Fort St. George, are yet every whit as pleaſant as the beſt ſort of their garden mangoes.

The grape tree grows with a ſtrait body, of a diameter about a foot or more, and hath but few limbs or boughs. The fruit grows in cluſters, all about the body of the tree, like the jack, durian, and cacao fruits. There are of them both red and white. They are much like ſuch grapes as grow on our vines, both in ſhape and colour; and they are of a very pleaſant winy taſte. I never ſaw theſe but on the two biggeſt of theſe iſlands; the reſt had no tar trees, mangoes, grape trees, nor wild nutmegs.

The wild nutmeg tree is as big as a walnut tree; but it does not ſpread ſo much. The boughs are groſs, and the fruit grows among the boughs, as the walnut and other fruits. This nutmeg is much ſmaller than the true nutmeg, and longer alſo. It is incloſed with a thin ſhell, and a ſort of mace encircling the nut within the ſhell. This baſtard nutmeg is ſo much like the true nutmeg in ſhape, that at our firſt arrival here we thought it to be the true one; but it hath no manner of ſmell nor taſte.

The animals of theſe iſlands are ſome hogs, lizards, and guanoes; and ſome of thoſe creatures mentioned in Chap. XI. which are like, but much bigger than the guanoes.

Here are many ſorts of birds, as parrots, paroquets, doves, and pigeons. Here are alſo a ſort of wild cocks and hens: they are much like our tame fowl of that kind, but a great deal leſs, for they are about the bigneſs of a crow. The cocks do crow like ours, but much more ſmall and ſhrill; and by their crowing we do firſt find them out in the woods where we ſhoot them. Their fleſh is very white and ſweet.

There are a great many limpits and muſcles, and plenty of green turtle.

And upon this mention of turtle again, I think it not amiſs to add ſome reaſons to ſtrengthen the opinion that I have given concerning theſe creatures removing from place to place. I have ſaid in Chap. V. that they leave their common feeding places, and go to places a great way from thence, to lay, as particularly to the iſland Aſcenſion. Now I have diſcourſed with ſome ſince that ſubject was printed, who are of opinion, that when the laying time is over they never go from thence, but lie ſomewhere in the ſea about the iſland, which I think is very improbable; for there can be food for them there, as I could ſoon make appear; as particularly from hence, that the ſea about the iſle of Aſcenſion is ſo deep as to admit of no anchoring but at one place, where there is no ſign of graſs; and we never bring up with our ſounding lead any graſs or weeds out of very deep ſeas, but ſand, or the like, only. But if this be granted, that there is food for them, yet I have a great deal of reaſon to believe that the turtle go from hence; for after the laying time you ſhall never ſee them, and whereever turtle are, you will ſee them riſe and hold their head above water to breathe, once in ſeven or eight minutes, or at longeſt in ten or twelve. And if any man does but conſider how fiſh take their certain ſeaſons of the year to go from one ſea to another, this would not ſeem ſtrange; even fowls alſo having their ſeaſons to remove from one place to another.

Theſe iſlands are pretty well watered with ſmall brooks of freſh water, that run fluſh into the ſea for ten months in the year. The latter end of March they begin to dry away, and in April you ſhall have none in the brooks but what is lodged in deep holes; but you may dig wells in ſome places. In May, when the rain comes, the land is again repleniſhed with water, and the brooks run out into the ſea.

Theſe iſlands lie very commodiouſly in the way to and from Japan, China, Manila,

Tunquin, Cochin-China, and in general all this moſt eaſterly coaſt of the Indian continent, whether you go through the ſtreights of Malacca, or the ſtreights of Sunda, between Sumatra and Java; and one of them you muſt paſs in the common way from Europe, or other parts of the Eaſt Indies; unleſs you mean to fetch a great compaſs round moſt of the Eaſt India iſlands, as we did. Any ſhip in diſtreſs may be refreſhed and recruited here very conveniently; and, beſides ordinary accommodations, be furniſhed with maſts, yards, pitch, and tar, It might alſo be a convenient place to uſher in a commerce with the neighbouring country of Cochin-China, and forts might be built to ſecure a factory; particularly at the harbour, which is capable of being well fortified.

The inhabitants of this iſland are by nation Cochin-Chineſe, as they told us; for one of them ſpoke good Malayan, which language we learnt a ſmattering of, and ſome of us ſo as to ſpeak it pretty well, while we lay at Mindanao; and this is the common tongue of trade and commerce (though it be not in ſeveral of them the native language) in moſt of the Eaſt India iſlands, being the *lingua Franca*, as it were, of theſe parts. I believe it is the vulgar tongue at Malacca, Sumatra, Java, and Borneo; but at Celebes, the Philippine iſlands, and the ſpice-iſlands, it ſeems borrowed for the carrying on of trade.

The inhabitants of Pulo Condore are but a ſmall people in ſtature, well enough ſhaped, and of a darker colour than the Mindanayans. They are pretty long viſaged, their hair is black and ſtraight, their eyes are but ſmall and black, their noſes of a mean bigneſs and pretty high, their lips thin, their teeth white, and little mouths. They are very civil people, but extraordinary poor. Their chiefeſt employment is to draw the juice of thoſe trees that I have deſcribed to make tar. They preſerve it in wooden troughs; and when they have their cargo, they tranſport it to Cochin-China, their mother country. Some others of them employ themſelves to catch turtle, and boil up their fat to oil, which they alſo tranſport home. Theſe people have great large nets, with wide meſhes to catch the turtle. The Jamaica turtlers have ſuch; but I did never ſee the like nets but at Jamaica and here.

They are ſo free of their women, that they would bring them aboard and offer them to us; and many of our men hired them for a ſmall matter. This is a cuſtom uſed by ſeveral nations in the Eaſt Indies, as at Pegu, Siam, Cochin-China, and Cambodia, as I have been told. It is uſed at Tunquin alſo to my knowledge; for I did afterwards make a voyage thither, and moſt of our men had women on board all the time of our abode there. In Africa, alſo, on the coaſt of Guinea, our merchants, factors, and ſeamen that reſide there, have their black miſſes. It is accounted a piece of policy to do it; for the chief factors and captains of ſhips have the great men's daughters offered them, the mandarins' or noblemen's at Tunquin, and even the King's wives in Guinea; and by this ſort of alliance the country people are engaged to a greater friendſhip; and if there ſhould ariſe any difference about trade, or any thing elſe, which might provoke the native to ſeek ſome treacherous revenge, to which all theſe heathen nations are very prone, then theſe Dalilahs would certainly declare it to their white friends, and ſo hinder their countrymen's deſign.

Theſe people are idolaters; but their manner of worſhip I know not. There are a few ſcattering houſes and plantations on the great iſland, and a ſmall village on the ſouth ſide of it; where there is a little idol temple, and an image of an elephant about five feet high, and in bigneſs proportionable, placed on one ſide of the temple; and a horſe not ſo big placed the other ſide of it; both ſtanding with their heads towards the ſouth.

The temple itſelf was low and ordinary, built of wood, and thatched like one of their houſes, which are but very meanly.

The images of the horſe and the elephant were the moſt general idols that I obſerved in the temples of Tunquin, when I travelled there. There were other images alſo of beaſts, birds, and fiſh. I do not remember I ſaw any human ſhape there, nor any ſuch monſtrous repreſentations as I have ſeen among the Chineſe. Wherever the Chineſe ſeamen or merchants come (and they are very numerous all over theſe ſeas) they have always hideous idols on board their jonks or ſhips, with altars, and lamps burning before them. Theſe idols they bring aſhore with them; and beſide thoſe they have in common, every man hath one in his own houſe. Upon ſome particular ſolemn days I have ſeen their bonzies, or prieſts, bring whole armfuls of painted papers, and burn them with a great deal of ceremony, being very careful to let no piece eſcape them. The ſame day they killed a goat which had been purpoſely fatting a month before; this they offer or preſent before their idol, and then dreſs it and feaſt themſelves with it. I have ſeen them do this in Tunquin, where I have at the ſame time been invited to their feaſts; and at Bancouli, in the iſle of Sumatra, they ſent a ſhoulder of the ſacrificed goat to the Engliſh, who eat of it, and aſked me to do ſo too; but I refuſed.

When I was at Maderas, or Fort St. George, I took notice of a great ceremony uſed for ſeveral nights ſucceſſively by the idolaters inhabiting the ſuburbs: both men and women (theſe very well clad) in a great multitude went in ſolemn proceſſion with lighted torches, carrying their idols about with them. I knew not the meaning of it. I obſerved ſome went purpoſely carrying oil to ſprinkle into the lamps, to make them burn the brighter. They began their round about eleven a clock at night, and having paced it gravely about the ſtreets till two or three a clock in the morning, their idols were carried with much ceremony into the temple by the chief of the proceſſion, and ſome of the women I ſaw enter the temple, particularly. Their idols were different from thoſe of Tunquin, Cambodia, &c. being in human ſhape.

I have ſaid already that we arrived at theſe iſlands the fourteenth day of March 1687. The next day we ſearched about for a place to careen in; and the ſixteenth day we entered the harbour, and immediately provided to careen. Some men were ſet to fell great trees to ſaw into planks; others went to unrigging the ſhip; ſome made a houſe to put our goods in, and for the ſail-maker to work in. The country people reſorted to us, and brought us of the fruits of the iſland, with hogs, and ſometimes turtle; for which they received rice in exchange, which we had a ſhip load of, taken at Manila. We bought of them alſo a good quantity of their pitchy liquor, which we boiled, and uſed about our ſhip's bottom. We mixed it firſt with lime, which we made here, and it made an excellant coat, and ſtuck on very well.

We ſtaid in this harbour from the 16th day of March, till the 16th of April; in which time we made a new ſuit of ſails of the cloth that was taken in the prize. We cut a ſpare main-top-maſt, and ſawed plank to ſheath the ſhip's bottom; for ſhe was not ſheathed all over at Mindanao, and that old plank that was left on then we now ript off, and clapped on new.

While we lay here two of our men died, who were poiſoned at Mindanao; they told us of it when they found themſelves poiſoned, and had lingered ever ſince. They were opened by our doctor, according to their own requeſt before they died, and their livers were black, light and dry, like pieces of cork.

Our buſineſs being finiſhed here, we left the Spaniſh prize taken at Manila, and moſt of the rice, taking out enough for ourſelves; and on the 17th day we went from hence.

hence to the place where we firſt anchored, on the north-ſide of the great iſland, purpoſely to water; for there was a great ſtream when we firſt came to the iſland, and we thought it was ſo now. But we found it dried up, only it ſtood in holes, two or three hogſheads or a tun in a hole: therefore we did immediately cut bamboos, and made ſpouts, through which we conveyed the water down to the ſea-ſide, by taking it up in bowls, and pouring it into theſe ſpouts or troughs. We conveyed ſome of it thus near half a mile. While we were filling our water, Captain Read engaged an old man, one of the inhabitants of this iſland, the ſame who I ſaid could ſpeak the Malayan language, to be his pilot to the bay of Siam; for he had often been telling us, that he was well acquainted there, and that he knew ſome iſlands there, where there were fiſhermen lived, who he thought could ſupply us with ſalt-fiſh to eat at ſea; for we had nothing but rice to eat. The eaſterly monſoon was not yet done; therefore it was concluded to ſpend ſome time there, and then take the advantage of the beginning of the weſtern monſoon, to return to Manila again.

The 21ſt day of April 1687, we ſailed from Pulo Condore, directing our courſe weſt by ſouth for the bay of Siam. We had fair weather, and a fine moderate gale of wind at eaſt-north-eaſt.

The 23d day we arrived at Pulo Ubi, or the iſland Ubi. This iſland is about forty leagues to the weſtward of Pulo Condore; it lies juſt at the entrance of the bay of Siam, at the ſouth-weſt point of land, that makes the bay; namely, the point of Cambodia. This iſland is about ſeven or eight leagues round, and it is higher land than any of Pulo Condore iſles. Againſt the ſouth-eaſt part of it there is a ſmall key, about a cables' length from the main iſland. This Pulo Ubi is very woody, and it has good water on the north ſide, where you may anchor; but the beſt anchoring is on the eaſt ſide againſt a ſmall bay; then you will have the little iſland to the ſouthward of you.

At Pulo Ubi we found two ſmall barks laden with rice. They belonged to Cambodia, from whence they came not above two or three days before, and they touched here to fill water. Rice is the general food of all theſe countries, therefore it is tranſported by ſea from one country to another, as corn in theſe parts of the world. For in ſome countries they produce more than enough for themſelves, and ſend what they can ſpare to thoſe places where there is but little.

The 24th day we went into the bay of Siam: this is a large deep bay, of which and of this kingdom I ſhall at preſent ſpeak but little, becauſe I deſign a more particular account of all this coaſt, to wit, of Tonquin, Cochin-China, Siam, Champa, Combodia, and Malacca, making all the moſt eaſterly part of the continent of Aſia, lying ſouth of China: but to do it in the courſe of this voyage, would too much ſwell this volume; and I ſhall chuſe therefore to give a ſeparate relation of what I know or have learnt of them, together with the neighbouring parts of Sumatra, Java, &c. where I have ſpent ſome time.

We ran down into the bay of Siam, till we came to the iſlands that our Pulo Condore pilot told us of, which lie about the middle of the bay: but as good a pilot as he was, he ran us aground; yet we had no damage. Captain Read went aſhore at theſe iſlands, where he found a ſmall town of fiſhermen; but they had no fiſh to ſell, and ſo we returned empty.

We had yet fair weather, and very little wind; ſo that being often becalmed, we were till the 13th day of May before we got to Pulo Ubi again. There we found two ſmall veſſels at an anchor on the eaſt ſide: they were laden with rice and laquer, which is uſed in japanning of cabinets. One of theſe came from Champa, bound to the town of Malacca, which belongs to the Dutch, who took it from the Portugueſe;

and this ſhews that they have a trade with Champa. This was a very pretty neat veſſel, her bottom very clean and curiouſly coated; ſhe had about forty men all armed with cortans, or broad ſwords, lances, and ſome guns, that went with a ſwivel upon their gunnel. They were of the idolaters, natives of Champa, and ſome of the briſkeſt, moſt ſociable, without fearfulneſs or ſhyneſs, and the moſt neat and dextrous about their ſhipping, of any ſuch I have met with in all my travels. The other veſſel came from the river of Cambodia, and was bound towards the ſtreights of Malacca. Both of them ſtopped here, for the weſterly winds now began to blow, which were againſt them, being ſomewhat bleated.

We anchored alſo on the eaſt-ſide, intending to fill water. While we lay here we had very violent wind at ſouth-weſt, and a ſtrong current ſetting right to windward. The fiercer the wind blew, the more ſtrong the current ſet againſt it. This ſtorm laſted till the 20th day, and then it began to abate.

The 21ſt day of May we went back from hence towards Pulo Condore. In our way we overtook a great jonk that came from Palimbam, a town on the iſland Sumatra: ſhe was full laden with pepper which they bought there, and was bound to Siam: but it blowing ſo hard, ſhe was afraid to venture into that bay, and therefore came to Pulo Condore with us, where we both anchored May the 24th. This veſſel was of the Chineſe make, full of little rooms or partitions, like our well-boats. I ſhall deſcribe them in the next chapter. The men of this jonk told us, that the Engliſh were ſettled on the iſland Sumatra, at a place called Sillabar; and the firſt knowledge we had that the Engliſh had any ſettlement on Sumatra was from theſe.

When we came to an anchor, we ſaw a ſmall bark at an anchor near the ſhore; therefore Captain Read ſent a canoe aboard her to know from whence they came; and ſuppoſing that it was a Malayan veſſel, he ordered the men not to go aboard, for they are accounted deſperate fellows, and their veſſels are commonly full of men, who all wear creſſets, or little daggers by their ſides. The canoe's crew not minding the captain's orders went aboard, all but one man that ſtaid in the canoe. The Malayans, who were about twenty of them, ſeeing our men all armed, thought that they came to take their veſſel; therefore at once, on a ſignal given, they drew out their creſſets, and ſtabbed five or ſix of our men before they knew what the matter was. The reſt of our men leaped over-board, ſome into the canoe, and ſome into the ſea, and ſo got away. Among the reſt, one Daniel Wallis leaped into the ſea, who could never ſwim before nor ſince; yet now he ſwam very well a good while before he was taken up. When the canoes came aboard, Captain Read manned two canoes, and went to be revenged on the Malayans; but they ſeeing him coming, did cut a hole in the veſſel's bottom, and went aſhore in their boat. Captain Read followed them, but they ran into the woods and hid themſelves. Here we ſtaid ten or elven days, for it blew very hard all the time. While we ſtaid here Herman Coppinger our ſurgeon went aſhore, intending to live here; but Captain Read ſent ſome men to fetch him again. I had the ſame thoughts, and would have gone aſhore too, but waited for a more convenient place. For neither he nor I, when we were laſt on board at Mindanao, had any knowledge of the plot that was laid to leave Captain Swan, and run away with the ſhip; and being ſufficiently weary of this mad crew, we were willing to give them the ſlip at any place from whence we might hope to get a paſſage to an Engliſh factory. There was nothing elſe of moment happened while we ſtaid here *

* He then proceeds to China, and returns to the Aſiatic Iſlands.

CHAP.

CHAP. V.—*The Iſles to which they gave the Names of Orange, Monmouth, Grafton, Baſhee, and Goat Iſlands, in general, the Baſhee Iſlands.—A Digreſſion concerning the different Depths of the Sea near high or low Lands, Soil, &c. as before.—The Soil, Fruits and Animals of theſe Iſlands.—The Inhabitants and their Cloathing.—Rings of a yellow Metal like Gold—Their Houſes built on remarkable Precipices.—Their Boats and Employments.—Their Food of Goat Skins, Entrails, &c.—Parcht Locuſts.—Baſhee or Sugar-cane Drink.—Of their Language and Original, Launces and Buffaloe Coats.—No Idols, nor civil Form of Government.—A young Man buried alive by them; ſuppoſed to be for Theft.—Their Wives and Children, and Huſhandry.—Their Manners, Entertainments and Traffick.—Of the Ship's firſt Intercourſe with theſe People, and Bartering with them.—Their Courſe among the Iſlands; their Stay there, and Proviſion to depart.—They are driven off by a violent Storm, and return.—The Natives Kindneſs to ſix of them left behind.—The Crew, diſcouraged by thoſe Storms, quit their Deſign of cruiſing off Manila for the Acapulco Ship; and it is reſolved to fetch a Compaſs to Cape Comorin, and ſo for the Red-Sea.*

THE ſixth day of Auguſt we arrived at the five iſlands that we were bound to, and anchored on the eaſt ſide of the northermoſt iſland, in fifteen fathoms, a cable's length from the ſhore. Here, contrary to our expectation, we found abundance of inhabitants in ſight; for there were three large towns all within a league of the ſea; and another larger town than any of the three, on the backſide of a ſmall hill cloſe by alſo, as we found afterwards. Theſe iſlands lie in latitude twenty degrees twenty minutes north latitude by my obſervation, for I took it there, and I find their longitude, according to our drafts, to be one hundred and forty-one degrees fifty minutes. Theſe iſlands having no particular names in the drafts, ſome or other of us made uſe of the ſeamen's privilege, to give them what names we pleaſe. Three of the iſlands were pretty large; the weſtermoſt is the biggeſt. This the Dutchmen who were among us called the Prince of Orange's iſland, in honour of His preſent Majeſty. It is about ſeven or eight leagues long, and about two leagues wide; and it lies almoſt north and ſouth. The other two great iſlands are about four or five leagues to the eaſtward of this. The northermoſt of them where we firſt anchored, I called the Duke of Grafton's Iſle, as ſoon as we landed on it; having married my wife out of his Dutcheſs's family, and leaving her at Arlington houſe, at my going abroad. This iſle is about four leagues long, and one league and a half wide, ſtretching north and ſouth. The other great iſland our ſeamen called the Duke of Monmouth's iſland. This is about a league to the ſouthward of Grafton Iſle. It is about three leagues long and a league wide, lying as the other. Between Monmouth and the ſouth-end of Orange Iſland, there are two ſmall iſlands of a roundiſh form, lying eaſt and weſt. The eaſtermoſt iſland of the two, our men unanimouſly called Baſhee iſland, from a liquor which we drank there plentifully every day, after we came to an anchor at it. The other, which is the ſmalleſt of all, we called Goat iſland, from the great number of goats there; and to the northward of them all, are two high rocks.

Orange iſland, which is the biggeſt of them all, is not inhabited. It is high land, flat and even on the top, with ſteep cliffs againſt the ſea; for which reaſon we could not go aſhore there, as we did on all the reſt.

I have made it my general obſervation, that where the land is fenced with ſteep rocks and cliffs againſt the ſea, there the ſea is very deep, and ſeldom affords anchor ground; and on the other ſide where the land falls away with a declivity into the ſea, although

(although the land be extraordinary high within,) yet there are commonly good ſoundings, and conſequently anchoring; and as the viſible declivity of the land appears near, or at the edge of the water, whether pretty ſteep or more ſloping, ſo we commonly find our anchor ground to be more or leſs deep or ſteep; therefore we come nearer the ſhore, or anchor farther off as we ſee convenient; for there is no coaſt in the world that I know, or have heard of, where the land is of a continual heighth, without ſome ſmall valleys or declivities, which lie intermixt with the high land. They are the ſubſidings of valleys or low lands, that make dents in the ſhore and creeks, ſmall bays and harbours, or little coves, &c. which afford good anchoring, the ſurface of the earth being there lodged deep under water. Thus we find many good harbours on ſuch coaſts, where the land bounds the ſea with ſteep cliffs, by reaſon of the declivities, or ſubſiding of the land between theſe cliffs: but where the declenſion from the hills or cliffs is not within land, between hill and hill, but, as on the coaſt of Chili and Peru, the declivity is toward the main ſea, or into it, the coaſt being perpendicular, or very ſteep from the neighbouring hills, as in thoſe countries from the Andes, that run along the ſhore, there is a deep ſea, and few or no harbours or creeks. All that coaſt is too ſteep for anchoring, and hath the feweſt roads fit for ſhips of any coaſt I know. The coaſts of Gallicia, Portugal, Norway and Newfoundland, &c. are coaſts like the Peruvian, and the high iſlands of the Archipelago; but yet not ſo ſcanty of good harbours; for where there are ſhort ridges of land, there are good bays at the extremities of thoſe ridges, where they plunge into the ſea; as on the coaſt of Caraccos, &c. The iſland of John Fernando, and the iſland St. Helena, &c. are ſuch high land with deep ſhore: and in general, the plunging of any land under water, ſeems to be in proportion to the riſing of its continuous part above water, more or leſs ſteep; and it muſt be a bottom almoſt level, or very gently declining, that affords good anchoring. Ships being ſoon driven from their moorings on a ſteep bank: therefore we never ſtrive to anchor where we ſee the land high, and bounding the ſea with ſteep cliffs; and for this reaſon, when we came in ſight of States Iſland near Terra del Fuego, before we entered into the ſouth-ſeas, we did not ſo much as think of anchoring after we ſaw what land it was, becauſe of the ſteep cliffs which appeared againſt the ſea: yet there might be little harbours or coves for ſhallops, or the like, to anchor in, which we did not ſee or ſearch after.

As high ſteep cliffs bounding on the ſea have this ill conſequence, that they ſeldom afford anchoring; ſo they have this benefit, that we can ſee them far off, and ſail cloſe to them, without danger; for which reaſon we call them bold ſhores: whereas low land on the contrary, is ſeen but a little way, and in many places we dare not come near it, for fear of running a ground before we ſee it. Beſides there are in many places ſhoals thrown out by the courſe of great rivers, that from the low land fall into the ſea.

This which I have ſaid, that there is uſually good anchoring near the low lands, may be illuſtrated by ſeveral inſtances. Thus on the ſouth ſide of the bay of Campeachey, there is moſtly low land, and there alſo is good anchoring all along ſhore; and in ſome places to the eaſtward of the town of Campeachy, we ſhall have ſo many fathom as we are leagues off from land; that is from nine or ten leagues diſtance till you come within four leagues: and from thence to land it grows but ſhallower. The bay of Honduras alſo is low land, and continues moſtly ſo, as we paſt along from thence to the coaſts of Portobel, and Cartagena, till we came as high as Santa Martha; afterwards the land is low again, till you come towards the coaſt of Caraccos, which is a high coaſt and bold ſhore. The land about Surinam on the ſame coaſt is

low and good anchoring, and that over on the coaſt of Guinea is ſuch alſo. And ſuch too is the bay of Panama, where the pilotbook orders the pilot always to ſound, and not to come within ſuch a depth, be it by night or day. In the ſame ſeas from the high land of Guatimala in Mexico, to California, there is moſtly low land and good anchoring. In the main of Aſia, the coaſt of China, the bay of Siam and Bengal, and all the coaſt of Coromandel, and the coaſt about Malacca, and againſt it the iſland Sumatra on that ſide, are moſtly low anchoring ſhores. But on the weſt ſide of Sumatra, the ſhore is high and bold; ſo moſt of the iſlands lying to the eaſtward of Sumatra; as the iſlands Borneo, Celebes, Gilolo, and abundance of iſlands of leſs note, lying ſcattering up and down thoſe ſeas, are low land, and have good anchoring about them, with many ſhoals ſcattered to and fro among them; but the iſlands lying againſt the Eaſt Indian ocean, eſpecially the weſt ſides of them, are high land and ſteep, particularly the weſt parts, not only of Sumatra, but alſo of Java, Timor, &c. Particulars are endleſs; but in general it is ſeldom but high ſhores and deep waters; and on the other ſide, low land and ſhallow ſeas are found together.

But to return from this digreſſion, to ſpeak of the reſt of theſe iſlands. Monmouth and Grafton iſles are very hilly, with many of thoſe ſteep inhabited precipices on them, that I ſhall deſcribe particularly. The two ſmall iſlands are flat and even; only the Baſhee iſland hath one ſteep ſcraggy hill, but Goat iſland is all flat and very even.

The mould of theſe iſlands in the valley is blackiſh in ſome places, but in moſt red. The hills are very rocky: the valleys are well watered with brooks of freſh water, which run into the ſea in many different places. The ſoil is indifferent fruitful, eſpecially in the valleys; producing pretty great plenty of trees (though not very big) and thick graſs. The ſides of the mountains have alſo ſhort graſs, and ſome of the mountains have mines within them; for the natives told us, that the yellow metal they ſhewed us, (as I ſhall ſpeak more particularly) came from theſe mountains; for when they held it up they would point towards them.

The fruit of the iſlands are a few plantains, bonanoes, pine-apples, pumpkins, ſugar canes, &c. and there might be more if the natives would, for the ground ſeems fertile enough. Here are great plenty of potatoes and yams, which is the common food for the natives for bread kind: for thoſe few plantains they have, are only uſed as fruit. They have ſome cotton growing here of the ſmall plants.

Here are plenty of goats and abundance of hogs; but few fowls, either wild or tame. For this I have always obſerved in my travels, both in the Eaſt and Weſt Indies, that in thoſe places where there is plenty of grain, that is, of rice in one, and maiz in the other, there are alſo found great abundance of fowls; but on the contrary, few fowls in thoſe countries where the inhabitants feed on fruits and roots only. The few wild fowls that are here are parakites, and ſome other ſmall birds. Their tame fowl are only a few cocks and hens.

Monmouth and Grafton iſlands are very thick inhabited; and Baſhee iſland hath one town on it. The natives of theſe iſlands are ſhort ſquat people; they are generaly round viſaged, with low foreheads and thick eye-brows; their eyes of a hazel colour and ſmall, yet bigger than the Chineſe; ſhort low noſes, and their lips and mouths middle proportioned; their teeth are white, their hair is black and thick, and lank, which they wear but ſhort; it will juſt cover their ears, and ſo it is cut round very even. Their ſkins are of a very dark copper-colour.

They wear no hat, cap, nor turbat, or any thing to keep off the ſun. The men for the biggeſt part have only a ſmall clout to cover their nakedneſs; ſome of them have

have jackets made of plantain leaves, which were as rough as any bear's ſkin: I never ſaw ſuch rugged things. The women have a ſhort petticoat made of cotton, which comes a little below their knees. It is a thick ſort of ſtubborn cloth, which they make themſelves of their cotton. Both men and women do wear large ear-rings, made of that yellow metal before mentioned. Whether it were gold or no I cannot poſitively ſay; I took it to be ſo, it was heavy and of the colour of our paler gold. I would fain have brought away ſome to have ſatisfied my curioſity; but I had nothing wherewith to buy any. Captain Read bought two of theſe rings with ſome iron, of which the people are very greedy; and he would have bought more, thinking he was come to a very fair market, but that the paleneſs of the metal made him and his crew diſtruſt its being right gold. For my part, I ſhould have ventured on the purchaſe of ſome, but having no property in the iron, of which we had great ſtore on board, ſent from England by the merchants along with Captain Swan, I durſt not barter it away.

Theſe rings when firſt poliſhed look very glorioufly, but time makes them fade, and turn to a pale yellow. Then they make a ſoft paſte of red earth, and ſmearing it over their rings, they caſt them into a quick fire, where they remain till they be red hot; then they take them out and cool them in water, and rub off the paſte; and they look again of a glorious colour and luſtre.

Theſe people make but ſmall low houſes. The ſides which are made of ſmall poſts, wattled with boughs, are not above four feet and a half high: the ridge-pole is about ſeven or eight feet high. They have a fire place at one end of their houſes, and boards placed on the ground to lie on. They inhabit together in ſmall villages built on the ſides and tops of rocky hills, three or four rows of houſes one above another, and on ſuch ſteep precipices, that they go up to the firſt row with a wooden ladder, and ſo with a ladder ſtill from every ſtory up to that above it, there being no way to aſcend. The plain on the firſt precipice may be ſo wide, as to have room both for a row of houſes that ſtand all along on the edge or brink of it, and a very narrow ſtreet running along before their doors, between the row of houſes and the foot of the next precipice; the plain of which is in a manner level to the tops of the houſes below, and ſo for the reſt. The common ladder to each row or ſtreet comes up at a narrow paſſage left purpoſely about the middle of it; and the ſtreet being bounded with a precipice alſo at each end, it is but drawing up the ladder if they be aſſaulted, and then there is no coming at them from below, but by climbing up as againſt a perpendicular wall; and that they may not be aſſaulted from above, they take care to build on the ſide of ſuch a hill, whoſe back-ſide hangs over the ſea, or is ſome high, ſteep, perpendicular precipice altogether inacceſſible. Theſe precipices are natural; for the rocks ſeem too hard to work on; nor is there any ſign that art hath been employed about them. On Baſhee iſland there is one ſuch, and built upon, with its back next the ſea. Grafton and Monmouth iſles are very thick ſet with theſe hills and towns; and the natives, whether for fear of pirates or foreign enemies, or factions among their own clans, care not for building but in theſe faſtneſſes; which I take to be the reaſon that Orange iſle, though the largeſt, and as fertile as any, yet being level and expoſed hath no inhabitants. I never ſaw the like precipices and towns.

Theſe people are pretty ingenious alſo in building boats. Their ſmall boats are much like our deal yalls, but not ſo big; and they are built with very narrow plank, pinned with wooden pins, and ſome nails. They have alſo ſome pretty large boats, which will carry forty or fifty men. Theſe they row with twelve or fourteen oars

of

of a ſide. They are built much like the ſmall ones, and they row doubled banked; that is, two men ſitting on one bench, but one rowing on one ſide, the other on the other ſide of the boat. They underſtand the uſe of iron, and work it themſelves. Their bellows are like thoſe at Mindanao.

The common employment for the men is fiſhing; but I did never ſee them catch much: whether it is more plenty at other times of the year I know not. The women do manage their plantations.

I did never ſee them kill any of their goats or hogs for themſelves, yet they would beg the paunches of the goats that they themſelves did ſell to us: and if any of our ſurly ſeamen did heave them into the ſea. they would take them up again and the ſkins of the goats alſo. They would not meddle with hogs-guts, if our men threw away any beſide what they made chitterlings and ſauſages of. The goat-ſkins theſe people would carry aſhore, and making a fire they would ſinge off all the hair, and afterwards let the ſkin lie and parch on the coals, till they thought it eatable: and then they would gnaw it and tear it in pieces with their teeth, and at laſt ſwallow it. The paunches of the goats would make them an excellent diſh; they dreſſed it in this manner: they would turn out all the chopt graſs and crudities found in the maw into their pots, and ſet it over the fire, and ſtir it about often: this would ſmoke and puff, and heave up as it was boiling, wind breaking out of the ferment and making a very ſavoury ſtink. While this was doing, if they had any fiſh, as commonly they had two or three ſmall fiſh, theſe they would make very clean (as hating naſtineſs belike) and cut the fleſh from the bone, and then mince the fleſh as ſmall as poſſibly they could, and when that in the pot was well boiled they would take it up, and ſtrewing a little ſalt into it they would eat it, mixed with their raw minced fleſh. The dung in the maw would look like ſo much boiled herbs minced very ſmall; and they took up their meſs with their fingers as the Moors do their pillaw, uſing no ſpoons.

They had another diſh made of a ſort of locuſts, whoſe bodies are about an inch and an half long, and as thick as the top of one's little finger; with large thin wings, and long and ſmall legs. At this time of the year theſe creatures came in great ſwarms to devour their potatoe-leaves, and other herbs; and the natives would go out with ſmall nets, and take a quart at one ſweep. When they had enough, they would carry them home, and parch them over the fire in an earthen pan; and then their wings and legs would fall off, and their heads and backs would turn red like boiled ſhrimps, being before browniſh. Their bodies being full would eat very moiſt, their heads would crackle in one's teeth. I did once eat of this diſh, and like it well enough, but their other diſh my ſtomach would not take.

Their common drink is water, as it is of all other Indians: beſides which they make a ſort of drink with the juice of the ſugar-cane, which they boil, and put ſome ſmall black ſort of berries among it. When it is well boiled they put it into great jars, and let it ſtand three or four days and work; then it ſettles and becomes clear, and is preſently fit to drink. This is an excellent liquor, and very much like Engliſh beer both in colour and taſte. It is very ſtrong, and I do believe very wholeſome: for our men, who drank briſkly of it all day for ſeveral weeks, were frequently drunk with it, and never ſick after it. The natives brought a vaſt deal of it every day to thoſe aboard and aſhore: for ſome of our men were aſhore at work on Baſhee Iſland; which iſland they gave that name to from their drinking this liquor there; that being the name which the natives call this liquor by: and as they ſold it to our men very cheap, ſo they did not ſpare to drink it as freely. And indeed from the plenty of this liquor, and their plentiful uſe of it, our men called all theſe iſlands the Baſhee iſlands.

What language theſe people do ſpeak I know not; for it had no affinity in ſound to the Chineſe, which is ſpoke much through the teeth, nor yet to the Malayan language. They called the metal that their ear-rings were made of bullawan, which is the Mindanao word for gold; therefore probably they may be related to the Philippine Indians; for that is the general name for gold among all thoſe Indians. I could not learn from whence they have their iron, but it is moſt likely they go in their great boats to the north end of Luconia, and trade with the Indians of that iſland for it. Neither did I ſee any thing beſide iron and pieces of buffaloes' hide, which I could judge that they bought of ſtrangers: their cloaths were of their own growth and manufacture.

Theſe men had wooden lances, and a few lances headed with iron; which are all the weapons that they have. Their armour is a piece of buffaloe hide, ſhaped like our carter's frocks, being without ſleeves, and ſewed both ſides together, with holes for the head and the arms to come forth. This buff-coat reaches down to their knees: it is cloſe about their ſhoulders, but below it is three feet wide, and as thick as a board.

I could never perceive them to worſhip any thing, neither had they any idols; neither did they ſeem to obſerve any one day more than another. I could never perceive that one man was of greater power than another, but they ſeemed to be all equal; only every man ruling in his own houſe, and the children reſpecting and honouring their parents.

Yet it is probable that they have ſome law or cuſtom by which they are governed: for while we lay here we ſaw a young man buried alive in the earth; and it was for theft as far as we could underſtand from them. There was a great deep hole dug, and abundance of people came to the place to take their laſt farewel of him: among the reſt there was one woman who made great lamentation, and took off the condemned perſon's ear-rings. We ſuppoſed her to be his mother. After he had taken his leave of her and ſome others he was put into the pit, and covered over with earth. He did not ſtruggle, but yielded very quietly to his puniſhment; and they crammed the earth cloſe upon him, and ſtifled him.

They have but one wife, with whom they live and agree very well; and their children live very obediently under them; the boys go out a fiſhing with their fathers, and the girls live at home with their mothers; and when the girls are grown pretty ſtrong they ſend them to their plantations to dig hames and potatoes, of which they bring home on their heads every day enough to ſerve the whole family, for they have no rice nor maize.

Their plantations are in the valleys, at a good diſtance from their houſes; where every man has a certain ſpot of land which is properly his own. This he manageth himſelf for his own uſe, and provides enough that he may not be beholding to his neighbour.

Notwithſtanding the ſeeming naſtineſs of their diſh of goat's maw, they are in their perſons a very neat cleanly people, both men and women; and they are withal the quieteſt and civileſt people that ever I did meet with. I could never perceive them to be angry with one another. I have admired to ſee twenty or thirty boats aboard our ſhip at a time, and yet no difference among them; but all civil and quiet, endeavouring to help each other on occaſion: no noiſe nor appearance of diſtaſte; and although ſometimes croſs accidents would happen, which might have ſet other men together by the ears, yet they were not moved by them. Sometimes they will alſo drink freely and warm themſelves with their drink, yet neither then could I perceive them out of

humour. They are not only thus civil among themſelves but very obliging and kind to ſtrangers, nor were their children rude to us as is uſual. Indeed the women, when we came to their houſes, would modeſtly beg any rags or ſmall pieces of cloth to ſwaddle their young ones in, holding their children out to us; and begging is uſual among all theſe wild nations. Yet neither did they beg ſo importunately as in other places, nor did the men ever beg any thing at all; neither, except once at the firſt time that we came to an anchor, as I ſhall relate, did they ſteal any thing, but dealt juſtly and with great ſincerity with us, and make us very welcome to their houſes with baſhee drink. If they had none of this liquor themſelves they would buy a jar of drink of their neighbours, and ſit down with us; for we could ſee them go and give a piece or two of their gold for ſome jars of baſhee. And indeed among wild Indians, as theſe ſeem to be, I wondered to ſee buying and ſelling, which is not ſo uſual, nor to converſe ſo freely as to go aboard ſtrangers' ſhips with ſo little caution, yet their own ſmall trading may have brought them to this. At theſe entertainments they and their family, wife and children, drank out of ſmall calabaſhes; and when by themſelves they drink about from one to another, but when any of us came among them they would always drink to one of us.

They have no ſort of coin, but they have ſmall crumbs of the metal before deſcribed, which they bind up very ſafe in plantain-leaves, or the like. This metal they exchange for what they want, giving a ſmall quantity of it, about two or three grains, for a jar of drink that would hold five or ſix gallons. They have no ſcales, but give it by gueſs. Thus much in general.

To proceed therefore with our affairs: I have ſaid before that we anchored here the 6th day of Auguſt; while we were furling our ſails there came near a hundred boats of the natives aboard with three or four men in each, ſo that our deck was full of men. We were at firſt afraid of them, and therefore got up twenty or thirty ſmall arms on our poop, and kept three or four men as centinels, with guns in their hands, ready to fire on them if they had offered to moleſt us. But they were pretty quiet, only they picked up ſuch old iron that they found on our deck, and they alſo took out our pump-bolts, and linch-pins out of the carriages of our guns before we perceived them. At laſt one of our men perceived one of them very buſy getting out one of our linch-pins, and took hold of the fellow; who immediately bawled out, and all the reſt preſently leaped overboard, ſome into their boats, others into the ſea, and they all made away for the ſhore. But when we perceived their fright we made much of him that was in hold, who ſtood trembling all the while; and at laſt we gave him a ſmall piece of iron, with which he immediately leaped overboard and ſwam to his conſorts, who hovered about our ſhip to ſee the iſſue; then we beckoned to them to come aboard again, being very loath to loſe a commerce with them. Some of the boats came aboard again, and they were always very honeſt and civil afterward.

We preſently after this ſent a canoe aſhore to ſee their manner of living, and what proviſion they had; the canoe's crew were made very welcome with baſhee drink, and ſaw abundance of hogs, ſome of which they bought, and returned aboard. After this the natives brought aboard both hogs and goats to us in their own boats; and every day we ſhould have fifteen or twenty hogs and goats aboard by our ſide. Theſe we bought for a ſmall matter, we could buy a good fat goat for an old iron hoop, and a hog of ſeventy or eighty pounds weight for two or three pounds of iron. Their drink alſo they brought off in jars, which we bought for old nails, ſpikes, and leaden bullets. Beſide the fore-mentioned commodities they brought aboard great quantities of yams and potatoes, which we purchaſed for nails, ſpikes, or bullets. It was one man's work

to be all day cutting out bars of iron into ſmall pieces with a cold chiſel; and theſe were for the great purchaſes of hogs and goats, which they would not ſell for nails as their drink and roots. We never let them know what ſtore we have, that they may value it the more. Every morning as ſoon as it was light they would thus come aboard with their commodities, which we bought as we had occaſion. We did commonly furniſh ourſelves with as many goats and roots as ſerved us all the day, and their hogs we bought in large quantities as we thought convenient, for we ſalted them. Their hogs were very ſweet, but I never ſaw ſo many meazled ones.

We filled all our water at a curious brook cloſe by in Grafton's Iſle, where we firſt anchored. We ſtayed there about three or four days before we went to other iſlands. We ſailed to the ſouthward, paſſing on the eaſt ſide of Grafton Iſland, and then paſſed through between that and Monmouth Iſland; but we found no anchoring till we came to the north end of Monmouth Iſland, and there we ſtopped during one tide. The tide runs very ſtrong here, and ſometimes makes a ſhort chopping ſea. Its courſe among theſe iſlands is ſouth by eaſt and north by weſt. The flood ſets to the north, and ebbs to the ſouth, and it riſeth and falleth eight feet.

When we went from hence we coaſted about two leagues to the ſouthward on the weſt ſide of Monmouth Iſland, and finding no anchor ground we ſtood over to the Baſhee Iſland, and came to an anchor on the north-eaſt part of it, againſt a ſmall ſandy bay, in ſeven fathoms clean hard ſand, and about a quarter of a mile from the ſhore. Here is a pretty wide channel between theſe two iſlands, and anchoring all over it. The depth of water is twelve, fourteen, and ſixteen fathoms.

We preſently built a tent aſhore to mend our ſails in, and ſtayed all the reſt of our time here, viz. from the 13th day of Auguſt till the 26th day of September; in which time we mended our ſails and ſcrubbed our ſhip's bottom very well, and every day ſome of us went to their towns and were kindly entertained by them. Their boats alſo came aboard with their merchandize to ſell, and lay aboard all day; and if we did not take it off their hands one day they would bring the ſame again the next.

We had yet the winds at ſouth-weſt and ſouth-ſouth-weſt, moſtly fair weather. In October we did expect the winds to ſhift to the north-eaſt, and therefore we provided to ſail, as ſoon as the eaſtern monſoon was ſettled, to cruize off Manila. Accordingly we provided a ſtock of proviſion: we ſalted ſeventy or eighty good fat hogs, and bought yams and potatoes good ſtore to eat at ſea.

About the 24th day of September the winds ſhifted about to the eaſt, and from thence to the north-eaſt, fine fair weather. The 25th it came at north, and began to grow freſh, and the ſky began to be clouded, and the wind freſhened on us.

At twelve o'clock at night it blew a very fierce ſtorm. We were then riding with our beſt bower a-head, and though our yards and topmaſt were down yet we drove. This obliged us to let go our ſheet-anchor, veering out a good ſcope of cable, which ſtopt us till ten or eleven o'clock the next day. Then the wind came on ſo fierce, that ſhe drove again with both anchors a-head. The wind was now at north by weſt, and we kept driving till three or four o'clock in the afternoon: and it was well for us that there were no iſlands, rocks or ſands in our way, for if there had we muſt have been driven upon them. We uſed our utmoſt endeavours to ſtop here, being loath to go to ſea, becauſe we had ſix of our men aſhore, who could not get off now. At laſt we were driven out into deep water, and then it was in vain to wait any longer: therefore we hove in our ſheet-cable and got up our ſheet-anchor, and cut away our beſt bower (for to have heaved her up then would have gone near to have foundered us,) and ſo put to ſea. We had very violent weather the night enſuing, with very hard rain, and

were

were forced to ſcud with our bare poles till three o'clock in the morning; then the wind ſlackened and we brought our ſhip to under a mizen, and lay with our head to to the weſtward. The 27th day the wind abated much, but it rained very hard all day and the night enſuing. The 28th day the wind came about to the north-eaſt, and it cleared up and blew a hard gale, but it ſtood not there, for it ſhifted about to the eaſtward, thence to the ſouth-eaſt, then to the ſouth, and at laſt ſettled at ſouth-weſt, and then we had a moderate gale and fair weather.

It was the 29th day when the wind came to the ſouth-weſt; then we made all the ſail we could for the iſland again. The 30th day we had the wind at weſt and ſaw the iſlands, but could not get in before night; therefore we ſtood off to the ſouthward till two o'clock in the morning, then we tacked and ſtood in all the morning, and about twelve o'clock the 1ſt day of October we anchored again at the place from whence we were driven.

Then our ſix men were brought aboard by the natives, to whom we gave three whole bars of iron for their kindneſs and civility, which was an extraordinary preſent to them. Mr. Robert Hall was one of the men that was left aſhore: I ſhall ſpeak more of him hereafter. He and the reſt of them told me, that after the ſhip was out of ſight the natives began to be more kind to them than they had been before, and perſuaded them to cut their hair ſhort as theirs was, offering to each of them if they would do it a young woman to wife, and a ſmall hatchet and other iron utenſils fit for a planter in dowry; and withal ſhewed them a piece of land for them to manage. They were courted thus by ſeveral of the town where they then were; but they took up their head quarters at the houſe of him with whom they firſt went aſhore. When the ſhip appeared in ſight again they then importuned them for ſome iron, which is the chief thing that they covet, even above their ear-rings. We might have bought all their ear-rings, or other gold they had, with our iron-bars, had we been aſſured of its goodneſs; and yet when it was touched and compared with other gold we could not diſcern any difference, though it looked ſo pale in the lump; but the ſeeing them poliſh it ſo often was a new diſcouragement.

This laſt ſtorm put our men quite out of heart: for although it was not altogether ſo fierce as that which we were in on the coaſt of China, which was ſtill freſh in memory, yet it wrought more powerfully, and frighted them from their deſign of cruizing before Manila, fearing another ſtorm there. Now every man wiſhed himſelf at home, as they had done a hundred times before: but Captain Read, and Captain Teat the maſter, perſuaded them to go towards Cape Comorin, and then they would tell them more of their minds, intending doubtleſs to cruize in the Red-Sea; and they eaſily prevailed with the crew.

The eaſtern monſoon was now at hand, and the beſt way had been to go through the ſtreights of Malacca: but Captain Teat ſaid it was dangerous, by reaſon of many iſlands and ſhoals there, with which none of us were acquainted. Therefore he thought it beſt to go round on the eaſt ſide of all the Philippine Iſlands, and ſo keeping ſouth toward the Spice Iſlands, to paſs out into the Eaſt Indian Ocean about the iſland Timor.

This ſeemed to be a very tedious way about, and as dangerous altogether for ſhoals; but not for meeting with Engliſh or Dutch ſhips, which was their greateſt fear. I was well enough ſatisfied, knowing that the farther we went the more knowledge and experience I ſhould get, which was the main thing that I regarded; and ſhould alſo have the more variety of places to attempt an eſcape from them, being fully reſolved to take the firſt opportunity of giving them the ſlip.

CHAP.

CHAP. VI. — *They depart from the Baſhee Iſlands, and paſſing by ſome others, and the North End of Luconia. — St. John's Iſle, and other of the Philippines. — They ſtop at the two Iſles near Mindanao; where they refit their Ship, and make a Pump after the Spaniſh Faſhion. — By the young Prince of the Spice Iſlands they have News of Captain Swan and his Men, left at Mindanao. — The Author propoſes to the Crew to return to him, but in vain. — The Story of his Murder at Mindanao. — The Clove Iſlands. — Ternate. — Tidore, &c. — The Iſland Celebes, and Dutch Town of Macaſſer. — They coaſt along the Eaſt Side of the Celebes, and between it and other Iſlands and Shoals with great Difficulty. — Shy Turtle. — Vaſt Cockles. — A wild Vine of great Virtue for Sores. — Great Trees: one exceſſively big. — Beacons inſtead of Buoys on the Shoals. — A Spout; a Deſcription of them, with a Story of one. — Uncertain Tornadoes. — Turtle. — The Iſland Bouton, and its chief Town and Harbour Callaſuſung. — The Inhabitants. — Viſits given and received by the Sultan. — His Device in the Flag of his Prow; his Guards, Habit, and Children. — Their Commerce. — Their different Eſteem (as they pretend) of the Engliſh and Dutch. — Maritime Indians ſell others for Slaves. — Their Reception in the Town. — A Boy with four Rows of Teeth. — Parakites. — Crockadores, a Sort of white Parrots. — They paſs among other inhabited Iſlands. — Omba, Pentare, Timore, &c. — Shoals. — New Holland; laid down too much northward. — Its Soil, and Dragon Trees. — The poor winking Inhabitants: their Feathers, Habit, Food, Arms, &c. — The Way of fetching Fire out of Wood. — The Inhabitants on the Iſlands. — Their Habitations, Unfitneſs for Labour, &c. — The great Tides here. — They deſign for the Iſland Cocos, and Cape Comorin.*

THE 3d day of October 1687 we ſailed from theſe iſlands, ſtanding to the ſouthward, intending to ſail through among the Spice Iſlands; we had fair weather and the wind at weſt. We firſt ſteered ſouth-ſouth-weſt, and paſſed cloſe by certain ſmall iſlands that lie juſt by the north end of the iſland Luconia. We left them all on the weſt of us, and paſt on the eaſt ſide of it and the reſt of the Philippine Iſlands, coaſting to the ſouthward.

The north-eaſt end of the iſland Luconia appears to be good champaign land, of an indifferent heighth, plain and even for many leagues; only it has ſome pretty high hills ſtanding upright by themſelves in theſe plains, but no ridges of hills or chains of mountains joining one to another. The land on this ſide ſeems to be moſt ſavannah or paſture: the ſouth-eaſt part is more mountainous and woody.

Leaving the iſland Luconia, and with it our golden projects, we ſailed on to the ſouthward, paſſing on the eaſt ſide of the reſt of the Philippine Iſlands. Theſe appear to be more mountainous and leſs woody till we came in ſight of the iſland St. John, the firſt of that name I mentioned: the other I ſpake of on the coaſt of China; this I have already deſcribed to be a very woody iſland. Here the wind coming ſoutherly, forced us to keep farther from the iſlands.

The 14th day of October we came cloſe by a ſmall low woody iſland, that lieth eaſt from the ſouth eaſt end of Mindanao, diſtant from it about twenty leagues. I do not find it ſet down in any ſea chart.

The 15th day we had the wind at north-eaſt, and we ſteered weſt for the iſland Mindanao, and arrived at the ſouth-eaſt end again on the 16th day. There we went in and anchored between two ſmall iſlands, which lie in about five degrees ten minutes north latitude: I mentioned them when we firſt came on this coaſt. Here we found a fine ſmall cove on the north-weſt end of the eaſtermoſt iſland, fit to careen in or hale aſhore; ſo

ſo we went in there and preſently unrigged our ſhip, and provided to hale our ſhip aſhore to clean her bottom. Theſe iſlands are about three or four leagues from the iſland Mindanao; they are about four or five leagues in circumference, and of a pretty good heighth. The mould is black and deep, and there are two ſmall brooks of freſh water.

They are both plentifully ſtored with great high trees, and therefore our carpenters were ſent aſhore to cut down ſome of them for our uſe; for here they made a new boltſprit, which we did ſet here alſo, our old one being very faulty. They made a new fore-yard too and a foretop-maſt: and our pumps being faulty and not ſerviceable, they did cut a tree to make a pump: they firſt ſquared it, then ſawed it in the middle, and then hollowed each ſide exactly. The two hollow ſides were made big enough to contain a pump-box in the midſt of them both when they were joined together; and it required their utmoſt ſkill to cloſe them exactly to the making a tight cylinder for the pump-box, being unaccuſtomed to ſuch work. We learned this way of pump-making from the Spaniards; who make their pumps that they uſe in their ſhips in the South Seas after this manner; and I am confident that there are no better hand pumps in the world than they have.

While we lay here, the young Prince that I mentioned before came on board. He underſtanding that we were bound farther to the ſouthward, deſired us to tranſport him and his men to his own iſland. He ſhewed it to us in our draft, and told us the name of it, which we put down in our draft, for it was not named there; but I quite forgot to put it into my journal.

This man told us, that not above ſix days before this, he ſaw Captain Swan and ſeveral of his men that we left there, and named the names of ſome of them, who he ſaid were all well, and that now they were at the city of Mindanao; but that they had all of them been out with Raja Laut, fighting under him in his wars againſt his enemies the Alfoores; and that moſt of them fought with undaunted courage; for which they were highly honoured and eſteemed, as well by the Sultan as by the general Raja Laut. That now Captain Swan intended to go with his men to Fort St. George, and that in order thereto, he had proffered forty ounces of gold for a ſhip; but the owner and he were not yet agreed; and that he feared the Sultan would not let him go away till the wars were ended.

All this the Prince told us in the Malayan tongue, which many of us had learned; and when he went away he promiſed to return to us again in three days time, and ſo long Captain Read promiſed to ſtay for him (for we had now almoſt finiſhed our buſineſs), and he ſeemed very glad of the opportunity of going with us.

After this I endeavoured to perſuade our men to return with the ſhip to the river of Mindanao, and offer their ſervice again to Captain Swan. I took an opportunity when they were filling of water, there being then half the ſhip's company aſhore; and I found all theſe very willing to do it. I deſired them to ſay nothing till I had tried the minds of the other half, which I intended to do the next day, it being their turn to fill water then; but one of theſe men, who ſeemed moſt forward to invite back Captain Swan, told Captain Read and Captain Teat of the project, and they preſently diſſuaded the men from any ſuch deſigns. Yet fearing the worſt, they made all poſſible haſte to be gone.

I have ſince been informed, that Captain Swan and his men ſtayed there a great while afterward; and that many of the men got paſſages from thence in Dutch ſloops to Ternate, particularly Mr. Roſy, and Mr. Nelly. There they remained a great while, and

and at laſt got to Batavia (where the Dutch took their journals from them) and ſo to Europe; and that ſome of Captain Swan's men died at Mindanao, of which number Mr. Harthrope, and Mr. Smith, Captain Swan's merchants, were two. At laſt Captain Swan and his ſurgeon going in a ſmall canoe aboard of a Dutch ſhip, then in the road, in order to get paſſage to Europe, were overſet by the natives at the mouth of the river; who waited their coming purpoſely to do it, but unſuſpected by them; where they were both killed in the water. This was done by the general's order, as ſome think, to get his gold, which he did immediately ſeize on. Others ſay, it was becauſe the general's houſe was burnt a little before, and Captain Swan was ſuſpected to be the author of it: and others ſay, that it was Captain Swan's threats occaſioned his own ruin; for he would often ſay paſſionately, that he had been abuſed by the general, and that he would have ſatisfaction for it: ſaying alſo, that now he was well acquainted with their rivers, and knew how to come in at any time; that he alſo knew their manner of fighting, and the weakneſs of their country; and therefore he would go away, and get a band of men to aſſiſt him, and returning thither again, he would ſpoil and take all that they had, and their country too. When the general had been informed of theſe diſcourſes, he would ſay, "What, is Captain Swan made of iron, and able to reſiſt a whole kingdom? Or does he think that we are afraid of him, that he ſpeaks thus?" Yet did he never touch him, till now the Mindanayans killed him. It is very probable there might be ſomewhat of truth in all this; for the captain was paſſionate, and the general greedy of gold. But whatever was the occaſion, ſo he was killed, as ſeveral have aſſured me, and his gold ſeized on, and all his things; and his journal alſo from England, as far as Cape Corrientes on the coaſt of Mexico. This journal was afterwards ſent away from thence by Mr. Moody (who was there both a little before and a little after the murder), and he ſent it to England by Mr. Goddard, chief mate of the defence.

But to our purpoſe: ſeeing I could not perſuade them to go to Captain Swan again, I had a great deſire to have had the prince's company; but Captain Read was afraid to let his fickle crew lie long. That very day that the prince had promiſed to return to us, which was November 2, 1687, we ſailed hence, directing our courſe ſouth-weſt, and having the wind at north-weſt.

This wind continued till we came in ſight of the iſland Celebes; then it veered about to the weſt, and to the ſouthward of the weſt. We came up with the north-eaſt end of the iſland Celebes the ninth day, and there we found the current ſetting to the weſtward ſo ſtrongly that we could hardly get on the eaſt ſide of that iſland.

The iſland Celebes is a very large iſland, extended in length from north to ſouth about ſeven degrees latitude, and in breadth it is about three degrees. It lies under the equator, the north end being in latitude one degree thirty minutes north, and the ſouth end in latitude five degrees thirty minutes ſouth, and by common account the north point in the bulk of this iſland lies neareſt north and ſouth, but at the north-eaſt end there runs out a long narrow point, ſtretching north-eaſt, about thirty leagues; and about thirty leagues to the eaſtward of this long ſlip, is the iſland Gilolo, on the weſt ſide of which are four ſmall iſlands cloſe by it, which are very well ſtored with cloves. The two chiefeſt are Ternate and Tidore; and as the iſle of Ceylon is reckoned the only place for cinnamon, and that of Banda for nutmegs, ſo theſe are thought by ſome to be the only clove-iſlands in the world; but this is a great error, as I have already ſhewn.

At the ſouth end of the iſland Celebes there is a ſea or gulph, of about ſeven or

eight leagues wide, and forty or fifty long, which runs up the country almoſt directly to the north; and this gulph hath ſeveral ſmall iſlands along the middle of it. On the weſt ſide of the iſland, almoſt at the ſouth end of it, the town of Macaſſer is ſeated. A town of great ſtrength and trade, belonging to the Dutch.

There are great inlets and lakes on the eaſt ſide of the iſland; as alſo abundance of ſmall iſlands and ſhoals lying ſcattered about it. We ſaw a high peaked hill at the north end: but the land on the eaſt ſide is low all along; for we cruiſed almoſt the length of it. The mould on this ſide is black and deep, and extraordinary fat and rich, and full of trees: and there are many brooks of water run out into the ſea. Indeed all this eaſt ſide of the iſland ſeems to be but one large grove of extraordinary great high trees.

Having with much ado got on this eaſt ſide, coaſting along to the ſouthward, and yet having but little wind, and even that little againſt us, at ſouth-ſouth-weſt, and ſometimes calm, we were a long time going about the iſland.

The twenty-ſecond day we were in latitude one degree twenty minutes ſouth, and being about three leagues from the iſland ſtanding to the ſouthward, with a very gentle land wind, about two or three o'clock in the morning we heard a claſhing in the water, like boats rowing; and fearing ſome ſudden attack, we got up all our arms, and ſtood ready to defend ourſelves. As ſoon as it was day, we ſaw a great prow, built like the Mindanayan prows, with about ſixty men in her; and ſix ſmaller prows. They lay ſtill about a mile to windward of us, to view us; and propably deſigned to make a prey of us when they firſt came out; but they were now afraid to venture on us.

At laſt we ſhewed them Dutch colours, thinking thereby to allure them to come to us, for we could not go to them; but they preſently rowed in toward the iſland, and went into a large opening; and we ſaw them no more: nor did we ever ſee any other boats or men, but only one fiſhing canoe, while we were about this iſland; neither did we ſee any houſe on all the coaſt.

About five or ſix leagues to the ſouth of this place, there is a great range of both large and ſmall iſlands, and many ſhoals alſo, that are not laid down in our drafts; which made it extremely troubleſome for us to get through. But we paſt between them all and the iſland Celebes, and anchored againſt a ſandy bay in eight fathoms ſandy ground, about half a mile from the main iſland; being then in latitude one degree fifty minutes ſouth.

Here we ſtayed ſeveral days, and ſent out our canoes a ſtriking of turtle every day; for here is great plenty of them; but they were very ſhy, as they were generally wherever we found them in the Eaſt India ſeas. I know not the reaſon of it, unleſs the natives go very much a ſtriking here; for even in the Weſt Indies they are ſhy in places that are much diſturbed: and yet on New Holland we found them ſhy, as I ſhall relate, though the natives there do not moleſt them.

On the ſhoal without us we went and gathered ſhell-fiſh at low water. There were a monſtrous ſort of cockles: the meat of one of them would ſuffice ſeven or eight men. It was very good wholeſome meat. We did alſo beat about in the woods on the iſland, but found no game. One of our men, who was always troubled with ſore legs, found a certain vine that ſupported itſelf by clinging about other trees. The leaves reach ſix or ſeven feet high, but the ſtrings or branches eleven or twelve. It had a very green leaf, pretty broad and roundiſh, and of a thick ſubſtance. Theſe leaves pounded ſmall and boiled with hog's lard make an excellent ſalve. Our men knowing the virtues of it ſtocked themſelves here: there was ſcarce a man in the ſhip

but got a pound or two of it; eſpecially ſuch as were troubled with old ulcers, who found great benefit by it. This man that diſcovered theſe leaves here, had his firſt knowledge of them in the Iſthmus of Darien; he having had his receipt from one of the Indians there: and he had been aſhore in divers places ſince, purpoſely to ſeek theſe leaves, but did never find any but here. Among the many vaſt trees hereabouts there was one exceeded all the reſt. This Captain Read cauſed to be cut down, in order to make a canoe, having loſt our boats, all but one ſmall one, in the late ſtorms: ſo ſix luſty men, who had been logwood-cutters in the bays of Campeachy and Honduras (as Captain Read himſelf and many more of us had), and ſo were very expert at this work, undertook to fell it, taking their turn, three always cutting together; and they were one whole day, and half the next before they got it down. This tree though it grew in a wood, was yet eighteen feet in circumference, and forty-four feet of clean body, without knot or branch: and even there it had no more than one or two branches, and then ran clear again ten feet higher; there it ſpread itſelf into many great limbs and branches, like an oak, very green and flouriſhing: yet it was periſhed at the heart, which marred it for the ſervice intended.

So leaving it, and having no more buſineſs here, we weighed and went from hence the next day, it being the 29th day of November. While we lay here we had ſome tornadoes, one or two every day, and pretty freſh land winds which were at weſt. The ſea breezes are ſmall and uncertain, ſometimes out of the north-eaſt, and ſo veering about to the eaſt and ſouth-eaſt. We had the wind at north-eaſt when we weighed, and we ſteered off ſouth-ſouth-weſt. In the afternoon we ſaw a ſhoal a-head of us, and altered our courſe to the ſouth-ſouth-eaſt. In the evening at four o'clock we were cloſe by another great ſhoal; therefore we tacked, and ſtood in for the iſland Celebes again, for fear of running on ſome of the ſhoals in the night. By day a man might avoid them well enough, for they had all beacons on them, like huts built on tall poſts, above high-water mark, probably ſet up by the natives of the iſland Celebes, or thoſe of ſome other neighbouring iſlands; and I never ſaw any ſuch elſewhere. In the night we had a violent tornado out of the ſouth-weſt, which laſted about an hour.

The thirtieth day we had a freſh land wind, and ſteered away ſouth, paſſing between the two ſhoals, which we ſaw the day before. Theſe ſhoals lie in latitude three degrees ſouth, and about ten leagues from the iſland Celebes. Being paſt them, the wind died away, and we lay becalmed till the afternoon: then we had a hard tornado out of the ſouth-weſt, and towards the evening we ſaw two or three ſpouts, the firſt I had ſeen ſince I came into the Eaſt Indies; in the Weſt Indies I had often met with them. A ſpout is a ſmall ragged piece or part of a cloud hanging down about a yard, ſeemingly from the blackeſt part thereof. Commonly it hangs down ſloping from thence, or ſometimes appearing with a ſmall bending or elbow in the middle. I never ſaw any hang perpendicularly down. It is ſmall at the lower end, ſeeming no bigger than one's arm, but ſtill fuller towards the cloud, from whence it proceeds.

When the ſurface of the ſea begins to work, you ſhall ſee the water, for about one hundred paces in circumference, foam and move gently round till the whirling motion increaſes; and then it flies upward in a pillar about one hundred paces in compaſs at the bottom, but leſſening gradually upwards to the ſmallneſs of the ſpout itſelf there where it reacheth the lower end of the ſpout, through which the riſing ſea-water ſeems to be conveyed into the clouds. This viſibly appears by the clouds increaſing in bulk and blackneſs. Then you ſhall preſently ſee the cloud drive along, although before it ſeemed to be without any motion; the ſpout alſo keeping the ſame courſe with the

cloud, and ſtill ſucking up the water as it goes along, and they make a wind as they go. Thus it continues for the ſpace of half an hour, more or leſs, until the ſucking is ſpent, and then breaking off, all the water which was below the ſpout, or pendulous piece of cloud, falls down again into the ſea, making a great noiſe with its fall and claſhing motion in the ſea.

It is very dangerous for a ſhip to be under a ſpout when it breaks, therefore we always endeavour to ſhun it, by keeping at a diſtance, if poſſibly we can. But for want of wind to carry us away, we are often in great fear and danger, for it is uſually calm when ſpouts are at work; except only juſt where they are. Therefore men at ſea, when they ſee a ſpout coming, and know not how to avoid it, do ſometimes fire ſhot out of their great guns into it, to give it air or vent, that ſo it may break; but I did never hear that it proved to be of any benefit.

And now being on this ſubject, I think it not amiſs to give you an account of an accident that happened to a ſhip once on the coaſt of Guinea, ſometime in or about the year 1674. One Captain Records, of London, bound for the coaſt of Guinea, in a ſhip of three hundred tuns, and ſixteen guns, called the Bleſſing; when he came into the latitude ſeven or eight degrees north, he ſaw ſeveral ſpouts, one of which came directly towards the ſhip, and he having no wind to get out of the way of the ſpout, made ready to receive it by furling his ſails. It came on very ſwift and broke a little before it reached the ſhip; making a great noiſe, and raiſing the ſea round it, as if a great houſe or ſome ſuch thing, had been caſt into the ſea. The fury of the wind ſtill laſted, and took the ſhip on the ſtarboard-bow with ſuch violence, that it ſnapt off the boltſprit and fore-maſt both at once, and blew the ſhip all along, ready to overſet it, but the ſhip did preſently right again, and the wind whirling round, took the ſhip a ſecond time with the like fury as before, but on the contrary ſide, and was again like to overſet her the other way. The mizen-maſt felt the fury of this ſecond blaſt, and was ſnapt ſhort off, as the fore-maſt and boltſprit had been before. The main-maſt, and maintop-maſt, received no damage, for the fury of the wind (which was preſently over) did not reach them. Three men were in the fore-top when the fore-maſt broke, and one on the boltſplit, and fell with them into the ſea, but all of them were ſaved. I had this relation from M. John Canby, who was then quarter-maſter, and ſteward of her; one Abraham Wiſe was chief mate, and Leonard Jefferies ſecond mate.

We are uſually very much afraid of them: yet this was the only damage that ever I heard done by them. They ſeem terrible enough, the rather becauſe they come upon you while you lie becalmed, like a log in the ſea, and cannot get out of their way: but though I have ſeen, and been beſet by them often, yet the fright was always the greateſt of the harm.

December the 1ſt, we had a gentle gale at eaſt-ſouth-eaſt, we ſteered ſouth; and at noon I was by obſervation in latitude three degrees thirty-four minutes ſouth. Then we ſaw the iſland Bouton, bearing ſouth-weſt, and about ten leagues diſtant. We had very uncertain and unconſtant winds: the tornadoes came out of the ſouth-weſt, which was againſt us; and what other winds we had were ſo faint, that they did us little kindneſs; but we took the advantage of the ſmalleſt gale, and got a little way every day. The 4th day at noon I was by obſervation in latitude four degrees thirty minutes ſouth.

The 5th day we got cloſe by the north-weſt end of the iſland Bouton, and in the evening, it being fair weather, we hoiſted out our canoe, and ſent the Moſkito men, of whom we had two or three, to ſtrike turtle, for here are plenty of them; but they

being ſhy, we choſe to ſtrike them in the night (which is cuſtomary in the Weſt Indies alſo); for every time they come up to breathe, which is once in eight or ten minutes, they blow ſo hard, that one may hear them at thirty or forty yards diſtance; by which means the ſtriker knows where they are, and may more eaſily approach them than in the day, for the turtle ſees better than he hears; but on the contrary, the manatee's hearing is quickeſt.

In the morning they returned with a very large turtle, which they took near the ſhore; and withal an Indian of the iſland came aboard with them. He ſpake the Malayan language; by which we did underſtand him. He told us, that two leagues farther to the ſouthward of us, there was a good harbour, in which we might anchor: ſo having a fair wind, we got thither by noon.

This harbour is in latitude four degrees fifty-four minutes ſouth; lying on the eaſt ſide of the iſland Bouton, which iſland lies near the ſouth-eaſt end of the iſland Celebes, diſtant from it about three or four leagues. It is of a long form, ſtretching ſouth-weſt and north-eaſt above twenty-five leagues long, and ten broad. It is pretty high land, and appears pretty even, and flat and very woody.

There is a large town within a league of the anchoring place, called Callaſuſung, being the chief, if there were more; which we know not. It is about a mile from the ſea, on the top of a ſmall hill, in a very fair plain, incompaſſed with coçoa-nut trees. Without the trees there is a ſtrong ſtone wall clear round the town. The houſes are built like the houſes at Mindanao; but more neat: and the whole town was very clean and delightſome.

The inhabitants are ſmall, and well ſhaped. They are much like the Mindanayans in ſhape, colour, and habit; but more neat and tight. They ſpeak the Malayan language, and are all Mahometans. They are very obedient to the Sultan, who is a little man, about forty or fifty years old, and hath a great many wives and children.

About an hour after we came to an anchor, the Sultan ſent a meſſenger aboard, to know what we were, and what our buſineſs. We gave him an account, and he returned aſhore, and in a ſhort time after he came aboard again, and told us, that the Sultan was very well pleaſed when he heard that we were Engliſh; and ſaid, that we ſhould have any thing that the iſland afforded; and that he himſelf would come aboard in the morning; therefore the ſhip was made clean, and every thing put in the beſt order to receive him.

The 6th day in the morning betimes a great many boats and canoes came aboard, with fowls, eggs, plantains, potatoes, &c. but they would diſpoſe of none till they had orders for it from the Sultan, at his coming. About ten o'clock the Sultan came aboard in a very neat prow, built after the Mindanao faſhion. There was a large white ſilk flag at the head of the maſt, edged round with a deep red for about two or three inches broad, and in the middle there was neatly drawn a green griffon, trampling on a winged ſerpent, that ſeemed to ſtruggle to get up, and threatened his adverſary with open mouth, and with a long ſting that was ready to be darted into his legs. Other Eaſt Indian Princes have their devices alſo.

The Sultan with three or four of his nobles, and three of his ſons, ſat in the houſe of the prow. His guards were ten muſqueteers, five ſtanding on one ſide of the prow, and five on the other ſide; and before the door of the prow-houſe ſtood one with a great broad ſword and a target, and two more ſuch at the after part of the houſe; and in the head and ſtern of the prow ſtood four muſqueteers more, two at each end.

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The Sultan had a ſilk turbat, laced with narrow gold lace by the ſides, and broad lace at the end: which hung down on one ſide the head, after the Mindanayan faſhion. He had a ſky-coloured ſilk pair of breeches, and a piece of red ſilk thrown croſs his ſhoulders, and hanging looſe about him; the greateſt part of his back and waiſt appearing naked. He had neither ſtocking nor ſhoe. One of his ſons was about fifteen or ſixteen years old, the other two were young things; and they were always in the arms of one or other of his attendants.

Captain Read met him at the ſide, and led him into his ſmall cabin, and fired five guns for his welcome. As ſoon as he came aboard he gave leave to his ſubjects to traffic with us; and then our people bought what they had a mind to. The Sultan ſeemed very well pleaſed to be viſited by the Engliſh; and ſaid he had coveted to have a ſight of Engliſhmen, having heard extraordinary characters of their juſt and honourable dealing: but he exclaimed againſt the Dutch, (as all the Mindanayans, and all the Indians we met with do) and wiſhed them at a greater diſtance.

For Macaſſer is not very far from hence, one of the chiefeſt towns that the Dutch have in thoſe parts. From thence the Dutch come ſometimes hither to purchaſe ſlaves. The ſlaves that theſe people get here and ſell to the Dutch, are ſome of the idolatrous natives of the iſland, who not being under the Sultan, and having no head, live ſtraggling in the country, flying from one place to another to preſerve themſelves from the Prince and his ſubjects, who hunt after them to make them ſlaves. For the civilized Indians of the maritime places, who trade with foreigners, if they cannot reduce the inland people to the obedience of their Prince, they catch all they can of them and ſell them for ſlaves; accounting them to be but as ſavages, juſt as the Spaniards do the poor Americans.

After two or three hours diſcourſe, the Sultan went aſhore again, and five guns were fired at his departure alſo. The next day he ſent for Captain Read to come aſhore, and he with ſeven or eight men went to wait on the Sultan. I could not ſlip an opportunity of ſeeing the place; and ſo accompanied them. We were met at the landing place by two of the chief men, and guided to a pretty neat houſe, where the Sultan waited our coming. The houſe ſtood at the further end of all the town beforementioned, which we paſt through; and abundance of people were gazing on us as we paſt by. When we came near the houſe, there were forty poor naked ſoldiers with muſquets made a lane for us to paſs through. This houſe was not built on poſts, as the reſt were, after the Mindanayan way; but the room in which we were entertained was on the ground, covered with mats to ſit on. Our entertainment was tobacco and betel-nut, and young cocoa-nuts; and the houſe was beſet with men, and women and children, who thronged to get near the windows to look on us.

We did not tarry above an hour before we took our leaves and departed. This town ſtands in a ſandy ſoil; but what the reſt of the iſland is I know not, for none of us were aſhore but at this place.

The next day the Sultan came aboard again, and preſented Captain Read with a little boy, but he was too ſmall to be ſerviceable on board; and ſo Captain Read returned thanks, and told him he was too little for him. Then the Sultan ſent for a bigger boy, which the Captain accepted. This boy was a very pretty tractable boy; but what was wonderful in him, he had two rows of teeth, one within another on each jaw. None of the other people were ſo, nor did I ever ſee the like. The Captain was preſented alſo with two he-goats, and was promiſed ſome buffalo, but I do believe that they have but few of either on the iſland. We did not ſee any buffalo, nor many goats, neither have they much rice, but their chiefeſt food is roots. We bought here

about a thouſand pound weight of potatoes. Here our men bought alſo abundance of crockadores, and ſine large parakites, curiouſly coloured, and ſome of them the fineſt I ever ſaw.

The crockadore is as big as a parrot, and ſhaped much like it, with ſuch a bill; but it is as white as milk, and hath a bunch of feathers on his head like a crown. At this place we bought a prow alſo of the Mindanayan make, for our own uſe, which our carpenters afterwards altered, and made a delicate boat fit for any ſervice. She was ſharp at both ends, but we ſawed off one, and made that end flat, faſtening a rudder to it, and ſhe rowed and ſailed incomparably.

We ſtayed here but till the 12th day, becauſe it was a bad harbour and foul ground, and a bad time of the year too, for the tornadoes began to come in thick and ſtrong. When we went to weigh our anchor, it was hooked in a rock, and we broke our cable, and could not get our anchor, though we ſtrove hard for it; ſo we went away and left it there. We had the wind at north-north-eaſt and we ſteered towards the ſouth-eaſt, and fell in with four or five ſmall iſlands, that lie in five degrees forty minutes ſouth latitude, and about five or ſix leagues from Callaſuſung harbour. Theſe iſlands appeared very green with cocoa-nut trees, and we ſaw two or three towns on them, and heard a drum all night, for we were got in among ſhoals, and could not get out again till the next day. We knew not whether the drum were for fear of us, or that they were making merry, as it is uſual in theſe parts to do all the night, ſinging and dancing till morning.

We found a pretty ſtrong tide here, the flood ſetting to the ſouthward, and the ebb to the northward. Theſe ſhoals, and many other that are not laid down in our drafts, lie on the ſouth-weſt ſide of the iſlands where we heard the drum, about a league from them. At laſt we paſt between the iſlands, and tried for a paſſage on the eaſt ſide. We met with divers ſhoals on this ſide alſo, but found channels to paſs through; ſo we ſteered away for the iſland Timor, intending to paſs out by it. We had the winds commonly at weſt-ſouth-weſt and ſouth-weſt hard gales and rainy weather.

The 16th day we got clear of the ſhoals, and ſteered ſouth by eaſt with the wind at weſt-ſouth-weſt, but veering every half hour, ſometimes at ſouth-weſt and then again at weſt, and ſometimes at north-north-weſt bringing much rain, with thunder and lightning.

The 20th day we paſſed by the iſland Omba, which is a pretty high iſland, lying in latitude eight degrees twenty minutes, and not above five or ſix leagues from the north-eaſt part of the iſland Timor. It is about thirteen or fourteen leagues long, and five or ſix leagues wide.

About ſeven or eight leagues to the weſt of Omba, is another pretty large iſland, but it had no name in our plats; yet by the ſituation it ſhould be that which in ſome maps is called Pentare. We ſaw on it abundance of ſmoaks by day, and fires by night, and a large town on the north-ſide of it, not far from the ſea; but it was ſuch bad weather that we did not go aſhore. Between Omba and Pentare, and in the mid channel, there is a ſmall low ſandy iſland, with great ſhoals on either ſide; but there is a very good channel cloſe by Pentare, between that and the ſhoals about the ſmall iſle. We were three days beating off and on, not having a wind, for it was at ſouth-ſouth-weſt.

The 23d day in the evening having a ſmall gale at north, we got through, keeping cloſe by Pencare. The tide of ebb here ſet out to the ſouthward, by which we were helped through, for we had but little wind. But this tide, which did us a kindneſs in

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ſetting us through, had like to have ruined us afterwards; for there are two ſmall iſlands lying at the ſouth end of the channel we came through, and towards theſe iſlands the tide hurried us ſo ſwiftly, that we very narrowly eſcaped being driven aſhore; for the little wind we had before at north dying away, we had not one breath of wind when we came there, neither was there any anchor-ground. But we got out our oars and rowed, yet all in vain: for the tide ſet wholly on one of theſe ſmall iſlands, that we were forced with might and main ſtrength to bear off the ſhip, by thruſting with our oars againſt the ſhore, which was a ſteep bank, and by this means we preſently drove away clear of danger; and having a little wind in the night at north, we ſteered away ſouth-ſouth-weſt. In the morning again we had the wind at weſt-ſouth-weſt, and ſteered ſouth, and the wind coming to the weſt-north-weſt we ſteered ſouth-weſt to get clear of the ſouth-weſt end of the iſland Timor. The 29th day we ſaw the north-weſt point of Timor ſouth-eaſt by eaſt diſtant about eight leagues.

Timor is a long high mountainous iſland ſtretching north-eaſt and ſouth-weſt. It is about ſeventy leagues long and fifteen or ſixteen wide, the middle of the iſland is in latitude about nine degrees ſouth. I have been informed that the Portugueſe do trade to this iſland; but I know nothing of its produce beſides coire for making cables.

The 27th day we ſaw two ſmall iſlands which lie near the ſouth-weſt end of Timor. They bear from us ſouth-eaſt. We had very hard gales of wind, and ſtill with a great deal of rain, the wind at weſt and weſt-ſouth-weſt.

Being now clear of all the iſlands we ſtood off ſouth, intending to touch at New Holland, a part of Terra Auſtralis Incognita, to ſee what that country would afford us. Indeed as the winds were we could not now keep our intended courſe, which was firſt weſterly and then northerly, without going to New Holland, unleſs we had gone back again among the iſlands: but this was not a good time of the year to be among any iſlands to the ſouth of the equator, unleſs in a good harbour.

The 31ſt day we were in latitude thirteen degrees twenty minutes ſtill ſtanding to the ſouthward, the wind bearing commonly very hard at weſt, we keeping upon it under two courſes, and our mizen and ſometimes a maintop-ſail rift. About ten o'clock at night we tacked and ſtood to the northward, for fear of running on a ſhoal which is laid down in our drafts in latitude thirteen degrees fifty minutes, or thereabouts: it bearing ſouth by weſt from the eaſt end of Timor; and ſo the iſland bore from us by our judgments and reckoning. At three o'clock we tacked again, and ſtood ſouth by weſt and ſouth-ſouth-weſt.

In the morning as ſoon as it was day, we ſaw the ſhoal right a-head: it lies in thirteen degrees fifty minutes by all our reckonings. It is a ſmall ſpit of ſand, juſt appearing above the water's edge, with ſeveral rocks about it, eight or ten feet high above water. It lies in a triangular form, each ſide being about a league and a half. We ſtemmed right with the middle of it, and ſtood within half a mile of the rocks, and ſounded, but found no ground. Then we went about and ſtood to the north two hours; and then tacked and ſtood to the ſouthward again, thinking to weather it, but could not; ſo we bore away on the north ſide, till we came to the eaſt point, giving the rocks a ſmall birth; then we trimmed ſharp and ſtood to the ſouthward, paſſing cloſe by it, and ſounded again, but found no ground.

This ſhoal is laid down in our drafts not above ſixteen or twenty leagues from New Holland, but we did run afterwards ſixty leagues due ſouth before we fell in with it; and I am very confident, that no part of New Holland hereabouts lies ſo far northerly by forty leagues as it is laid down in our drafts. For if New Holland were laid down

true,

true, we muſt of neceſſity have been driven near forty leagues to the weſtward of our courſe; but this is very improbable that the current ſhould ſet ſo ſtrong to the weſtward, ſeeing we had ſuch a conſtant weſterly wind. I grant that when the monſoon ſhifts firſt, the current does not preſently ſhift, but runs afterwards near a month, but the monſoon had been ſhifted at leaſt two months now: but of the monſoons and other winds, and of the currents, elſewhere in their proper place. As to theſe here, I do rather believe that the land is not laid down true, than that the current deceived us; for it was more probable we ſhould have been deceived before we met with a ſhoal than afterwards; for on the coaſt of New Holland we found the tides keeping their conſtant courſe, the flood running north by eaſt and the ebb ſouth by eaſt.

The 4th day of January 1688, we fell in with the land of New Holland in the latitude of 16 degrees fifty minutes, having, as I ſaid before, made our courſe due ſouth from the ſhoal that we paſt by the 31ſt day of December. We ran in cloſe by it, and finding no convenient anchoring, becauſe it lies open to the north-weſt, we ran along ſhore to the eaſtward, ſteering north-eaſt by eaſt, for ſo the land lies. We ſteered thus about twelve leagues; and then came to a point of land from whence the land trends eaſt and ſoutherly for ten or twelve leagues, but how afterwards I know not. About three leagues to the eaſtward of this point there is a pretty deep bay with abundance of iſlands in it, and a very good place to anchor in, or to hale aſhore. About a league to the eaſtward of that point we anchored January the 5th, 1688, two miles from the ſhore in twenty-nine fathoms, good hard ſand and clean ground.

New Holland is a very large tract of land. It is not yet determined whether it is an iſland or a main continent; but I am certain that it joins neither to Aſia, Africa, nor America. This part of it that we ſaw is all low even land with ſandy banks againſt the ſea, only the points are rocky, and ſo are ſome of the iſlands in this bay.

The land is of a dry ſandy ſoil, deſtitute of water, except you make wells, yet producing divers ſorts of trees; but the woods are not thick, nor the trees very big. Moſt of the trees that we ſaw are dragon-trees as we ſuppoſed; and theſe too are the largeſt trees of any there. They are about the bigneſs of our large apple-trees, and about the ſame heighth, and the rind is blackiſh and ſomewhat rough; the leaves are of a dark colour; the gum diſtils out of the knots or cracks that are in the bodies of the trees. We compared it with ſome gum-dragon, or dragon's blood that was aboard, and it was of the ſame colour and taſte. The other ſort of trees were not known by any of us. There was pretty long graſs growing under the trees, but it was very thin. We ſaw no trees that bore fruit or berries.

We ſaw no ſort of animal nor any track of beaſt, but once; and that ſeemed to be the tread of a beaſt as big as a great maſtiff dog. Here are a few ſmall land birds, but none bigger than a black-bird, and but few ſea fowls. Neither is the ſea very plentifully ſtored with fiſh, unleſs you reckon the manatee and turtle as ſuch; of theſe creatures there is plenty, but they are extraordinary ſhy, though the inhabitants cannot trouble them much, having neither boats nor iron.

The inhabitants of this country are the miſerableſt people in the world. The Hodmadods of Monomatapa, though a naſty people, yet for wealth are gentlemen to theſe; who have no houſes and ſkin-garments, ſheep, poultry, and fruits of the earth, oſtrich eggs, &c. as the Hodmadods have: and ſetting aſide their human ſhape, they differ but little from brutes. They are tall, ſtrait-bodied and thin, with ſmall long limbs. They have great heads, round foreheads, and great brows. Their eyelids are always half cloſed, to keep the flies out of their eyes: they being ſo troubleſome here, that no fanning will keep them from coming to one's face, and without the aſſiſtance of

of both hands to keep them off they will creep into one's noſtrils and mouth too, if the lips are not ſhut very cloſe; ſo that from their infancy being thus annoyed with theſe inſects they do never open their eyes as other people: and therefore they cannot ſee far unleſs they hold up their heads, as if they were looking at ſomewhat over them.

They have great bottle-noſes, pretty full lips, and wide mouths; the two fore-teeth of their upper jaw are wanting in all of them, men and women, old and young; whether they draw them out I know not; neither have they any beards. They are long viſaged, and of a very unpleaſing aſpect, having no one graceful feature in their faces. Their hair is black, ſhort and curled, like that of the negroes, and not long and lank like the common Indians. The colour of their ſkins, both of their faces and the reſt of their body, is coal-black, like that of the negroes of Guinea.

They have no ſort of cloaths but a piece of the rind of a tree tied like a girdle about their waiſts, and a handful of long graſs, or three or four ſmall green boughs full of leaves, thruſt under their girdle to cover their nakedneſs.

They have no houſes, but lie in the open air without any covering: the earth being their bed and the heaven their canopy. Whether they cohabit one man to one woman, or promiſcuouſly, I know not; but they do live in companies, twenty or thirty men, women, and children together. Their only food is a ſmall ſort of fiſh, which they get by making wares of ſtone acroſs little coves or branches of the ſea; every tide bringing in the ſmall fiſh and there leaving them for a prey to theſe people, who conſtantly attend there to ſearch for them at low water. This ſmall fry I take to be the top of their fiſhery. They have no inſtruments to catch great fiſh ſhould they come, and ſuch ſeldom ſtay to be left behind at low water; nor could we catch any fiſh with our hooks and lines all the while we lay there. In other places at low water they ſeek for cockles, muſcles, and periwincles: of theſe ſhell-fiſh there are fewer ſtill, ſo that their chiefeſt dependence is upon what the ſea leaves in their wares; which be it much or little they gather up, and march to the places of their abode. There the old people that are not able to ſtir abroad by reaſon of their age, and the tender infants, wait their return; and what Providence has beſtowed on them they preſently broil on the coals, and eat it in common. Sometimes they get as many fiſh as makes them a plentiful banquet, and at other times they ſcarce get every one a taſte; but be it little or much that they get every one has his part, as well the young and tender, the old and feeble, who are not able to go abroad, as the ſtrong and luſty. When they have eaten they lie down till the next low water, and then all that are able march out, be it night or day, rain or ſhine, it is all one, they muſt attend the wares or elſe they muſt faſt, for the earth affords them no food at all. There is neither herb, root, pulſe nor any ſort of grain for them to eat, that we ſaw; nor any ſort of bird or beaſt that they can catch, having no inſtruments wherewithal to do ſo.

I did not perceive that they did worſhip any thing. Theſe poor creatures have a ſort of weapon to defend their ware, or fight with their enemies, if they have any that will interfere with their poor fiſhery. They did at firſt endeavour with their weapons to frighten us, who lying aſhore deterred them from one of their fiſhing-places. Some of them had wooden ſwords, others had a ſort of lances. The ſword is a piece of wood ſhaped ſomewhat like a cutlaſs. The lance is a long ſtraight pole ſharp at one end, and hardened afterwards by heat. I ſaw no iron nor any other ſort of metal; therefore it is probable they uſe ſtone-hatchets, as ſome Indians in America do, deſcribed in Chap. IV.

How they get their fire I know not, but probably as Indians do out of wood. I have ſeen the Indians of Bon-Airy do it, and have myſelf tried the experiment: they take a

flat piece of wood that is pretty ſoft and make a ſmall dent in one ſide of it, then they take another hard round ſtick, about the bigneſs of one's little finger, and ſharpening it at one end like a pencil, they put that ſharp end in the hole or dent of the flat ſoft piece, and then rubbing or twirling the hard piece between the palms of their hands, they drill the ſoft piece till it ſmokes, and at laſt takes fire.

Theſe people ſpeak ſomewhat through the throat, but we could not underſtand one word that they ſaid. We anchored, as I ſaid before, January the 5th, and ſeeing men walking on the ſhore, we preſently ſent a canoe to get ſome acquaintance with them: for we were in hopes to get ſome proviſion among them; but the inhabitants ſeeing our boat coming, ran away and hid themſelves. We ſearched afterwards three days in hopes to find their houſes, but found none; yet we ſaw many places where they had made fire. At laſt, being out of hopes to find their habitations, we ſearched no farther, but left a great many toys aſhore in ſuch places where we thought that they would come. In all our ſearch we found no water, but old wells on the ſandy bays.

At laſt we went over to the iſlands, and there we found a great many of the natives: I do believe there were forty on one iſland, men, women, and children. The men at our firſt coming aſhore threatened us with their lances and ſwords; but they were frighted by firing one gun, which we fired purpoſely to ſcare them. The iſland was ſo ſmall that they could not hide themſelves; but they were much diſordered at our landing, eſpecially the women and children, for we went directly to their camp. The luſtieſt of the women ſnatching up their infants ran away howling, and the little children run after ſqueaking and bawling, but the men ſtood ſtill. Some of the women, and ſuch people as could not go from us, lay ſtill by a fire, making a doleful noiſe, as if we had been coming to devour them; but when they ſaw we did not intend to harm them, they were pretty quiet, and the reſt that fled from us at our firſt coming returned again. This their place of dwelling was only a fire with a few boughs before it, ſet up on that ſide the wind was of.

After we had been here a little while, the men began to be familiar, and we clothed ſome of them, deſigning to have had ſome ſervice of them for it, for we found ſome wells of water here, and intended to carry two or three barrels of it aboard; but it being ſomewhat troubleſome to carry to the canoes, we thought to have made theſe men to have carried it for us, and therefore we gave them ſome old cloaths: to one an old pair of breeches, to another a ragged ſhirt, to the third a jacket that was ſcarce worth owning; which yet would have been very acceptable at ſome places where we had been, and ſo we thought they might have been with theſe people. We put them on them, thinking that this finery would have brought them to work heartily for us; and our water being filled in ſmall long barrels, about ſix gallons in each, which were made purpoſely to carry water in, we brought theſe our new ſervants to the wells, and put a barrel on each of their ſhoulders for them to carry to the canoe. But all the ſigns we could make were to no purpoſe, for they ſtood like ſtatues, without motion, but grinned like ſo many monkies, ſtaring one upon another: for theſe poor creatures ſeem not accuſtomed to carry burthens, and I believe that one of our ſhip-boys of ten years old would carry as much as one of them. So we were forced to carry our water ourſelves, and they very fairly put the cloaths off again, and laid them down, as if cloaths were only to work in. I did not perceive that they had any great liking to them at firſt, neither did they ſeem to admire any thing that we had.

At another time our canoe being among theſe iſlands ſeeking for game, eſpied a drove of theſe men ſwimming from one iſland to another; for they have no boats, canoes, or bark-logs. They took up four of them, and brought them on board; two of

of them were middle-aged, the other two were young men about eighteen or twenty years old. To theſe we gave boiled rice, and with it turtle and manatee boiled. They did greedily devour what we gave them, but took no notice of the ſhip, or any thing in it, and when they were ſet on land again, they ran away as faſt as they could. At our firſt coming, before we were acquainted with them, or they with us, a company of them who lived on the main, came juſt againſt our ſhip, and ſtanding on a pretty high bank, threatened us with their ſwords and lances, by ſhaking them at us. At laſt the captain ordered the drum to be beaten, which was done of a ſudden with much vigour, purpoſely to ſcare the poor creatures. They hearing the noiſe, ran away as faſt as they could drive; and when they ran away in haſte, they would cry "gurry, gurry," ſpeaking deep in the throat. Thoſe inhabitants alſo that live on the main, would always run away from us; yet we took ſeveral of them. For, as I have already obſerved, they had ſuch bad eyes, that they could not ſee us till we came cloſe to them. We did always give them victuals, and let them go again, but the iſlanders, after our firſt time of being among them, did not ſtir for us.

When we had been here about a week, we haled our ſhip into a ſmall ſandy cove, at a ſpring-tide, as far as ſhe would float; and at low water ſhe was left dry, and the ſand dry without us near half a mile; for the ſea riſeth and falleth here about five fathom. The flood runs north by eaſt, and the ebb ſouth by weſt. All the neap-tides we lay wholly aground, for the ſea did not come near us by about a hundred yards. We had therefore time enough to clean our ſhip's bottom, which we did very well. Moſt of our men lay aſhore in a tent, where our ſails were mending; and our ſtrikers brought home turtle and manatee every day, which was our conſtant food.

While we lay here, I did endeavour to perſuade our men to go to ſome Engliſh factory; but was threatened to be turned aſhore, and left here for it. This made me deſiſt, and patiently wait for ſome more convenient place and opportunity to leave them than here, which I did hope I ſhould accompliſh in a ſhort time; becauſe they did intend, when they went from hence, to bear down towards Cape Comorin. In their way thither they deſigned alſo to viſit the iſland Cocos, which lieth in latitude twelve degrees twelve minutes north, by our drafts; hoping there to find of that fruit; the iſland having its name from thence.

OBSERVATIONS

ON

THE PHILIPPINE ISLANDS AND THE ISLE OF FRANCE.

From the French of M. de GUIGNES,

Reſident of France in China, attached to the Miniſtry of Foreign Relations, and Correſpondent of the firſt and third Claſs of the Inſtitute. (Paris, 1808.)

VOYAGE TO THE ISLE OF FRANCE, AND MANILA.

ON my return from Pekin, finding myſelf perfectly at leiſure, and being without news from Europe or the coaſt of India, and without expectancy of any, as all commercial intercourſe between the French and China was ſuſpended by the war, I reſolved on a voyage to the Iſle of France, as well to obtain ſome knowledge of that colony, as to place myſelf in the way of viſiting Manila before I returned to Canton. This was indeed a circuitous voyage; but I was deficient of funds, and had been ever ſince 1793, and was induced to take this courſe as much by the hope of recruiting my finances as by the deſire I have before expreſſed of ſeeing two important colonies.

I therefore embarked at Wampoo, on the 13th of January 1796, on board an American ſloop of ninety-four tons, which ſailed in company with five other veſſels of the ſame nation, and on the 14th we paſſed Macao with a wind at firſt favourable and pleaſant, but which, increaſing gradually, at length terminated in a violent gale of ſeveral days' duration.

Notwithſtanding the currents in the China ſeas run towards the weſt, we ſaw neither Pulo Sapate nor Pulo Condor, the firſt land we deſcried being Pulo Aor, which we doubled on the 22d. On the 24th we anchored under Munopin, and the next day entered the Straits of Banca by favour of the currents, which here run towards the ſouth. On leaving theſe ſtraits the ſix American veſſels, keeping in a line, coaſted along the weſtern ſhore of Lucepara; when this iſland was brought to bear north we ſteered ſouth by eaſt and ſouth by weſt for the Two Siſters, and large of certain Shoals on our ſtarboard ſide.

On the 30th we anchored at North Iſland: we ſailed thence on the 1ſt of February in hopes of clearing the Straits of Sunda the ſame day; but at the inſtant of our leaving the mouth of them a weſterly wind ſprang up, and blew with ſuch violence as obliged us to ſeek ſhelter under Sambooricoo, where we were detained ten days.

The 12th, in the evening, we diſtinguiſhed Chriſtmas Iſland, of which in the night we were abreaſt: it is lofty towards the middle, well wooded, and of ſome extent. The wind did not ſhift to the ſouth till the 18th of February; afterwards it blew from the ſouth-ſouth-eaſt and ſouth-eaſt until our arrival off the iſland of Rodriguez, which

we got ſight of the 14th of March. On part of the 15th we were becalmed; the 16th we deſcried the mountains of the Iſle of France; and on the 17th anchored in the harbour, not indeed without difficulty, as the wind blew conſtantly from the ſouth-eaſt.

The Iſle of France has a very pictureſque appearance from the ſea: it is wholly covered with mountains, the moſt remarkable of which are Pitrebôt, or Pieter Both, and Le Pouce. The firſt derives its name from a Dutchman; and the ſecond from the reſemblance of a rock on the ſummit of the mountain to a thumb.

Mount Pitrebôt, of the form of a ſugar-loaf is ſurmounted by a rock in ſhape of an inverted cone, which at a diſtance has a ſingular effect. The rock appears of inconſiderable dimenſions, although it is ſaid to be ſixty feet over at the top.

The mountains of the Iſle of France are of ſlight elevation. M. de la Caille aſſigns them no more than four hundred and ſome few toiſes above the level of the ſea*. Thoſe in the vicinage of the port are chiefly bare of trees. The ſurrounding territory is arid, and almoſt wholly covered with ſtones.

I remained on the Iſle of France till the 17th of July, when I quitted it for Manila. We made Bourbon the next day at one in the afternoon; but our captain, who had never been at this iſland, apprehenſive of paſſing Saint Denis, took in ſail during the night, by which we loſt ground prodigiouſly, and did not arrive at Saint Paul before the 21ſt in the afternoon. The next day we attempted to double Bourbon to windward; but being unable to effect our purpoſe, we paſſed on the oppoſite ſide, and loſt ſight of the iſland on the 23d, with a wind from the ſouth-eaſt. This wind continued until we had attained the twenty-ſeventh degree of ſouthern latitude, when it veered to the north, and afterwards to the weſt and ſouth-weſt by weſt, blowing with violence and with ſudden guſts.

As we increaſed our latitude, and approached the twenty-eighth and twenty-ninth degrees, the wind began to ſlacken, blowing from the weſt, the weſt-north-weſt, and north-weſt till the 17th of Auguſt, when, having deſcended to the twenty-ſixth and twenty-ſeventh degree, it blew from the ſouth-weſt, ſouth, and ſouth-eaſt, and finally, from the 20th to the 27th, we had eaſt and north-eaſt winds. Owing to theſe contrary gales, and the currents, we miſſed the Straits of Sunda, and on the 30th of Auguſt found ourſelves before the Iſle Engano (the Deceiving Iſle).

We were now obliged to traverſe in order to heighten our latitude, when having attained eight degrees ſouth, and the wind beginning to be favourable we entered the Straits of Sunda on the 8th of September, and the next day anchored at Anières.

I noticed that the currents along the coaſt of Sumatra bear to the ſouth-eaſt, that is to ſay into the ſtrait; but on quitting the coaſt their direction is weſt, north-weſt, and north-north-weſt. On this account it is imprudent to run too large on tacking, eſpecially when about the middle of the ſtrait; from not attending to this we were twice carried out of ſight of land, notwithſtanding we had proceeded ſo far as to be abreaſt of the Iſle of Candy.

We left Anières on the 10th, and on the 14th entered the Straits of Banca. Theſe we cleared on the 15th with a fine breeze from the ſouth-eaſt, which enabled us to ſtem the current, though it ran very ſtrong.

* The elevation of Pitrebôt, according to L'Abbé de la Caille, is four hundred and twenty-four toiſes, or two thouſand ſeven hundred and eleven Engliſh feet. The height of Le Pouce, according to St. Vincent (Voyage aux Iles Afric, tom. i. chap. 5.), exceeds that of Pitrebôt, or any in the iſland. —TRANSLATOR.

The

The 18th, by four in the afternoon, we were abreaſt of Pulo Aor, the current running eaſt.

The 22d we had ſight of Pulo Condor, and on the 30th of Pulo Luban. On the night of this laſt day we anchored under Point Mirabel, having had the wind from our leaving the Straits of Sunda ſouth-eaſt, ſouth, ſouth-ſouth-weſt, ſouth-weſt, ſouth, weſt, and ſouth-weſt.

The 1ſt of October we hoiſted ſail at five in the morning, and paſſed between the Monja (the Nun) and the iſland of the Corregidor. La Monja is an inſulated rock which has deep water very cloſe to it. The iſland of the Corregidor, in front of the entrance of the bay of Manila, leaves but two paſſages into the bay, one on the north, the other on the ſouth. On this iſland the Spaniards have conſtructed land-marks, and in the neighbourhood keep ſome guard-boats, one of which was diſpatched to viſit our veſſel.

Making for the bay, we for ſome time kept to larboard to avoid the ſhoal of St. Nicholas; the ſea ran high, but was placid from the inſtant we tacked to ſtarboard to reach the port of Cavite. On entering, a fort is perceived on the point: this muſt not be approached too near, as the bottom riſes, and we, for want of the precaution recommended on paſſing the fort, for an inſtant grounded.

As ſoon as we had anchored, the captain landed in order to make his declaration and requeſt a ſearch, as previous to this formality no one is allowed to quit the ſhip.

After ſix weeks ſtay at Manila, we quitted that city on the 15th of November, the wind blowing north-eaſt.

During the monſoon of the north and north-eaſt winds, in ſailing for China, it is neceſſary to coaſt along Manila under favour of the land breeze, that from the eaſt, which conſtantly blows at night; as in the day the north, north-north-weſt, or north-weſt winds, regularly prevail. It is likewiſe requiſite that attention be paid not to keep at greater diſtance from the coaſt than a league, or at moſt two, as farther out the currents have a north-weſt direction, whereas within theſe limits their courſe is north.

From Point Caponès, towards and as far as Boulinao, the coaſt muſt not be neared too cloſely, that the ſhallows may be avoided, but thence as far as Cape Bojador, a veſſel may keep in ſhore with ſafety: the currents in the firſt courſe run ſometimes towards the ſouth, and at others northward, but in the ſecond conſtantly towards the north.

Scarcely had we doubled Cape Bojador before we experienced a very heavy ſwell, and had a violent gale from the north-eaſt. We then ſteered north by weſt, in order to paſs to leeward of the bank de la Plata, in latitude twenty degrees fifty-five minutes north.

The 26th we made the coaſt of China, and Pedra Blanca, an inſulated white rock in the middle of the ſea, ſituate, according to Sir Eraſmus Gower, in latitude twenty-two degrees nineteen minutes north, longitude eaſt of Paris one hundred and twelve degrees thirty-ſeven minutes*. Mr. Dalrymple, in his chart of the coaſt of China, marks this rock as ſomewhat more towards the eaſt.

On the 27th of November we anchored in Macao roads, the wind at firſt blowing hard from the north: it at length gradually abated and permitted our weighing, and reaching Canton. I remained in this city until the 28th January 1797, when I embarked

* One hundred and fourteen degrees thirty-ſeven minutes eaſt of Greenwich.

at

at Wampoo, on board the ſame American veſſel which brought me to China, bound firſt for Manila, and thence for the Iſle of France.

On the 31ſt we loſt ſight of the coaſt of China.

On the 4th of February we coaſted along the ſhores of Manila, and had hopes of reaching the bay the ſame day, when, of a ſudden, the wind fell, but riſing again blew ſo hard that, after ineffectually endeavouring for ſeveral days to double the Corregidor by the northern paſſage, we were fain to ſeek ſhelter behind the mountain which forms Point Mirabel. The wind at length declining we ſteered to leeward of the iſland of the Corregidor, that is, by the ſouthern paſſage, for the bay, where we made ſeveral long tacks in order to fetch the anchoring place; this we reached on the 11th of February.

OBSERVATIONS ON THE PHILIPPINE ISLES.

OF the numerous colonies belonging to the Spaniards, as one of the moſt important, muſt indiſputably be reckoned the Luçones (pr. Luſones), or Philippine Iſlands. Their poſition, their great fertility, and the nature of their productions, render them admirably adapted for active commerce; and if the Spaniards have not derived much benefit from them, to themſelves and to their manner of trading is the fault to be aſcribed.

Magellan, who left Seville the 10th of Auguſt 1519, and was killed on the iſland of Zebu, one of the Philippines, was the firſt European who made his appearance in this part of the world. He it was who ſecured the poſſeſſion of theſe iſlands to the King his maſter, in right of diſcovery, but the Spaniards did not obtain ſovereignty of them, in right of conqueſt, until 1564, under Lopez de Legaſpe; at this epoch they gave to the Luçone Iſlands the name of the Philippines, although, according to ſome authors, they received this appellation much earlier, that is, when Lopez de Villalobes with his fleet viſited them in 1543.

The Spaniards on their arrival at the Luçones found there ſeveral different races of people, and among them ſome Chineſe. Theſe laſt in 1603 would probably have wreſted from them this important colony, but for the bravery and ability of Pedro Acugna, who reſiſted the efforts of that active and enterprizing, but at the ſame time, unwarlike people. Since this attempt the Spaniards have tranquilly enjoyed poſſeſſion of the Philippines; and if the cruizes, or unimportant attacks of thoſe Moors be excepted, who inhabit ſome of the contiguous iſlands, maintain undiſturbed peace with all the different inhabitants of this thickly ſtudded Archipelago.

The Philippines extend from the ſixth to nearly the twentieth degree of latitude north, and from the hundred and ſixteenth to the hundred and twenty-ſixth degree of longitude eaſt of Paris *.

Under the denomination of the Philippines a conſiderable number of iſlands are comprized; but as the detail of the whole of them would be tedious, I ſhall confine myſelf to a deſcription of the larger only, and thoſe moſt deſerving attention.

The climate is hot and moiſt, yet, notwithſtanding the iſlands are ſituate in the torrid zone, the heat is leſs conſiderable than might be imagined, on account of the ſea breezes, and thoſe from the land, which render it tolerable.

The ſoil is highly fertile, and the crops of rice and wheat are abundant.

Mines of gold exiſt, but theſe are not wrought; the only portion of this metal collected is that obtained in ſmall grains waſhed down by the rivers. The iſlands are ſubject to earthquakes.

* Paris is ſituate two degrees twenty minutes eaſt of Greenwich.

The

The inhabitants differ as well in their origin as their language.

The *Tagales* are the progeny of Moors and Malays; on the arrival of the Spaniards they occupied the coaſts of Manila. The *Biſayas*, or *Pintados* (painted men), come from Macaſſar, and are found on many of the iſlands. Theſe two races are partly tributary, and apply themſelves to commerce, the arts, navigation, and agriculture.

The indigenous inhabitants, or *Negrillos*, in no reſpect reſemble the Tagales or Biſayas; they are much like the blacks of Guinea, are of lower ſtature, have hair curly and criſp, and go almoſt entirely naked; the women wear a piece of cloth round the body woven from the fibres of trees, and called tapiſs. Theſe people, chiefly, live wild among the mountains, and are not tributary.

Some Chineſe yet remain at Manila, but the number of them is greatly diminiſhed ſince the year 1603.

The tribute paid by the Indians is fixed at ten reals for married couples, and five for each male unmarried, from the age of eighteen to ſixty; females unmarried, twenty-four years old and under ſixty, pay a like ſum. The Indians who are tributary, and who, according to the enumeration made through the different provinces, form the twelfth part of the whole population, are reckoned to number three hundred thouſand. The King receives but the third of the contribution of the Indians, the remainder being the property of certain lords poſſeſſing fiefs, or *encomiendas*, and thence denominated *encomiendadores*. Proprietors moreover pay additionally two reals per head for the maintenance of the troops, and two more for the rector of the pariſh.

MINDANAO.

The ſite of this iſland is between ſix degrees thirty minutes and nine degrees forty-five minutes of northern latitude, and one hundred and twenty and one hundred and twenty-five degrees eaſt of Paris. From eaſt to weſt it meaſures ninety leagues, and is upwards of ſixty from north to ſouth *; it has a number of bays and capes, the chief of the latter Sant Aguſtino, Suliago, and Sambooangue; it is watered by conſiderable rivers, among which are moſt diſtinguiſhed the Buhayen, in the province of the ſame name; the Betuan, in the ſouth; and the Sibugueÿ, in the province of Dapitan. It moreover contains two lakes; one of them of large dimenſions in the ſouth-eaſt gives its name of Mindanao to the whole iſland; the other in the north-weſt is called Melanao.

The capital of Mindanao is ſituate in ſeven degrees twenty minutes north, yet notwithſtanding its proximity to the line the heat is moderate, as it is tempered by the ſea and land breezes. The atmoſphere, during the prevalence of the eaſtern monſoons, is pure and ſerene; but when the weſtern monſoon blows, tempeſts prevail with rain.

The ſoil is remarkably fertile, and produces in abundance rice, ſago, tobacco, and wild cinnamon gathered in the provinces of Sambooangue, Dapetan, and Cagayan. In its rivers gold is found; and ſulphur about its volcanoes, of which in the iſland are ſeveral. Off the coaſts pearls are obtained, and a multitude of fiſh. The interior is full of mountains. The zoological inhabitants are horſes, hogs, buffaloes, goats, wild-boars, ſtags, rabbits, monkies, and abundance of fowls and pigeons; of reptiles and inſects, vipers, ſcorpions, ſcolopendræ or millipeds, a ſpecies of venomous inſect, and

* According to the accompanying map, from eaſt to weſt it meaſures two hundred and ninety-five Engliſh ſtatute miles, one hundred and ninety-five at its greateſt breadth in the eaſt, from north to ſouth, and ſixty in the weſt; its figure, allowing for indentations, would be that of an iſoſceles triangle, but for its being truncated at the weſtern extremity. — TRANSLATOR.

in

in the rivers ſwarms of worms deſtructive to the bottoms of ſhips and boats which are not coppered.

The iſland is divided among five nations, the Mindanaos, Caragos, Lutaos, Dapitans, and Subanos. The Mindanaos occupy the ſouthern part, which is the beſt and moſt fertile; the Dapitans and the Caragos dwell in the north-eaſt; the Lutaos on the coaſts and banks of rivers: theſe addict themſelves to commerce and fiſhing; the Subanos are tributary to the laſt: fiſhermen like their maſters, they reſide in the weſtern part of the iſland.

The houſes are raiſed from the ground on poſts, and are entered by means of a ſtaircaſe; they conſiſt but of one floor divided into different apartments: the walls, floors, cieling, ſides and partitions are made of cane; the roof is covered with palm-leaves. The inferior part below the houſe ſerves as a ſtable for cattle; it is alſo the receptacle of filth of all kinds, which is ſuffered to accumulate until carried away by the floods of the rainy ſeaſon.

The iſland is ſubject to two Sultans, each of which has under him a zarabandal, who governs the people and holds them in a perfect ſtate of vaſſalage. The Princes are termed Cahil, the nobles Tuam: theſe have rendered themſelves independent. Such lords as have numerous vaſſals are denominated Otamayas.

The inhabitants are of middle ſtature, but well made, and of a tawny complexion inclining to a bright yellow: they poſſeſs intelligence, are induſtrious, and ſkilled in different works in wood and iron, although the number of their tools is ſmall. They are paſſionately fond of dancing, entertainments, hunting and bathing. Their chief fault is idleneſs. The Mahometan is the predominant religion.

Theſe people are friendly to ſtrangers; but circumſpection with them is very neceſſary, as they are lofty, ſavage, and revengeful.

The Mindanaos are treacherous; the Caragos, valiant; the Dapitans, brave and conſiderate: theſe laſt gave great aſſiſtance to the Spaniards on effecting their conqueſt of the iſland.

XOLO, OR JOLO*, AND BASILAN.

Xolo and Baſilan are dependent on Mindanao, and ſeparately belong to the two Mooriſh Kings who govern the laſt deſcribed iſland.

Baſilan is but little diſtant from Mindanao, and yields abundance of rice, ſugar, and bananas. Its coaſts abound in fiſh, and among them is the turtle. The iſland is watered by large rivers, and contains ſtags and wild boars.

Xolo, thirty leagues from Mindanao, lies under the ſixth degree of latitude north, and is a rendezvous for the Moors, who much reſort to this iſland to traffic. It yields pearls, ambergreaſe, and birds' neſts, highly prized by the Chineſe. Theſe neſts are conſtructed by a ſpecies of ſwallow, called in the country ſalangan.

BOHOL.

Bohol is ſituate under the tenth degree of latitude north, and may be ten leagues in length by a breadth of ſix †; it produces palm-trees, and ſome gold; the inhabitants are Tagales.

LEYTE.

* X and J in the Spaniſh language are pronounced alike, the ſound is a guttural aſpirate unknown in Engliſh pronunciation, but reſembling the ח of the Hebrews, the *ch* of the Scotch, in loch, and the *gh* of the Iriſh. — TRANSLATOR.

† Round, if an angular projection at the eaſtern and weſtern extremity be excepted, this iſland is upwards of fifty miles from eaſt to weſt, and forty from north to ſouth. The remark is made from the

LEYTE.

This iſland extends from the tenth to the twelfth degree of latitude north. It is divided from north-weſt to ſouth-eaſt by lofty mountains, which occaſion ſo ſenſible a difference in the climate, that on one ſide winter holds its ſway, while the other enjoys fine ſummer weather. The air at Leyte is more refreſhingly cool than at Manila.

The foreſts produce uſeful timber, and ſhelter and ſupport a number of ſtags, buffaloes, and wild boars. The ſoil is remarkably fertile, and yields abundance of rice, pulſe, and other vegetables; cotton and wax are likewiſe found in the iſland. The inhabitants are a gentle race, chiefly employed in the manufacture of cloths and in the fiſhery.

PANAMAO.

Panamao lies north of Leyte, on which iſland it depends; it is reputedly ſixteen leagues in circumference, is mountainous and well watered: among its productions are remarked quickſilver and ſulphur.

ZEBU.

This iſland, oppoſite to Leyte on the weſt, is the firſt of which the Spaniards made themſelves maſters; it is twenty leagues from north to ſouth and about eighty * in circumference: it exports an abundance of tobacco, cotton, wax, civet, and white hemp for cloths and cordage.

The ſmall iſland of Matta, which lies oppoſite and at a ſhort diſtance from Zebu, with that forms a ſafe ſhelter for ſhipping. On the ſouth-eaſt is another iſlet called Fuegos, the inhabitants of which are generous and brave.

NEGROS.

Weſt of Zebu the iſland Negros is a hundred leagues in circumference; it is rich, populous, and watered by numerous rivers which render it fertile. The governor reſides in fort Iloilo, built on a cape fronting the iſland of Imaras; this laſt iſland is only ten leagues in circumference, and is ſeparated from Panay by an arm of the ſea, which ſerves as a port. In Panay are many Negrillos. The port of Saint Anne lies three leagues diſtant from Iloilo.

CUYO.

Weſtward of Punay is the iſlet Cuyo; it is rich in all kinds of animals and fruit, and yields abundance of pulſe, vegetables, and rice.

PARAGOA.

This iſland, the moſt weſtern of all the Philippines, is a hundred leagues in length by from twelve to fourteen in breadth. Its centre lies under the tenth degree of latitude

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chart, and chiefly for the purpoſe of noticing that, although in the inſtance of Mindanao the French league of twenty to a degree is uſed, in the preſent the Spaniſh league of ſixteen to a degree muſt be that referred to by our author. — TRANSLATOR.

* There is an error either here or in the chart; the league is the Spaniſh league, ſixteen to the degree, and the circumference ſhould be ſtated fifty, Zebu being repreſented a long and narrow iſland. Eighty appears to have been placed by the printer for fifty. — TRANSLATOR.

north.

north. The Sultan of Borneo poſſeſſes the ſouthern part of Paragoä, the ſouth-eaſtern extremity of which is no more than twenty leagues diſtant from Borneo. The face of this iſland is mountainous; it is covered with wood, and abounds in animals. It yields wax in great plenty, but of grain a very ſlender quantity.

CALAMIANÈS.

The three Calamianès are ſituate north-north-eaſt of Paragoä, and together with nine contiguous iſlets form one province of ſimilar name. On theſe iſlands birds' neſts are found, and wax; on the coaſts pearls are fiſhed. The inhabitants are remarkable for their gentle nature.

MINDORO.

This iſland, ſituate in thirteen degrees and ſome minutes of northern latitude *, and on the ſouth of Manila, is about ſeventy leagues in circuit †. Covered with towering mountains it yields little grain, but cocoa-nuts, and fruit in great plenty. The inhabitants who dwell on the coaſts are mild and ſociable; thoſe of the interior a ſavage race.

MARINDÉQUE.

North-eaſt of Mindoro, in thirteen degrees thirty minutes north, lies the iſland Marindéque. It conſiſts of elevated land, productive of rice in ſmall quantity, but abounding in fruit, eſpecially cocoas: wax and pitch are likewiſe among its productions.

MASBATE.

The iſland of Maſbate, north of Zebu, and under the twelfth degree of latitude north, is thirty leagues in circumference by eight in breadth. Its ports are ſafe and commodious, with excellent anchorage in deep water. Its produce wax, ſalt, civet, ambergreaſe, and gold.

TICAO.

North of Maſbate, and eight leagues from the *emboradero*, or entrance of the ſtrait of San Bernardino, lies the iſland Ticao. It has a good port to which veſſels reſort for refreſhments. Moſt of the inhabitants live in a wild ſtate.

CAPOUL.

This iſland is ſituate in twelve degrees thirty minutes north, near the mouth of the ſtrait. It is only three leagues in circuit, but is nevertheleſs of importance, owing to its great fertility.

SAMAR, OR IBABAO.

Samar extends from eleven degrees thirty minutes to thirteen degrees of northern latitude. With Cape Baliquaton and the Point of Manila it forms the mouth of the ſtrait of San Bernardino, through which the galeon paſſes, as well on leaving the Philippines, as on its return from Acapulco.

* Where but one point of latitude and longitude of an iſland is marked, the center is meant to be expreſſed. — TRANSLATOR.

† The form of Mindoro is that of a triangle, the baſe running north-weſt by north and ſouth-eaſt by eaſt, about one hundred and twenty Engliſh ſtatute miles in length, the northern ſide one hundred miles long, that on the eaſt ſeventy. The northern and ſouth-weſtern ſides have each ſome bays, the northern a remarkable promontory about the middle; the eaſtern ſide forms a very regular line. — TRANSLATOR.

South-weſt of this iſland between Samar and Leyte is the ſtrait of Juanillo, another paſſage of the Philippine Iſlands.

Samar is an iſland covered with mountains, but poſſeſſing vallies of great exuberance. Here it is the bean of St. Ignacius is grown; a fruit in high eſtimation with the Indians for its medical virtues, but the uſe of which the phyſicians of Europe conſider dangerous.

In this iſland it is always cooler than at Manila, the air being continually refreſhed by breezes from the ocean.

LUBAN AND AMBIL.

Theſe are but iſlets. Luban is only five leagues in circumference, and Ambil ſtill ſmaller *: on the latter is a very lofty volcano. They yield wax, and a kind of black hemp.

BABUYANÈS AND BATANÈS.

Theſe iſlets are ſituate about the nineteenth degree of latitude north. The neareſt is ſubject to the Spaniards, and produces wax, ebony, cocoas, and bananas.

MANILA.

This iſland, the moſt conſiderable of the Philippines, ſtretches from latitude twelve degrees thirty minutes to eighteen degrees forty minutes north: it is upwards of one hundred and twenty leagues † long, by a various and very unequal breadth, being very narrow in certain parts, and in others from thirty to forty leagues broad.

It is divided into ſeveral provines, that is to ſay, Balayan, Tayabas, Camarinès, Parecala, Cagayan, Illoccos, Pangaſinam, Pambangan, Bulacun, Bahi, and Manila; to theſe the iſland of Camadnanès being added, makes the whole number twelve.

Balayan lies on the weſtern ſide at about the fourteenth degree north: it poſſeſſes two conſiderable bays Bambon and Batangas. The iſlands of La Caſa, and the Corregidor are dependent on this province.

Tayabas is ſituate eaſtward of Balayan; on the ſouth-eaſt and north-eaſt, it is waſhed by the ſea. This province is of great extent and very populous.

Camarinès, ſouth-eaſt of Tayabas extends as far as to the ſtrait of Samar. On its weſtern ſhores is the port of Sorſocon of great extent and well adapted for building of ſhips. On its eaſtern ſide is the bay of Albay, near which is a lofty volcano.

Cantaduanès is an iſland ‡, eaſt of the province of Camarinès in fourteen degrees north; it is thirty leagues in circuit, and forms of itſelf one province. It yields much rice, palm, oil, cocoa nuts, honey and wax; the inhabitants collect ſome gold from the rivers, and carry on a conſiderable traffic with Manila in boats: to remedy the inconvenience which the tranſport of theſe one by one would occaſion, they build them of different ſizes, and place the one ſucceſſively within the other. The planks of which theſe boats are made are not joined together with nails, but are ſewed or joined together with cane and rattans. The inhabitants of the iſland are warlike, and paint their faces.

Parecala ‖ has mines of gold, and produces loadſtone. The cacao tree and the palm yielding wine grow in this province: it has two bays, the one called Lampon, the other Mauban.

* Theſe iſlets, at the entrance of the ſtraits of St. Bernardino, lie, Ambil north-eaſt, and Luban ſouth-ſouth-weſt of Cape Baliquaton, each a few miles diſtant. — TRANSLATOR.

† French leagues, twenty to the degree.

‡ Nearly of oblong form, thirty-five Engliſh ſtatute miles from north to ſouth, tranſverſely about twenty-five broad. — TRANSLATOR.

‖ North of Tayabas, on the coaſt.

Cagayan

Cagayan extends along the eaſtern coaſt * from the fifteenth degree to Cape Engano † in latitude eighteen degrees thirty minutes. This province though filled with mountains is nevertheleſs very fertile in rice; it alſo produces abundance of wax, a wood fit for dyeing called ſiboucao, and ebony, but this of a qualitity inferior to that of the iſle of France. The inhabitants of the province are partly a wild race.

Illoccos lies on the weſtern coaſt of Manila ‡. This province is forty leagues in length from north to ſouth, by a breadth of eight from eaſt to weſt; it is watered by the river Bigan, and in the laſt is bounded by mountains peopled by ſavages, whoſe only traffick conſiſts in bartering their gold for rice, tobacco, and other neceſſary articles: the province is rich, populous, and produces abundance of cotton.

Pangaſinan is ſouth of Illoccos. Its mountains are covered with ſavages who carry on a traffic ſimilar to that of their neighbours. In this province alſo is found the ſiboucao tree.

Pampangan, ſouthward of the preceding, is extenſive and fertile; it ſupplies Manila with an abundance of cattle and proviſions, and likewiſe a great quantity of timber. The inhabitants are partly ſubject to the Spaniards, and partly independent ſavages.

Bulacan, ſouth of Pampangan, is a province of no great extent; ſtill does it yield abundance of rice, and from its palm-trees a large quantity of wine.

Bahi is an inconſiderable province, and remarkable only on account of a lake of the ſame name; this lake is about thirty leagues in circumference, and gives origin to the river Bahia, or Aro, which falls into the bay near the city of Manila. The Indians who dwelt on the banks of lake Bahi feed on immenſe bats, the extended wings of which meaſure from three to three and a half feet. The areca tree and that which bears the betel nut are found in this province.

CITY OF MANILA.

Manila, ſituate in latitude fourteen degrees thirty-ſix minutes eight ſeconds, north longitude eaſt of Paris, one hundred and eighteen degrees thirty-one minutes fifteen ſeconds, is a city built on the banks of the river Bahia. Its figure is irregular, wide in the middle, but narrow at the two extremities. It is reputedly a league in circuit.

Gomez Perez de las Marinas, ſent to govern the Philippines in 1590, was the firſt who erected fortifications about Manila. They are now in a good ſtate; the walls are mounted with artillery, and the ditch and counter ditch are full of water: it has alſo ſome advanced works ‖.

At

* North of Parecala. † The north-weſtern promontory. ‡ At the northern extremity.

‖ This city was founded June 24, 1571, by Miguel Lopez de Legaſpi, a man famous throughout America for his bravery and conduct. He was appointed general of the expedition to the Philippines by the viceroy of New Spain under ſpecial authority from Philip II. and ſailed to make the conqueſt of them from the Port de la Natividad, now called Acapulco, on the 21ſt of September 1564. Philip empowered the viceroy to nominate the general and fit out the expedition, but under his own ſeal gave direction to an Auguſtin monk called Fray Andres de Urbaneta, to take charge of what regarded the navigation of the armament. This man, one of the firſt mathematicians and beſt ſailors of his time, after ſerving in the army in Italy, had embarked for America, and held the rank of captain under Loayſa and Saavedra in their maritime expeditions, during which he acquired much practical knowledge reſpecting the Philippine iſlands. On his return thence to Mexico he reſigned his employ, and entered the convent of Saint Auguſtin.

The expedition committed to the care of Urbaneta conſiſted of four hundred picked men, a number of monks, and an Indian interpreter, chriſtened in Tidore by the name of George, at the time that iſland received the equipment of Villalobos. Complete ſucceſs attended its efforts, which were ſeconded much by

At one of the extremities of the city, and in front of the bay, the Spaniards have erected Fort St. James. This fort defends the entrance of the river, and protects two jetties which advance into the ſea at a diſtance from each other of nearly four hundred fathoms: they are caſed with ſtone and kept in good condition; but, to render them of greater utility, they require to be prolonged, eſpecially that on the ſouthern ſide; indeed it might be well to continue them to the bar, as in that caſe it would be an eaſy matter to deepen the channel, and render it ſafe of paſſage for ſhips as well as the country coaſters, which at preſent run a riſk of grounding, and are fearful of attempting to paſs it when the wind is anywiſe high. The ſea is generally rough on the bar, on which even at height of tide there is ſcarcely twelve feet water.

Manila has ſix gates, thoſe of Los Almacenes, Santo Domingo, Parian, Sta. Lucia, La Puerte Reale, and a poſtern.

The city is handſome, and airy; the ſtreets moſtly ſtraight: the governor has cauſed them to be paved with granite from China, and to be lighted with lamps, ſo that paſſengers may walk them in ſafety by night as well as by day.

The houſes conſiſt of but one ſtory above the ground-floor. The lower part is built of ſtone and vaulted; the walls of great thickneſs. The upper part is of wood covered with plaiſter. The roof is ſupported by thick poſts, placed upright, and reſting on the inferior walls, in which they are inſerted. Theſe poſts are connected by the beams which ſuſtain the roof, and the whole is ſtrongly joined together with pegs, ſo that when earthquakes happen they play without disjoining: but as the apartments are not cieled, the ſight of the ſkeleton of the building has a very diſagreeable effect.

The rooms are ſpacious and but ſlightly furniſhed; they do not receive the light directly from without, but communicate by doors with galleries of wood which ſurround the houſe, and have large windows formed of tranſparent ſhells, the ſaſhes of which ſlide one over the other. This contrivance is excellent for introducing a coolneſs into the apartments, but externally offends the eye.

The public edifices and churches are ſolidly conſtructed; the belfrys in particular are very maſſive. The cathedral is of great ſize; attached to it is an archbiſhop and twelve canons. Manila was erected into a biſhop's ſee in 1581, and was afterwards in 1595 raiſed to the dignity of an archbiſhopric. The ſuffragans of the metropolitan are the three biſhops of Zebu, Nueva Cazeris and Nueva Segovia.

The government-houſe is large, but preſents nothing extraordinary. The ſquare in front is ſpacious and regular; the governor has planted it with trees and furniſhed it with lamps. The embelliſhment has certainly a fine effect, though a more fit appropriation of the ſquare would certainly have been to have made it a parade for troops.

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by the conciliating meaſures of the general, and the perſuaſions of the miſſionaries; and after finding the firſt town in the iſland of Zebu, which from his own name he called San Miguel Legaſpi, in June 1565 ſent back the commodore's ſhip with Father Urbaneta, as previouſly concerted with the viceroy. Urbaneta happily arrived at Acapulco, after a voyage of four months, and on his arrival produced a very circumſtantial account of his courſe, together with a much eſteemed and very exact journal, which afterwards formed an excellent guide for the navigation between Acapulco and Manila.

It was not until after he had ſubdued and pacified the chief iſland, that of Luzon, that Legaſpi founded Manila, made numerous wiſe regulations for the diviſion of property, and adminiſtration of juſtice, and declared the city to be the metropolis of New Caſtile, the name he gave to this region. *Eſtablicimientos Ultramarinos de las Naciones Europeas*, per Edvardo Malo de Laque. *Tomo v. pag.* 197. *et ſeq.* Madrid, 1790.—TRANSLATOR.

At

At Manila convents occupy at leaſt one third of the city. The Jeſuits had formerly two churches here, thoſe of St. Ignacius and Saint Joſeph; theſe are ſtill highly decorated. The Dominicans have two colleges, and the Auguſtins a convent. There is alſo a convent of St. Clare for forty nuns, and a houſe termed the monaſtery of Mercy, deſtined for female orphans of Spaniards as well as of Creoles. Theſe orphans ultimately receive a bounty if they become nuns, and a portion if they marry.

On leaving the city a bridge preſents itſelf, built in part of ſtone in part of wood; it is wide enough to admit of two carriages abreaſt, and ſerves to join the city and the different ſuburbs; there are twelve in number, to wit: Parian, Minondo, Sta Cruz, Ilao San Michael, San Sebaſtian, Bagambaya, San Jago Ntra, Sra del Eremito, Tondo, Malati, and Chiapo.

Parian, which fronts the city, is reckoned the moſt conſiderable; it has ſeveral ſtreets, and is inhabited by Chineſe, called Sangleyes, who all of them are artizans, ſmiths, or merchants; the number at preſent is three thouſand. It was vaſtly more conſiderable in 1603, but at that epoch twenty thouſand periſhed*. A very ſtrict watch is kept over theſe Chineſe: an alcalde and a number of Spaniſh officers have the ſuperintendence of the police, and exact from them, as is ſaid, conſiderable ſums of money, chiefly at the new year. The ſimple licenſe of playing at metooa (odd or even) being purchaſed by them at the rate of ten thouſand dollars.

Minondo and Sta. Cruz are inhabited by Spaniards and Indians. The Spaniards, whoſe houſes are conſtructed in the ſame ſtyle as thoſe of Manila, prefer a reſidence in theſe two ſuburbs, on account of enjoying greater freedom, as the gates of the city are cloſed at an early hour: as for the Indians, their dwellings are raiſed on poſts, the walls are of plaiſter or matting, and the roof is covered with the leaves of the palm. This mode of building is ungrateful to the eye, but it ſecures the inhabitants of ſuch dwellings from injury, by floods or earthquakes.

San Sebaſtian likewiſe has ſome good houſes. In this ſuburb is a long cauſeway raiſed by the government, as a promenade for the inhabitants; hither eſpecially the ladies of Manila reſort much in their carriages. The Chineſe are ſaid to have defrayed the expence of making this mall with money extorted from them for exemption from ſome obſtructions purpoſely ordained by the Spaniards: the mall is pleaſant, is ſhaded by a number of areka trees, and commands a fine proſpect over the country.

Tondo is the moſt northern of the different ſuburbs; formerly it was a ſmall town: its church was the firſt conſtructed by the Spaniards in this country.

A number of canals divide theſe different ſuburbs, and greatly facilitate the tranſport of merchandize.

The country about Manila is remarkably fine; the ſoil appears to be very rich; it is flat at firſt, but afterwards riſes gradually. The villages are commonly ſurrounded by trees, and the beauty of the proſpect would be greatly heightened were the houſes leſs wretched. In every village is a ſtone church, as well as a parſonage-houſe, for the rector, who is conſtantly one of the monks. Theſe laſt, who all of them are Europeans, are very much reſpected by the Indians; while the ſecular clergy, who moſt commonly are Creoles, are held in contempt: hence the government ſhews great deference to the rectors; for, generally ſpeaking, the Indian always conſults them on entering upon any enterprize, and even as to paying his taxes. The monks who

* Previous to the inſurrection and ſubſequent ſlaughter of the Chineſe in 1603, by Acuna, the ſuburb of Parian contained 30,000 Sangleyes.—Ed. Malo de Luque Hiſt. Polit. de los Eſtab. Ultr. &c. Tom. vi. p. 203, Madrid. 1790.

officiate in the different pariſh churches are the Auguſtins, Franciſcans, and bare-footed Carmelites.

On aſcending the river from the town, a number of country houſes are ſeen on its banks, with each a bath on the margin of the river incloſed with matting. To theſe during the prevalence of hot weather the wealthy inhabitants of Manila much reſort: both men and women bathe together, but for the ſake of decency the men wear drawers, and the women a wide ſhift.

Two miles above the town is the royal hoſpital. On advancing higher ſome old houſes are ſeen almoſt level with the ground; for the Engliſh after taking Manila, not being able to quit the city without expoſing themſelves to be ſhot by the Indians, entrenched in theſe dwellings, to remedy the inconvenience reduced them to the ſtate in which they have continued to the preſent time.

The garden of the Philippine Company is likewiſe out of the town; it is much neglected, and no longer exhibits any of the rare trees or plantations of mulberries it once poſſeſſed. In the midſt a monument, reſembling a fountain more than a mauſoleum, is erected in memory of Mr. Pineda, who died in the expedition of M. de Maleſpina: it is ſurrounded by four enormous termini, works ſurely of no utility in a garden.

At ſome diſtance from Malati, a village ſituate near the bay, and a league diſtant from Manila, the Spaniards have conſtructed a *polveriſta*, or powder magazine. This little fort is in a very unfit poſition; for, being too far from the town to be ſuccoured, it could readily be taken by an enemy who ſhould effect a deſcent, to whom it would be of conſiderable ſervice.

Mr. D'Aguilar, a governor of the Philippines when I was there, being apprehenſive of an attack on the part of the Engliſh, cauſed a canal to be cut from near the polveriſta communicating with the river, ſo as to allow gun-boats to enter the bay, and leave it without danger, or to ſeek ſhelter under the jetties which protect the entrance. In conſtructing the canal * the wild palm was uſed (palma brava): the wood of this tree is hollow, hard, tough, and very durable in water: it is likewiſe uſed for making the gutters which ſurround the houſes, and conduct the rain water into the ciſterns, with which almoſt every houſe in Manila is provided.

PORT OF CAVITE.

This port lies three leagues ſouth of Manila. Veſſels take refuge in it during the ſouth-weſt monſoon; and return to anchor in front of the city in the ſeaſon when winds from the north and north-eaſt are prevalent.

The town of Cavite is ſmall, and ſtands on a tongue of land; it has but one ſuburb, called San Roch. The fort is built at the extremity of the town; it is weak, and could not hold out againſt a veſſel of war. In doubling the point, attention ſhould be paid not to keep too near, as there is a ſhoal in its vicinage. The Spaniards have an arſenal at Cavite, and here it is that large merchant ſhips are built.

BAY OF MANILA.

The Bay of Manila, being every way eight leagues over, the depth of it is likewiſe great. The margin is partly covered with wood, and partly with villages. The iſland of the Corregidor is at the entrance of the bay; hence it is that ſignals are made on

* Probably for ſupporting the banks.

veſſels coming in ſight. The Spaniards have erected no battery on the iſland, leſt the Engliſh ſhould make themſelves maſters of it to their prejudice.

The bay is entered by the paſſages on either ſide of the iſland; but that on the ſouth between Pulo Cavallo and the main is the broadeſt, and has a ſmoother ſea even during the prevalence of the north-eaſt winds, than the north paſſage, which from Point Mirabel to the iſland of the Corregidor, is ſcarcely a league acroſs. The ſea being deep in this part, veſſels frequently prefer it; but the winds here blow violently, and when the ſummits of the mountains are ſeen capped with clouds it is eſpecially to be avoided. The rocks called *puercos* (hogs) which are off Point Tagale, and which advance ſome diſtance into the ſea, are likewiſe to be ſhunned.

La Monja may be neared pretty cloſe, as may El Fraile, but Pulo Cavallo on the north has ſome reefs. In order effectually to protect the bay, it is eſſential the Spaniards ſhould erect batteries and redoubts on all the advanced points, as well of the main as of the contiguous iſlets, and in addition, have a flotilla of gun-boats conſtantly equipped near the iſland of the Corregidor. In the preſent ſtate of the bay, nothing prevents a ſquadron from entering it and caſting anchor in front of Manila, almoſt as ſoon as its arrival could be known.

A garda-coſta, it is true, is placed before Manila, but is there of no utility whatever; for when we entered the bay this veſſel was unable to come up with us, though we had only our topſails up; nay, we were even obliged to take in every ſail before ſhe could overtake us.

There is plenty of water in every part of the bay, except on the bank of San Nicholas, the extent of which is not ſo great as laid down by Mr. D' Après; it may be paſſed either in the north or the ſouth; but the latter during the ſouth-weſt monſoon is preferable; the ſwell on this ſide is leſs conſiderable, the wind leſs violent, and the ſhore may be neared without apprehenſion, as there is deep water. We made a number of tacks in the bay of Manila, and aſcended as high as to its northern extremity; the only caution requiſite is, not to approach the ſhore nearer than three quarters of a league. Veſſels anchor without the port of Manila at three quarters of a league diſtance, and beyond the bar: this alſo is the anchorage for ſuch veſſels as having entered the river cannot paſs over the bar with their whole cargo on board.

Inhabitants of Manila.

The population of the city of Manila is reckoned to amount to three thouſand, of whom ſuch as are of any note never leave the houſe but in a carriage. The governor is drawn by ſix horſes and is preceded by ſeveral men on horſeback. When he paſſes it is cuſtomary for others to halt. The procurator-fiſcal, the auditors, the King's lieutenant, and the biſhop, have four horſes to their carriage: individuals are allowed but two. Poſtillions ſtand in lieu of coachmen. The carriages generally come from Bengal, but ſome are built at Manila on the model of Engliſh ones. The maintenance of an equipage is far from coſtly; a pair of horſes may be hired for twenty or thirty dollars per month, and their keep, with the wages of the coachman, amounts but to ſix or eight dollars more.

The lady of the governor, and ſome other ladies of diſtinction, alone dreſs in the European ſtyle; the reſt wear no powder; they either have their hair turned up and knotted on the back of the head, or plaited and hanging over the ſhoulders; generally ſpeaking, they ſhew but little taſte in their manner of dreſſing their hair; their petticoats are ſhort; they wear ſtays with buſks, and the heels of their ſhoes are very high. Round the neck, almoſt univerſally, a chain of gold is worn, to which a medallion is

ſuſpended, containing relics. The men dreſs better, but have ſomething affected in their manner.

The wife has the whole management of domeſtic affairs, the only buſineſs of the huſband being to furniſh money, which he fetches from the *bodiga* or magazine; when one bag of a thouſand dollars is emptied, the wife applies for another.

The diverſions of Manila are few; the different circles meet in the evening. Society is on a dull and diſtant footing; the young ladies ſing and play on the piano: the women are generally ſeated on one ſide, and the men on the other.

The women have a ſhrill voice, and ſing from the throat; they all ſmoke; the cigars for the women are about five or ſix inches long, and thick as a good ſized finger.

At Manila, I was preſent at ſeveral balls, among others at that given by Mr. Avala, commandant of the marine ſervice. The governor, his wife, and all the people of diſtinction in the city were invited. The archbiſhop and the grand vicar were there, but kept themſelves in an apartment adjoining that in which the ball was held. Country dances, minuets, and even the fandango, but in a very modeſt manner, were danced. Voleros alſo, after the manner of the Spaniards, were ſung, airs which to me ſeemed very pleaſing.

The women in private houſes likewiſe dance minuets, but in a manner ſomewhat ſingular, blending with them occaſionally ſome ſteps of the fandango: in general they appear but litttle accuſtomed to this dance, for the minuets would laſt through the night, were the dancers not admoniſhed of the time to conclude. I ſhall not deſcribe the dances of the Creoles, and ſome Spaniards in private: they are laſcivious in extreme.

Being invited to a ball in a Spaniſh houſe, I ſaw that attention had been paid to cover a Chriſt at the bottom of the hall in which the dancing was. The rector of the pariſh preſented himſelf to ſee the dancing, but ſtood without the door. On all theſe occaſions a great quantity of ſweetmeats, paſtry, and cooling beverages are conſumed.

The complexion of the Spaniards born at Manila is ſlightly tawny, but thoſe born in Europe preſerve their natural colour. Both the one and other are of excellent diſpoſition, civil and obliging; and, during my reſidence at Manila I had every reaſon to be ſatisfied with the treatment I experienced: of the governor Mr. Aquilar I muſt ſay the ſame, as well as of the other gentlemen in office, whoſe kindneſs on ſeveral occaſions I have to acknowledge.

The Indians are ugly, and reſemble the Malays; their ſtature is of the middle ſize, and their complexion tawny; of the women no better can be ſaid. The dreſs of the men is a ſhirt, pantaloons, a hat and ſlippers; the beaux among them in addition wear a black jacket, with a handkerchief in each pocket, a third round the neck, and a fourth in the hand. Theſe handkerchiefs come from Madras, and as they are afterwards embroidered at Manila they are very coſtly. The Indians ſmoke cigars four or five inches long, and thick as the little finger.

The female Indians wear a half ſhift and petticoat, and wrap round them moreover a long and narrow piece of ſtuff called tupiſs made of the fibres of the banana tree. Their ſhoes are very ſmall, and frequently the little toe is left out of the ſhoe. Their hair is turned up, and knotted at the back of the head: at times theſe women go wholly enveloped in a large black cloak reaching to the ground, from the neck of which two ſmall and narrow bands hang down over each ſhoulder.

The ſhirouts or cigars of the Indian ladies and Creoles are a foot in length, by an inch and a half in diameter, and are calculated to laſt for a fortnight; ſo large are they in ſhort that, in order to put them in the mouth, they require flattening.

The

The Indians, in common with all Malays, are paſſionately fond of cock-fighting, but they are not permitted to indulge at pleaſure this inclination. An Indian rarely walks out without a cock, and as ſoon as he meets another Indian with one under his arm, the two birds are ſet down and immediately engage; but battles with ſteel ſpurs are only permitted in a place formed for the purpoſe, which is farmed from the King at a rent of twenty or twenty-five thouſand dollars: here the Indians aſſemble, and frequently bet on their favourite cocks the whole of what they are worth. The fate of the gameſters is ſoon decided, for the cocks being armed with ſharp ſpurs, one or the other is killed almoſt in an inſtant.

The Indians at Manila follow all kinds of trades and fill every employ; they are merchants, artizans, labourers, coachmen, lacqueys, and porters; and are ſkilful in managing boats.

The Chineſe alſo follow different occupations, but prefer ſuch as require more ingenuity; for example, they are the goldſmiths, ſmiths, gardeners, &c. They are permitted to marry; their wives work as well as themſelves, but lay aſide their gains; and ſhould the huſband, after making a fortune, chooſe to leave the country to return home, he leaves a part of his property with his wife, who retains and brings up the children.

The Chineſe who inhabit Manila profeſs Chriſtianity, but this only for form's ſake; for when they leave the Phillippines they throw their images and chaplets into the ſea, and ceaſe to be Chriſtians as ſoon as they loſe ſight of Mirabel point.

Meat and proviſions in general are cheap and abundant at Manila; the fiſh caught in the bay is good, but that taken on the bar and near the dykes is heavy of digeſtion, owing to its feeding on the filth waſhed down by the river. Generally, in the city and ſuburbs ciſtern water is drunk; each houſe has its reſervoir, which is repleniſhed with rain-water by means of gutters and pipes: thoſe ſolicitous of ſpring water are obliged to fetch it from Sta. Anna. The city lacks mills; but the governor who ruled in 1797, and whoſe whole attention was devoted to the means of improving the colony, had ſent for a Geneveſe mechanic from Canton, purpoſely to attempt the ſtructure of ſome upon the river.

Boats.

On the river and along the ſhores of the bay a number of boats are ſeen, very ſharply built, and furniſhed with yards, which ſerve as balances, on the windward end of which, when it blows hard, the ſailors place themſelves to counterpoiſe the effect of the wind on the ſail: this contrivance however does not always inſure ſafety, for at times the bamboo which forms the balance beam breaks, in which caſe the boat founders, and the crew are loſt. The river is croſſed in ſmall boats called pangues, made of the hollowed trunk of a tree; theſe generally will contain but two or three perſons, though ſome larger built are capable of accommodating from twelve to fifteen: they are propelled with oars, and ſail lightly through the water.

Temperature.

Manila enjoys a healthy air; ſtill to me it appeared rather heavy, a quality to be attributed to the quantity of moiſture it contains, owing to the heated vapours which riſe from the large ſurface of water formed by the inundation of the low grounds in the rainy ſeaſon, and to the ungrateful exhalations from the muddy ſtrand in front of Tondo, which is conſtantly bare at low water. In the country, where the ground

is more elevated and dry, the atmoſphere is much more pure. The tempeſts and rain during the monſoons from the weſt, the ſouth-weſt, and the ſouth, are violent and heavy: theſe winds reign throughout the months of June, July, and Auguſt; the meadows are then flooded, and intercourſe is maintained only by means of boats. In October the wind begins to blow from the north and north-eaſt; in December it veers to the eaſt and ſouth-eaſt, and in theſe quarters remains until May; this is the fine ſeaſon or ſummer of the year. The mixture of heat and moiſture experienced at Manila diſagrees with foreigners, but the Indians, habituated to the climate, live to a great age; moreover their dwellings being raiſed much above the waters, they are in meaſure ſheltered from the effect of their vapour, and as the air circulates without obſtruction it ſerves to refreſh them, and make the natural warmth of the climate more tolerable.

Earthquakes.

The Philippines are ſubject to earthquakes: that which took place in 1645 overthrew a part of Manila. I experienced the ſhocks of one myſelf during my ſtay, ſo violent that many Spaniards who had been at Lima, aſſured me they had known of few more ſo. It began at two o'clock in the afternoon; at firſt I thought ſome one was drawing my chair; all the houſes cracked, many walls were thrown down, many key-ſtones of vaults were diſplaced, and the water was thrown out of the gutters and wells. In the houſe I inhabited three inches of water were ejected from a large ciſtern which happened to be full; the lamps oſcillated, and a carriage under the gateway moved as in paſſing over a ſtreet half unpaved; on my going down into the court the earth trembled under my feet, the houſe leaned now in one and now in an oppoſite direction, and at every inſtant I reckoned upon its falling: when the ſhocks ceaſed I was perfectly ſtupified, and experienced pains in my knees. On returning into the houſe, I found that the chief pillar which ſupported the roof was ſplit in twain. The veſſels at anchor in the port felt nothing of the ſhock, but an Engliſh ſhip at ſea, eleven leagues from Manila, was affected by it: every part of it cracked, the main-maſt was driven upwards out of the ſtep or ſocket, and required to be ſupported with broken maſts. The concuſſions of this earthquake laſted three minutes and fourteen ſeconds, and were renewed at intervals for ſeveral ſucceeding days, ſometimes with violence. On the firſt day, there reigned a calm, the ſky was grey and cloudy, the atmoſphere heated and heavy; occaſionally guſts of wind were experienced, and at intervals gentle ſhowers of rain: ſuch are the prognoſtics by which earthquakes are anticipated here.

On theſe occaſions, of elſe general conſternation, the Indians are free from alarm; their houſes ply in every direction with the ſhock, and vibrate with the oſcillations of the earthquake; their only dread are hurricanes, which to them are of deſtructive conſequence, and ſometimes ſweep away the houſes with thoſe they wont to ſhelter: meantime in turn the Spaniards reſt in peace, confident in their dwellings, whoſe ſolidity braves the ſtorm. Thus it is with man: he even ſees with indifference the adverſity of another, and feels but for his own ſecurity. Actuated by this ſentiment, and in order to implore of Heaven exemption from future accidents, the clergy and all the inhabitants of Manila aſſemble in proceſſions, and parade with great ſumptuoſity the image of a ſaint, whoſe mediation is commonly invoked on ſimilar occurrences.

Government of Manila.

The governor is the abſolute maſter and preſident of the council, which is compoſed of four auditors, and a procurator-fiſcal.

The

The King's lieutenant and the officers of the crown are held in high eſtimation.

The governor diſpoſes of all offices, and nominates the alcaldes and the captain of the galëon. His ſituation, which is held for eight years, is reckoned to be worth annually from thirteen to fourteen thouſand dollars *. When the governor is ſuperſeded it, is cuſtomary for him to undergo an examination, which laſts three months: within this ſpace all who have ſubject of complaint againſt him prefer their charges; this meaſure, the inſtitution of which was equitable, is not exactly enforced; in ſome caſes it might prove fatal to the ex-governor; its effectuation is therefore commonly prevented by a preſent to the new governor: inſtances are ſaid to have occurred where the bribe on ſuch an occaſion has amounted to a hundred thouſand piaſtres.

Commerce of the Spaniards.

The Spaniſh commerce of Manila; which might be very conſiderable, is limited to that carried on with Acapulco by the galëon, and with China by coaſters; of the latter the number has much diminiſhed ſince the Philippine Company has been accuſtomed to diſpatch its own veſſels to Canton, and retain factors at that city.

The Acapulco trade is not open to every one; the right of freightage of the galëon is divided into fifteen hundred portions, of which a large number is reſerved for the convents, and the reſt is allotted to individuals, either as rewards or bounties.

Theſe portions are ſold by the poſſeſſors to ſuch merchants as are inclined to ſhip. The value of the cargo is fixed at ſix hundred thouſand dollars, but commonly it is twice as much. It conſiſts of muſlins, India cloths, raw ſilk, ſtuffs, and ſtockings of China ſilk, of the laſt article about fifty thouſand pair; the remainder of the cargo is compoſed of gold and ſilver plate, wrought either at Canton or at Manila by the Chineſe; jewellery, ſpices, gold duſt, and different mercery. Great pains are taken in ſtowing the cargo, and not a foot of vacant ſpace is left. The value of the galëon taken by Anſon was a million three hundred and thirteen thouſand dollars, excluſive of thirty-five thouſand ſix hundred and eighty-two ounces of pure ſilver, of cochineal, and of other valuable articles.

The cargo of the galëon at Acapulco yields a profit of cent. per cent., paid for partly in ſilver, and partly in cochineal, mercury, jewels, cloth, and Spaniſh wine. The total value of the return cargo may amount to from two to three millions of dollars, of which from two hundred and fifty to three hundred thouſand on the account of the King.

Commonly but one galëon is diſpatched in the year, but ſometimes there are two: this veſſel, after receiving the bleſſing of the Virgin from the ramparts, leaves Manila in the middle of July, paſſes the ſtrait of San Bernardino, but oftentimes not till a month or ſix weeks after its departure, and directs its courſe afterwards to the north as high as thirty degrees to fall in with weſterly winds: it then ſteers eaſtward to the coaſt of California, and arrives at Acapulco in December or January commonly, but at lateſt in February. The ſale of the cargo is quickly completed, and the galëon hoiſts ſail in return about the middle of March: it deſcends to the latitude of fourteen or thirteen degrees, and thence bears to the eaſt till in ſight of Guam †, one of the Marian

* Under the following head of "Commerce of Manila," De Guignes ſays, which is perhaps nearer truth, twenty thouſand dollars.

† Four hundred leagues eaſt of the Philippines lie the Mariana iſlands, which form a chain extending from thirteen to twenty-two degrees of latitude north, through a ſpace of one hundred and fifty leagues. The chief of theſe, called Guajam, or Guam, (pronounced Hhooan,) is ſituate in latitude thirteen degrees twenty-one minutes eighteen ſeconds, one hundred and fifty degrees fifty-ſix minutes thirty ſeconds eaſt of the obſervatory of Cadiz, according to obſervations of Seignor Malaſpina, made in the bay of Humata

Marian iſlands, where it waits for intelligence from Manila, renews its water, and takes in proviſions: it then continues its way, making for Cape Eſpiritu Santo, in the iſland of Samar, enters the ſtrait of San Bernardino, and arrives at Manila in June. On its arrival there is conſtantly another veſſel ready prepared to depart.

The galëons are the property of the King: they meaſure from twelve to fifteen hundred tons, and mount from fifty to ſixty guns. The King appoints the officers, and pays the crew. The captain has the title of general, and bears the ſtandard of Spain at the main maſt; his place produces him annually twenty thouſand dollars; on this account it is given by the governor only to thoſe he favours. Each ſailor receives three hundred and fifty pieces of eight, of which ſeventy are paid him at Manila and the reſidue at Acapulco. The complement of men, including paſſengers, is ſix hundred. On returning, as the cargo is not bulky, the lower tier of guns is mounted, which when outward-bound is lodged in the hold, and the veſſel is reinforced by the addition of two companies of marines.

It is aſtoniſhing that the Spaniards, in quitting the ſtrait of San Bernardino, do not bear to the north-eaſt, or even more towards the north, inſtead of eaſt-north-eaſt, which is their common practice; and that when they attain thirty degrees north they ſhould continue to preſerve that latitude, ſince, if they aſcended as high as thirty-ſix or even forty degrees, they would have ſtronger winds from the weſt, and would conſequently much ſhorten their voyage; but the captain of the gallëon is obliged to follow his inſtructions, however unfavourable to his ſpeedier arrival in the region of rain, an article indiſpenſable for the preſervation of his crew. Will it be believed that men can

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Humata in April 1787: the circumference of the iſland is from thirty to forty (Spaniſh) leagues; the port is denominated San Luis de Apra; three leagues diſtant from it is the city of Agana, the capital of the Marianas. Of the iſlands which form this chain, ſeventeen in number excluſive of iſlets, the only ones peopled are Guam, Rota or Scypan, called alſo St. Joſeph.

Theſe iſlands were called originally *de los Ladrones* (the Iſlands of Thieves) by the Spaniards, who firſt viſited them on account of the pilfering diſpoſition of the natives. Magellan diſcovered them in 1521; Legaſpi ſubjected them to the dominion of Spain in 1565; and the Jeſuits introduced Chriſtianity in 1668. The miſſion of this order was under the ſpecial patronage of the Queen Dona Mariana of Auſtria, in memory of whom they afterwards received their preſent name, and who founded an annual bequeſt of twenty-one thouſand dollars for the ſupport and defence of the colony; ſeparate from one of three thouſand for the maintenance of a college dedicated to the inſtruction of the Indians; and another for the ſtipend of five monks, formerly of the order of St. Ignatius, but now Auguſtins.

In no part of the world are coloniſts treated in a better manner. They are maintained by the crown, but pay no tribute; and are regarded as his ſcholars by a careful maſter, his children by a benevolent father.

When Mr. Marion in 1771-2 ſailed on the expedition to the South Seas, in which he unfortunately, with twenty-two ſailors and ſome officers, periſhed by the hands of the natives of New Zealand, and when the command in conſequence devolved on the Chevalier Duclefmeur, the latter, after ſuffering great hardſhips, had the good fortune to reach the iſland of Guam, which appeared to him a terreſtrial paradiſe. And at this diſtance from any civilized country, it ſurely could be deemed no ſmall bleſſing by a diſtreſſed crew to arrive at the only port in the vaſt expanſe of this ſea, in which the ſickly and exhauſted mariner could hope ſpeedily to recruit his ſtrength, where all proviſions and neceſſary refitments were in abundance, and where a city was to be found, built in the European manner, with ſtraight ſtreets, a church, fortifications, public buildings, and a civilized population. The healthineſs of the iſland is beſt evident from the proof afforded on this occaſion. Of two hundred men ſick of the ſcurvy (according to the account rendered by M. de Crizet, of the Maſcarin, the compiler of the narrative of this voyage,) not one died, but all ſpeedily recovered, thanks to the air, the food, and the liberal aſſiſtance afforded by Don Mariano Tobias, the governor of the iſlands.

The Abbé Raynal, who received his information reſpecting theſe iſlands, moſt probably, from officers in this expedition, however prone thereto in moſt inſtances, has here nothing exaggerated in his account of them. Hiſt. Pol. de los Eſtab. Ultram. de las Naciones Europ. per Edv. Malo de Luque, tom. v. p. 141, et ſeq. Madrid, 1790.

be ſo venturesome as to undertake a long voyage without a due ſtore of water, and with the ſole dependence for ſupply on what may fall from the clouds? Yet this is the fact. The Spaniards avail themſelves of every vacancy in the veſſel to ſtow their goods in; and inſtead, like us, of carrying out ſtore-caſks of water, they merely carry out jars which are ſuſpended from the rigging to catch the rain when it falls.

After the commerce of Acapulco, comes that carried on by maſters of coaſters and different individuals of Manila. Theſe diſpatch ſmall veſſels laden with rice to Macao, which they exchange for various merchandize of China. The Spaniard here is rarely himſelf an adventurer; either he lends his money to the Indians who put it to profit, or lays it out in the purchaſe of raw ſugars to ſell again.

The rich perſons of Manila do not carry on trade even with Acapulco with their own money, but borrow funds for the purpoſe of the convents, which they return with intereſt on the return of the galëon. In this caſe the net profit of the ſhipper is eſtimated at from twenty-five to thirty per cent.

Commerce of Foreigners.

At times the port of Manila has been open to all friendly nations, but, moſt commonly, trade with foreigners * has been prohibited. When I was there, it was free.

The Engliſh trafficked thither under the Swediſh and Daniſh flag, Armenians likewiſe from the Indian coaſt, the Portugueſe, and the French. The Chineſe at all times trade thither in junks.

Importation.

The import trade conſiſts of various articles from Europe, to wit: anchors, ſheet, ſquared, and bar iron, and iron wire, grapplings, anvils, German ſteel, nails from one to ten inches long, cabinet makers' and carpenters' tools, ſheet-copper and copper faſtenings, tin in plates, braſs wire, ſail cloth, thread, needles, knitting-needles, cables, cordage, lead in ſheets and in pigs, ſand hour-glaſſes, window-glaſs, drinking-glaſſes, European cloth, wines, brandy, liquors and ſweet wines, eſſences, eau de Cologne, hats, ſilk ſtockings, glaſs lamps, pearl and coral for roſaries, roſe-diamonds, and brilliants unſet, lace, and Brittany linen.

The articles imported from India are cambayas, handkerchiefs, malmoles, plain, embroidered, and worked with gold and ſilver, cambricks, elefantas, cotton cloths from the north, percalas, bordered petticoats, baſquinas, handkerchiefs with devices, bafetas, garras, and Maſulipatam handkerchiefs without gloſs, with ſome handkerchiefs and cambayas from Anticour, &c.

The merchandize brought from China is, different ſilk ſtuffs, ſilk ſtockings, nankeens, gold and ſilver plate, porcelain, &c.

Exportation.

The ſhipments outwards are compoſed chiefly of ſugar, indigo, tobacco, leather, tallow, honey, wax, rice, chocolate, corn, biſcuit, cattle, wax candles, dying woods, ebony, birds'-neſts, pearls, mother of pearl, and rattans*.

On

* That is to ſay, Europeans.—TRANSLATOR.

† The following is an account of the articles, the produce of the Philippines, imported into Old Spain, in the years ſeverally affixed to them:

In 1788, by the ſhip Conception:—indigo 1100lbs.; ſilk 113lbs.; cotton 180lbs.; Sibucao wood 700lbs; chintzes 150 pieces.

In

On the arrival of a ſhip at Manila it has to produce its manifeſt within twenty-four hours; and the captain ſhould ſee that it be exact, for if any article be landed not mentioned in his declaration it is confiſcated. The liſt of the cargo is commonly ſhewn firſt to the governor, and the officers of the crown, who mark the articles they wiſh to purchaſe; to ſell theſe to any one elſe would be conſtrued an offence. The governor and the officers pay very regularly; and the merchant would have reaſon to be ſatisfied if they took the whole cargo, but they ſcrupulouſly exact, on the other hand, and with juſtice, that the bulk of what they buy ſhould correſpond with the ſample.

The cargo is diſcharged at the cuſtom-houſe and depoſited in warehouſes, to which the carriage is expenſive, as the porters are very ſlow in their movements. At the cuſtom-houſe there are but five perſons to take cognizance of what is landed, and to receive the duties; it follows, as a conſequence, that the goods are long in being examined, ſo much ſo, indeed, that were twenty veſſels to arrive at Manila it would take a year to clear them. When once the goods have paſſed the examination they may be removed. The cuſtom dues are eight per cent. on the preſumed ſale price, and the aſſeſſment of them depends on the chief cuſtom-officer. This aſſeſſment ſometimes exceeds the price for which the goods ſell, but ſhould it, no reſtitution is made, as the fiat of this plenipotentiary is irrevocable. At times, however, this officer is found ſo complaiſant, for inſtance when I was there, as to allow the goods to remain in the cuſtom-houſe without paying duty, except in caſe of ſale.

Commerce at Manila is ſubject to much difficulty and obſtruction. Every thing relative thereto is carried on ſlowly, and with great trouble; at every ſtep requeſts are neceſſary on ſtamped paper; for example, on unloading or loading a cargo, and when laden, for permiſſion to ſail. It alſo takes a length of time to receive a cargo on board, as the boats are fearful of venturing over the bar in caſe of the wind blowing in the leaſt freſh; moreover, a ſhip is not free to ſail at pleaſure, but muſt wait for a licence, which on account of the feſtivals and proceſſions ſo frequent in this country, and during which no buſineſs is tranſacted, is long delayed. *Dè eſpacio*, give breathing time, is the anſwer of the Spaniard to the impatient ſolicitations of the captain, who muſt reckon himſelf fortunate if he leave the bay before the monſoon changes, and conſequently before the adverſe winds ſet in.

Advantageous Poſition of Manila.

The great importance of the Philippines is apparent from what has been deſcribed. Theſe iſlands from their poſition might carry on an immenſe trade with China, Cochin-China, Camboja, Borneo, the Moluccas, the Indian coaſt, and that of America; but the Spaniards, intent on their commerce with Acapulco, have ſo much neglected every other, that but few veſſels are freighted by them of the great number they have means to employ.

The Philippines produce a variety of merchandize for exportation, to which might be added cotton, areca, and pepper. Did they follow a wiſe policy the Spaniards would ſtimulate the induſtry of the Indians, and induce them to cultivate theſe three articles. They would ſupply them with objects of firſt neceſſity to barter with China for its

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In 1789, by the Ships Santa Rufina, Noſtra Senora de las Nieves, and Noſtra Senora de la Conception:—indigo 45,825lbs.; ſilk 1587lbs; do. manufactured 364 pieces; Sibucao wood 3550lbs.; cotton 29 bales; 500lbs. ſpun; 570 pieces manufactured; pimento 6311bs.; ſugar 1200lbs.; nutmegs 244lbs.; wax 1000lbs; algalia 381lbs.; mother of pearl 12,740lbs; 2 ingots of gold, and 24 golden chains; 55 tables of different kinds of wood.—Appendix to Hiſt. Polit. de Las Nac. Europ. tom. v. p. 120 et ſeq.

 ſilks;

ſilks; would prevent the emiſſion of ſilver to that country, and occaſion the dollars of America to take their courſe to Old Spain. Nor would theſe be the only advantages accruing from ſuch meaſures.

The Spaniards by promoting on a large ſcale the culture of cotton, would be enabled to underſell the Engliſh in China; in this caſe the demand for the cotton goods of Bengal would diminiſh, and the Engliſh Eaſt India Company, no longer finding the ſame nouriſhment for its ſpeculations, would be forced to make encreaſed remittances from London, and conſequently have to carry on a trade, prejudicial in extreme to its intereſts. In this conteſt the Spaniards have nothing to hazard, but much to gain. The proximity of the places of intercourſe, and the moderate charge for freight, would neceſſarily put it in their power to offer their cottons at a much lower price than the Engliſh; and the Chineſe would naturally prefer the cottons from Manila, for which they pay in ſilks, to thoſe they purchaſe of the India captains, who conſtantly receive ſilver in part payment, and find means, notwithſtanding the prohibition of the mandarins, of carrying it out of the country.

Manila might alſo become an entrepôt, not only for the reſort of Spaniſh but, if government ſhould allow it, of foreign veſſels alſo. In fact this colony furniſhed with the merchandize of China, either by means of Manila coaſters or the Chineſe junks, which annually reſort thither from Emouy, merchant ſhips from Europe would rather take in here their return cargoes than proceed for the purpoſe to Canton, as by theſe means they would not only ſave time but likewiſe the charge of the factories and reſidence, and of the tonnage payable at Canton.

The Spaniards of Manila might even themſelves proceed to the coaſt of India with ſilver, indigo, and merchandize from China, and there obtain in exchange cambayas, muſlins, cloths, and handkerchiefs, either for inveſtments on European ſhips or on thoſe for Acapulco. Trade conducted in this manner would become briſk, and be profitable to the colony. Still if any great advantage be ſought it will be requiſite to place the colony on a reſpectable footing of defence by maintaining ſome European troops; by fortifying the entrance of the bay, and the iſland of the Corregidor; by fitting out ſome frigates to cruize along the coaſts, and prevent the Moors from making incurſions upon the Spaniſh territory; and by diminiſhing and ſimplifying the cuſtom duties, and affording greater facility and diſpatch to commercial tranſactions. High duties payable on articles of import into any country are not a tax on the foreigner but on the ſubject, as the vendor conſtantly augments the price of what he ſells in proportion to the impoſt he pays; thus the purchaſer pays the duties, and ſo much more money goes out of the country*: moreover, proportionally as the duties are heavy is the importer encouraged to elude them; and as in what is ſmuggled the whole duty is loſt, the ſtate becomes the loſer.

Let the duties exacted, as well from the natives as from foreigners, be leſſened to a trifle, and let a greater facility be affected to purchaſes and ſales, and commerce will increaſe a hundred fold: moreover, in proportion to its increaſe will be the augmentation of the duties; and the revenue will be found not only to equal the expences, but the ſovereign, in addition, will withdraw an exceſs from a colony which at preſent annually exacts a remittance from Spain for its ſupport.

* This laſt concluſion is erroneous. If a hundred pounds be the value of a parcel of goods imported, and the duty on them be eight pounds, when the buyer pays for theſe goods one hundred and eight pounds, only one hundred pounds leaves the country, as eight had before been paid by the importer to the treaſury of the country.—TRANSLATOR.

For the internal diſcipline, the government ſhould nominate as alcaldes none but men of probity; a council compoſed of merchants ſhould be inſtituted for the ſuperintendence of commerce, for propoſing uſeful meaſures, and putting them in execution; a ſimilar council ſhould be eſtabliſhed for the furtherance and ſuperinſpection of agriculture; and laſtly, the Indians be endeared to the government by being placed on par with Spaniards in reſpect to tribute, and thus be induced to marry. Theſe ſhould be rouſed from their ſluggiſhneſs, and inſpirited to an active life, by preſenting them a profitable market for their productions; they ſhould be encouraged by premiums to addict themſelves to agriculture, to works of art, and to become gold and ſilver ſmiths, black and white ſmiths. But for the promotion of this object a reduction of the Chineſe reſidents would be indiſpenſable: a certain number of theſe might be tolerated. It would alſo perhaps be adviſable to invite ſtrangers, and afford them aſſiſtance in eſtabliſhing themſelves. But in both theſe caſes much caution would be required; for too great a number of foreigners might introduce danger, and originate a combination with the Indians for the expulſion of thoſe who received them with kindneſs.

By meaſures ſuch as I have propoſed the Spaniards would be awakened from the lethargy which appears to abſorb their faculties; commerce, in a languiſhing ſtate, and nearly at its laſt gaſp, would be called into life and activity; individuals, in a free communication between China, Acapulco, and Manila, would find an immenſe ſource of wealth; and government, in ſeconding their efforts, would be a gainer of money and ſailors, would acquire a reſpectable navy, and with it competence to repel any attack, however unexpected.

From what I have ſaid it is eaſy to perceive that with ſlight efforts the Spaniards might carry on a very extenſive commerce in the Philippines, and reap conſiderable profit from a colony, the productions and reſources of which are incalculable; but they are ſo regardleſs of the advantages to be derived from theſe iſlands, that under Philip II. and Philip III. it was a ſubject of deliberation, in the council at Madrid, whether or no Manila ſhould be abandoned.

Nothing could have been more deſirable than that theſe iſlands ſhould have been ceded to the French. Their poſſeſſion of them, according to Cardinal Alberoni in his political will, would not have been leſs uſeful to the French themſelves than beneficial to the colony. But, if the Spaniards are to remain maſters of them, that they ſhould look with diligence to their ſecurity is moſt eſſential. A nation, ambitious of monopolizing the commerce of the world, looks with anxious eye on the iſland of Manila: once for a ſhort period miſtreſs of this rich colony, ſhe repents its reſtitution, and ſhould it a ſecond time come under her dominion, will never yield it again. Spaniards! look ſeriouſly therefore to the preſervation of the Philippines: the loſs of them would be irreparable; anticipate the conſequence of a diſaſter, and have not to ſeek a remedy when too late.

DEPARTURE FROM MANILA, AND RETURN TO THE ISLE OF FRANCE.

WE left Manila the 7th of March 1797*, at five in the evening, and on the 13th doubled Pulo Sapate, keeping its weſtern ſide. This courſe ſhould be avoided on ac-

* The ſhoals of Boulinao and Maſſinlou, without the port of Manila, are laid down too much towards the eaſt in the charts; they lie more weſterly, and nearer to Scarborough bank.

count of a ſhoal which runs out nearly two leagues to ſea from the north-north-weſtern part of the iſland, on which there is but little water.

The 21ſt we entered the Strait of Banca, the currents then running out and in at the ſame time.

We reached the Strait of Sunda on the 1ſt of April, and left it on the 3d, with a wind from the north-weſt, which afterwards veered to the north, increaſing in violence till on the 14th it ſwelled to a tempeſt. For twelve hours we were driven along, the gunnel conſtantly under water, and were obliged to throw our guns overboard to lighten the veſſel. The wind at length abating, we again hoiſted ſail, and continued our courſe towards the iſland Rodrigues, which we deſcried on the 28th. We kept to leeward of this iſland to avoid the Engliſh cruizers; and, after coaſting under the ſouth ſide of the Iſle of France, during the whole of the 1ſt of May, we caſt anchor in the port in the evening.

The latitude of the iſland is twenty degrees nine minutes forty-five ſeconds; its longitude fifty-five degrees eight minutes eaſt of Paris. From north to ſouth its length is about fourteen leagues, its breadth ten, and its circumference forty.

The Iſle of France has two ports; but though in my two voyages hither I made the circuit of the iſland, at only a ſhort diſtance from the coaſt, I did not ſee the Grand Port, or that on the eaſtern ſide of the iſland. The air is temperate, and even cool in the pens*; the heat of the climate is powerfully felt only in the town, where the ſurrounding mountains prevent the cooling influence of the ſouth-weſt wind.

The ſouth-weſt generally prevails at the Iſle of France, except from October to April, in which interval the winds are variable; this period alſo is the rainy ſeaſon. At times violent hurricanes occur: the rivers are forced from their beds, plants and trees are torn up by the roots, and houſes are levelled with the ground; veſſels are not always in ſafety even in the port, I myſelf having ſeen ſome on theſe occaſions driven on ſhore. The months in which hurricanes are common are thoſe between the end of September and March; they owe their origin apparently to winds contending with the monſoons; and to a ſimilar cauſe muſt the ſudden guſts be attributed in the China ſeas.

The iſland is ſurrounded with reefs, which in ſome places extend more than a league from ſhore; the ſouth ſide is more ſteep, and the ſea breaks againſt it, except in ſome few ſpots.

Every thing denotes the exiſtence, in ſome former time, of a volcano in this iſland; the ground is almoſt in every part overſpread with volcanic ſtones, round, of various ſize, generally compact, but occaſionally porous, and of a greyiſh colour, inclining to black. The mountains are numerous, and ſeem to have been convulſed, ſplit, and broken by earthquakes, but they are not of volcanic origin; their ſtrata are more or leſs inclined towards the horizon; according to the general diſpoſition of the ſpecies of ſtone of which they are compoſed.

The ſoil is tolerably good, but dry; in many cantons it is of a reddiſh colour. The earth is not worked deep, and is broken up with a pick-axe: the roots of plants ſtrike beneath the ſtones, and thus are kept cool and beyond the parching influence of the ſun. Wheat is here cultivated, barley, oats, rice, maize, manioc (maniot Indorum), cotton of excellent quality, the ſugar-cane, indigo, and coffee, the laſt inferior to that of Bourbon. Here alſo plantations of cloves are ſeen, ſurrounded by hedges of jamroſa to defend them from the wind, by which they would otherwiſe be readily broken.

* A Creole term for houſes and plantations in the country.

Nutmeg trees are not equally common: in the plains of Wilhem I diſtinguiſhed ſome ſoap trees (ſaponaria Americana.)

In the gardens part of the vegetables of Europe are grown, and ſome ſweet potatoes. The moſt common fruits are the banana, mango, ananas or pine-apples, panglemouſſe, guavas, the atè, papaya, and the peach. Cocoa-trees ſucceed well, but the number of mangooſtans (mangoutiers) is inconſiderable. Oranges, which are very ſweet in the Iſle of Bourbon, are not good on this iſland.

The Iſle of France is watered by a great many rivulets; ſome proceed from the center of the iſland, and are of ſufficient ſize to obtain the name of rivers; the coaſts furniſh a moderate ſupply of fiſh.

The iſland was at one time wholly covered with wood, but part of the trees have gradually been felled, either for the ſake of clearing the ground, for ſawing into planks, or for the ſtructure of houſes; in felling the trees no management has been obſerved, and none are planted in ſucceſſion. The ſoil, wholly in parts deſpoiled of its ſhelter, has in conſequence become dry and arid, as much from its expoſure to the great heat of the ſun, as from nothing remaining to arreſt the vapours neceſſary for the formation of clouds, and conſequently of the rains which kept up its fertility. For this miſmanagement a remedy has been ſought in the culture of a tree called black wood; but this tree is at beſt fit for nothing but firing, and has not every where ſucceeded, owing to the too great aridity of the ſoil, or from the earth having been waſhed away by the rains from the removal of the impediment oppoſed by the woods, and affording no longer a ſufficient ſuſtenance for the roots.

To the cauſes of the iſland being thinned of trees before noticed, others muſt be added. In the firſt place there grows in the Iſle of France a thick and coarſe graſs, which ſerves as fodder, and which, after attaining a conſiderable height, becomes dry towards the cloſe of Auguſt. This graſs is ſet on fire by the negroes in the month of September, and the flame which ſpreads to a diſtance dries the trees and cauſes them to periſh. Secondly, the allowance granted to the negroes to cut faggots in the mountains impedes much the growth of trees, as they lop off branches without paying any attention to whether or no they injure the tree. And laſtly, the goats belonging to the Indians who inhabit camp Malabar, and which feed on the heights, brouze on and deſtroy every thing. From the aggregate of theſe cauſes the woods are gradually, but rapidly, deſtroyed.

Among the trees of the Iſle of France muſt be noticed that which produces ebony, the tacamahaca, the milk tree, and the mat tree with large and ſmall leaves, the cinnamon tree, the olive, and the ſtinking tree. The wood of theſe is well adapted for cabinet and carpenters' work.

When I arrived in the Iſle of France, in 1796, the hedges in every quarter were formed of the opuntia, or Indian fig; but ſome one ſince then having brought into the colony a quantity of the eggs of the kirmes, that inſect multiplied with ſuch rapidity, as to have entirely deſtroyed theſe trees.

The woods abound in ſtags, wild goats, wild hogs, hares, monkeys, and rats and mice in multitudes; the three laſt animals very deſtructive to plantations. In the woods alſo are found paroquets, pintados, bengalis (a little red bird), and a ſpecies of partridge.

The inſects moſt troubleſome are carias kakerlaques, muſquitos, ſcorpions, ſcolopendræ, and waſps. It is affirmed that ſerpents cannot exiſt in the Iſle of France. The aſſertion is difficult of proof; but, what is moſt ſure, there are none to be found.

Cattle are not abundant, ſheep are rare, and the beef, excepting that from Madagaſcar, is not good: the cows brought from Europe yield a tolerable quantity of milk, thoſe of the iſland but little.

If the Iſle of France had been a foreign colony, I ſhould give a ſketch of the manners and cuſtoms of the inhabitants; but as all I could ſay is already known, I ſhall ſimply point out its utility and importance to the metropolis.

Importance of the Iſle of France.

By the death of thouſands, and by conſiderable pecuniary loſſes, have moſt of the nations of Europe purchaſed the eſtabliſhments they have formed in Aſia. Whatever conſequence may ultimately reſult from the poſſeſſion of theſe diſtant colonies, to ſupport and preſerve them is a matter of abſolute neceſſity, as long as any one European power continues to maintain a commerce with India. This commerce in itſelf may be a matter of indifference to us, and even uſeleſs, if any can truly be ſo conſidered in a great ſtate; but ſhould we diſcontinue it, we ſhould be placed in a ſtate of dependence, and render ourſelves the tributaries of thoſe by whom it might be continued.

Colonies have always been formed for the advantage of the mother-country: in this light they have ever been contemplated; and ſhould they at times have failed to anſwer the purpoſed end, the cauſe of the failure is more to be attributed to radical vices in the eſtabliſhment of them, than to unfortunate occurrences, or ſuch as could not have been foreſeen.

In looking to the value of a colony two things are to be duly weighed; firſtly, the draught of men and money from the metropolis which they occaſion, and ſecondly, the reſources and advantage preſented by their poſition and their commerce.

Under the firſt aſpect, if the expences of the eſtabliſhment are not counterbalanced by conſiderable profits or other material benefit, the conſequent loſs of men and money is burthenſome to the ſtate; but on the other hand thoſe colonies which by their poſition can readily be cloſed againſt foreign commerce *, and the population of which fails to increaſe in proportion with their wealth, are of ſingular utility to the metropolis.

Now, inſular colonies preſent this double advantage, they can at pleaſure be laid open to or cloſed againſt foreign trade; and they hold out no proſpect of ever becoming hurtful to the mother-country by their increaſing wealth or population.

Continental colonies, on the reverſe, poſſeſs in themſelves many inconveniencies; and though perhaps they preſent more extended reſources in their larger population, and the greater activity and value of their trade, in theſe very momentary advantages they carry with them the ſeeds of diſorder and revolt, ſeeds perpetually diſpoſed to germinate and ripen to maturity. In fact, after occaſioning their mother-country material ſacrifices of both men and money, when once they attain a certain pitch of proſperity and power, they rebel againſt their parent, and ceaſe to acknowledge her authority, of which we ſee an example in the conduct of the United States of America in the laſt century.

* Trade with its colonies naturally belongs to the metropolis, and other nations ſhould be admitted to traffic with them only at the option of the ſovereign government. In this caſe alſo the foreigner ought to pay an extra tax on the importation as well as on the export of merchandize; for, if he were permitted to buy or ſell without paying ſuch extra duties, the coloniſt, at all times inclined to buy as cheap as poſſible, would ſell his produce in many inſtances in preference to the ſtranger, to the ruin of the merchant of the mother-country. To this evident injury is to be added the riſe of price of colonial produce, and the diminution of that of European commodities, conſequent on a full market and the competition of foreigners, the fatal effect of which is the deſtruction of the commerce of the mother-country, and the annihilation of its navy.

The

The Engliſh eſtabliſhments in India, purchaſed by the effuſion of ſo much blood, by the expenditure of ſuch heaps of treaſure, theſe eſtabliſhments muſt terminate ſoon or late, either in the return of the people to the dominion of their former maſters, or in their erecting themſelves into ſeveral different ſtates independent of Britiſh ſway.

Time, events, and political changes produce in continental colonies, as a natural reſult, inevitable revolutions; while inſular eſtabliſhments, more concentrated and of courſe more eaſy of ſuperinſpection within, and more readily protected againſt external foes, promiſe from their nature a perpetuation of their union with, and conſtant benefit to, their mother-country.

Among the numerous colonies belonging to France, the Iſles of France and Bourbon muſt be regarded as highly important, not ſo much on account of their productions as their poſition.

The Iſle of Bourbon defended by itſelf is from its contiguity indiſpenſably neceſſary to, and intimately allied with, the Iſle of France.

The Iſle of France, on a reſpectable footing of defence, has nothing to apprehend from its enemies. The Engliſh may ſend out expeditions againſt this colony, but its diſtance from them will ever be an impediment to their arriving in good condition; and when arrived in its vicinage, the winds, want of proviſion, and obſtacles of every deſcription, will ſoon oblige them to abandon their enterprize.

This iſland may be deemed the key of India: France may ſend hither men and veſſels, and here in ſecret prepare its expeditions unknown to England.

From the ſituation of the Iſle of France, ſaid the Engliſh council of Bengal, in 1768 *, the French poſſeſs a device of their point of attack, and their deſigns cannot be fathomed but at the moment of their being carried into effect upon the coaſt of India.

But not only does the Iſle of France contribute from its advantageous poſition to aſſiſt the military operations of government, this favourable ſite may alſo greatly promote the growth of the commerce of France; it is ſuſceptible of becoming the entrepôt of the merchandize of Aſia, and of furniſhing therewith, in addition to the produce of its ſoil, return cargoes to thoſe veſſels diſpatched from Europe principally with wines, which have neither time nor means to proceed to India, for the merchandize they need to complete their cargoes.

Commerce, as it increaſes, will furniſh augmented means of ſubſiſtence, and the population will in conſequence become great in proportion, eſpecially if government render aſſiſtance to and encourage thoſe individuals ſolicitous of eſtabliſhing themſelves in the Iſle of France.

By ſuch meaſures it would attach to the ſoil a number of proprietors who, too poor to leave it, would render it fertile by careful and ſedulous culture; whereas at preſent three-fourths of the inhabitants, inceſſantly tormented by the common but frequently chimerical anxiety of making a rapid fortune in order to return to Europe, are neglectful of their plantations, and thinking but of the preſent moment, take little heed of the future.

To launch into a minute detail of the productions of this iſle, and of what value it might become, would be of no utility: I have ſought merely to impreſs an idea of its importance; and ſhould what I have mentioned fail of this effect on the reader, I intreat him ſoberly to weigh this obſervation of a famous character well known for his political ability: "While the French," ſaid Lord Chatham, "keep poſſeſſion of the Iſle of France, the Engliſh cannot be deemed maſters of India."

* View of the riſe of the Engliſh government, &c., by *Vereſt*.

RETURN

RETURN TO EUROPE.

THE capture of Pondicherry in 1793 having delayed the remittance of the cuſtomary funds for the maintenance of the French eſtabliſhment at Canton, as well for that as the ſucceeding years, I determined, as before obſerved, on ſailing to the Iſle of France in 1796, in view of obtaining there the payment of my arrears. Deceived in my expectations from this quarter, the laws of the iſland not allowing the emiſſion of money for any purpoſe foreign to the ſervice of the colony, I was indebted wholly to the kindneſs of M. de Malartie, the governor, and M. Dupuy, the intendant, for a ſmall loan of four hundred dollars, which enabled me to return to China at the cloſe of 1796, but was inſufficient to maintain me at the reſidence. I therefore, in 1797, again left Canton for the Iſle of France, as I had there a better chance than at Canton of receiving advices from the miniſter, to whom I had already written, and to whom I again wrote on my arrival, requeſting a remittance of funds in caſe of my continuance in China, or an order for my return to Europe.

After reſidence of three years at the Iſle of France in continual expectation of an anſwer, receiving none, I reſolved on leaving that colony, and quitted it 21ſt March 1801, on board a Daniſh ſhip. We loſt ſight of land the 23d, and on the 12th of April paſſed Eel Bank (Le Banc des Aiquilles) in latitude thirty-ſix degrees fourteen minutes. The fear of meeting with cruiſers prevented our making the Cape of Good Hope, St. Helena, the iſland of Aſcenſion, or the Azores, ſo that the firſt land we deſcried after paſſing north of Ireland and Scotland was the northern part of the iſland of Ronaldſha: at length, on 11th June we anchored in Norway at Fleckerhoe, a ſhort diſtance from Chriſtianſand, after a paſſage of two months and nineteen days.

The Engliſh being at war with the Danes I took my paſſage in a ſloop of this laſt nation; after traverſing the Categat, coaſting along Jutland, and a portion of Fionia, I arrived at Korſer, whence I repaired to Copenhagen; I left this city after a ſhort time for Holland, and thence repaired to Paris, where I arrived 4th Auguſt 1801, after an abſence of ſeventeen years.

A

VOYAGE

TO AND FROM THE ISLAND OF BORNEO,

IN THE EAST INDIES;

WITH A DESCRIPTION OF THE SAID ISLAND;

Giving an Account of the Inhabitants, their Manners, Cuſtoms, Religion, Product, Chief Ports, and Trade: together with the Re-eſtabliſhment of the Engliſh Trade there, An. 1714, after our Factory had been deſtroyed by the Banjareens ſome Years before.

Alſo a Deſcription of

THE ISLANDS OF CANARY, CAPE VERD, JAVA, MADURA;
OF THE STREIGHTS OF BALLY, THE CAPE OF GOOD HOPE, THE HOTTENTOTS,
THE ISLAND OF ST. HELENA, ASCENSION, &c.

With ſome Remarks and Directions touching Trade, &c.

The Whole very pleaſant and very uſeful to ſuch as ſhall have Occaſion to go into thoſe Parts.

By Captain DANIEL BEECKMAN *.

TO THE HONOURABLE SIR GREGORY PAGE, BART.

SIR,

THE indefatigable pains and care you always took in promoting the advantage of the Honourable Eaſt India Company; the eminent zeal that has always appeared in you for the good of your country in general; together with the obligations I am under for the many favours I have had the honour of receiving already at your hands, have induced me to take the liberty of imploring, moſt humbly, your patronage to this work; begging your acceptance thereof, as a ſmall teſtimony of that gratitude I owe you.

The great and uncommon qualifications you are endowed with, render you the fitteſt perſon I know of to countenance a work of this nature: and I do not queſtion, but the protection of a gentleman of ſo extenſive a knowledge in trade, will make it meet with more regard and reſpect than it could otherwiſe expect. If what obſervations I have here made may be ſo happy as to merit your approbation, I ſhall think my pains well beſtowed, and my chief end is entirely anſwered, by ſhewing with how profound a reſpect I am, Sir,

Your moſt humble, and moſt obedient Servant,

D. BEECKMAN.

* London, 1718, 8vo.

TO

TO THE READER.

IT is a common ſaying, and indeed generally proves true, that old men and travellers do give themſelves great liberty in relating fictitious and improbable ſtories: the diſtance of time being as great a protection to the former, as that of place is to the latter: but I can aſſure my reader, that the caſe is otherwiſe here; for I made it my ſtudy to adhere, as much as poſſible could be, to truth, eſpecially in thoſe things which fell within the pale of my own knowledge, having always made it my maxim, to have a greater regard to utility than pleaſure. As to what I had by hearſay from the natives, I neither have inſerted the hundredth part of what they told me, neither do I much inſiſt on the truth of what I have inſerted, though more probable than what I omitted; but do leave it to the reader's choice to believe or reject as he ſhall think fit.

I am ſenſible that I might have rendered this work more agreeable to ſome perſons, and made it ſwell to a much larger volume, in following the ſteps of ſeveral other authors, by ſtuffing it with many ſtrange improbable relations, whereby it might be as acceptable as the bundle of lies publiſhed by the famous Ferdinando Mendez Spinto, &c. But my deſign is not either to amuſe, or abuſe the public, or to pleaſe ſuch as delight in fabulous romantic legends or ſtories. On the contrary, I have endeavoured herein to be as uſeful as poſſible to thoſe who may hereafter have occaſion to go into the countries I have given an account of, by laying down ſuch directions and rules in regard to trade, &c. as they may the better govern themſelves by, and avoid a great many inconveniencies that might otherwiſe happen.

I muſt own, that I had ſome reluctancy to undertake ſuch a taſk, as not thinking myſelf of a genius or talent proportionable thereto; but conſidering, that among ſo many printed voyages to and from the Eaſt Indies, there is but little or no account given of Borneo, (the greateſt iſland of all the Indian ſeas, and where as conſiderable a branch of trade might be ſettled, with due care, as any the Honourable Eaſt India Company is in poſſeſſion of) and that the other ſupercargos, and myſelf, were the only Engliſhmen that ever had ſuch an opportunity of knowing both the humour of the people, the way of dealing with them, the country, product, and price of their commodities, as having been a conſiderable time converſant among the natives; and having ventured often far up into their country, whereas the factory ſettled here before were forced to trade with them, as it were, ſword in hand, and conſequently could have but very little knowledge of thoſe matters: conſidering, I ſay, all this, I thought it was my duty to publiſh what, in my opinion, muſt needs be very advantageous to the public, and in particular to the Honourable Eaſt India Company. Moreover, the ſtreights of Bally having ſeldom or never been before navigated by the Engliſh, eſpecially during the weſtern monſoons, which is the only time we have occaſion to make uſe of that paſſage, becauſe more expeditious for home-bound ſhips, I thought it neceſſary to be as particular as I could, thereby to make it more eaſy to thoſe who ſhall hereafter have occaſion to ſail that way, being forewarned of the difficulties I met with there, and of the method I was at laſt forced to take to get through.

One thing I will make bold to ſay, that I have been ſo particular in relation to the Banjareens, it being all of my own knowledge, that whoever goes to the port of Banjar-Maſſeen, though never ſo great a ſtranger to the way of trading, cannot fail to

manage his affairs there with far greater ſucceſs, by following the inſtructions I have here laid down.

That the whole may prove to be of as great uſe as intended, is the ſole aim of,

Your humble Servant,

D. B.

CHAPTER I. — *Giving an Account of the Canary, Cape Verd, and Chriſtmas Iſlands; with a Deſcription of Batavia, &c.*

AS ſo many accounts of voyages to and from the Eaſt Indies have been already made public, I think it ſuperfluous to trouble the reader with a particular journal of this voyage, either going or coming; therefore I ſhall only relate ſuch things as I judge moſt material to the preſent ſubject.

I ſailed out of the Downs on the 12th of October, anno 1713, in the Eagle-galley, in the ſervice of the Honourable Eaſt India Company, with full orders and inſtructions from them to uſe my utmoſt endeavours (in concert with the other ſupercargos) to re-eſtabliſh a trade at the port of Banjar-Maſſeen, in the iſland of Borneo, from which place the natives, ſome years before, had expelled the Engliſh, and deſtroyed their fort and habitations, putting many of them to death, as ſhall be more particularly related in the latter part of this work.

Several attempts of renewing a correſpondence and trade with them have been ſince made, as well by the Engliſh as the Dutch, but in vain; until fortune favoured us with ſucceſs. I doubt not but to make it fully appear, that it may be improved much to the advantage of the Eaſt India Company.

On the 29th we paſſed cloſe by the iſles, or rather the rocks, called the Salvages, lying in the latitude of twenty-nine degrees twenty-five minutes north, and longitude of ſixteen degrees thirty-ſix minutes from London. We ſailed along to the ſouthward (the weather being exceeding pleaſant for three days) in ſight of moſt of the Canary iſlands, but could not as yet ſee the top of Pico-Teneriffe, becauſe of its being ſo much higher than the vaſt body of clouds that encompaſſed it; though ſometimes (when clear of clouds) it may be ſeen at above fifty leagues diſtance at ſea. On the 1ſt of November we were between the iſlands of Teneriffe and of Grand Canary.

Theſe iſlands were by the ancients called *Inſulæ Fortunatæ*, or the Fortunate iſlands; but by the moderns Canary iſlands, from the iſle of Grand Canary, which is the chief and largeſt of them. They were well known to the Romans; but after the fall of that empire, they lay hid in oblivion and undiſcovered by the Europeans, till about the year 1330, or rather 1334. However the natives, a rude and ignorant people, who were governed by their own Kings (each iſland having one), continued in poſſeſſion till the year 1417; when Catharine, daughter to our John of Gaunt duke of Lancaſter, and widow of Henry the Third of Caſtille, during the minority of her ſon John the Second, ſent forces thither, and ſubdued four of thoſe iſlands, viz. Lancerota, Forteventura, Gomera, and Ferro. The other iſlands remained under their own Kings till the year 1483, when Ferdinand, ſirnamed the Catholic, ſubdued them all; ever ſince which time they remained annexed to the Crown of Spain, and are the general rendezvous of the Spaniſh Weſt India fleet homeward bound.

They are ſituate weſtward of Biledulgerid, between twenty-four degrees thirty minutes, and twenty-eight or twenty-nine degrees of north latitude, if we comprehend the

the Salvages; they are ten or twelve in number, but only ſeven remarkable, viz. Lancerota or Lancelotta, Forteventura, Canaria, Teneriffa, Palma, Gomera, and Ferro; the two firſt are towards the eaſt, the two laſt towards the weſt, and the three other in the middle.

The iſle of Lancerota is about thirteen leagues in length from north to ſouth, nine in breadth, and forty in circuit.

Forteventura is in length from ſouth-weſt to north-eaſt about twenty-five, the breadth being very irregular; for in the middle it is but four leagues only, there being an iſthmus dividing it into two peninſulas, which formerly had a wall acroſs it; the circuit is about ſeventy leagues, becauſe of the two gulfs that are on each ſide of the iſthmus.

Canaria, commonly called Grand Canary (which gives its name to all the reſt) is equally large as it is long, being about thirteen or fourteen leagues either ways, and in circuit about forty: the town of Canary is a biſhop's ſee, and the reſidence of the Spaniſh governor.

The length of Teneriffa is variouſly reported, ſome making it twenty-two leagues, others more, and ſome leſs; its breadth is very irregular, viz. from three to fifteen, and the circumference about ſixty leagues; towards the middle is that famous and vaſt hill, or peak ſpoken of before, called by the Portugueſe El Pico, counted the higheſt in the world, being about two miles and a half perpendicular; it riſes like a pyramid, or rather a ſugar loaf. Here the Dutch place the firſt meridian; but the French place it on the iſle of Ferro; as Janſonius does on Corvo, the moſt weſterly iſland of the Azores; and Hondius on St. Nicholas, one of the Cape-Verd iſlands.

The three other iſlands are leſſer, each not exceeding ten leagues in length, five in breadth, and twenty-five in circuit.

The air of theſe iſlands is very wholeſome, though very hot; the ſoil moſt fertile, producing a great abundance of wheat, barley, millet, and excellent wine; the vines (as they ſay) being tranſplanted hither formerly from the Rhine by the Spaniards, in the reign of Charles the Fifth, Emperor of Germany and King of Spain; where, by the change and nature of the ſoil, inſtead of ſharp Rheniſh, they produce that ſweet delicious wine which we call Canary, and which is vended ſo much all over Europe, that ſome relate fifteen or ſixteen thouſand tuns have been yearly tranſported into England only.

Here are alſo a great number of palm-trees that bear dates; dragon-tress, from whence is drawn a red thick liquor called dragon's blood, with fig, olive, pomegrate, citron, and orange trees, the fruit whereof is moſt excellent; likewiſe plenty of ſugar, woad, honey, wax, and plantons, which is a fruit not unlike a cucumber in ſhape, and when thoroughly ripe eats as delicious as any ſweetmeats; they have alſo a great number of wild goats and aſſes, the milk and hides whereof are a good commodity.

The iſle of Ferro is very dry, and in ſome places barren for want of water; but this defect is in a great meaſure ſupplied by a tree that grows in the middle of the iſland, the trunk whereof is about two fathom round, from the leaves of which does continually diſtil as much water as fills a large ſtone ciſtern, or reſervatory, built by the inhabitants on purpoſe, containing about twenty thouſand tuns, which ſupplies the cattle and whole iſland with wholeſome freſh water. This miracle of nature is ſaid to proceed from the vaſt body of clouds that hang about the tree all night and a great part of the day.

The inhabitants are, for the moſt part, Spaniards originally; there are ſome few of the aborigines, who are a very nimble ſort of people and vaſt eaters; they live generally in caves among the mountains, feed upon milk chiefly, and are ſaid to be

Pagans by religion; though I believe there is hardly any of that perſuaſion now, the Spaniards being ſo zealous to propagate the Chriſtian doctrine according to their own way.

On the 2d of October, in the morning, we had a ſight of the top of El Pico; hereabouts we met with the trade-winds, ſo called becauſe they always blow between the eaſt-north-eaſt, and north-north-eaſt, they continued with us till we came near the equinoctial line; which was no ſmall advantage, as well as pleaſure, to us in our outward-bound paſſage; not only for the expedition we made through the means of their briſk gales (our ſhip running at leaſt one hundred and twenty miles in twenty-four hours) but alſo for the coolness and mighty refreſhment we received from them in ſo hot a climate; and likewiſe for the diverſion we had from the prodigious numbers of dolphins, albocores, bonetos, flying-fiſh, &c. many of the latter flew on board our ſhip, when purſued by the dolphins, or other fiſh of prey, whereof there are vaſt multitudes in thoſe ſeas: we caught a great number of dolphins, &c. with large hooks, which we towed to the ſtern of the ſhip, baited with either an artificial, or real flying-fiſh, or ſometimes with a bit of fat pork or beef, they being ſo prodigious eager that they will ſnap at almoſt any thing; the poor ſailors make many a hearty meal of them, eſpecially when freſh proviſions begin to be ſcarce.

In this pleaſant manner we continued from the Canary Iſlands, ſteering away ſouth-weſt by ſouth neareſt, till the 10th, when we got ſight of the iſlands of Cape Verd, which are ten in number, viz. St. Antonio, St. Vincent, St. Lucia, St. Nicolas, Sal, Bonaviſta, Mayo, St. Jago, Fuogo, and Brava. Theſe were by the ancients called the Heſperides, or Gorgades; their orchards of golden apples, kept by a never ſleeping dragon, are celebrated much by the Greek and Latin poets; they are now inhabited by the Banditos, or baniſhed Portugueſe. Theſe iſlands afford a moſt pleaſant viſto to thoſe that ſail between them.

The iſland of St. Jago is the largeſt of all, being in length about forty-five leagues, in breadth ten, and in circuit ninety-five.

St. Nicolas and St. Lucia are each in length about twenty-five or twenty-ſix leagues, in breadth about ſeven or eight, and ſixty in circuit. St. Vincent and St. Antonio are not of above half the extent of theſe, and the other five are ſtill leſſer; for the greateſt of them is not ten leagues in length, and twenty in circuit; the air in general is unwholeſome; the ſoil of ſome is ſtony and barren, as particularly that of Sal, Bonaviſta, and Mayo. The firſt has a great number of wild horſes, as alſo the laſt; but beſides, it has a much greater multitude of wild goats, and ſuch a prodigious quantity of ſalt, that it could load (as is reported) above two thouſand ſail of ſhips, ſo that they are all named, by ſome, the Iſlands of Salt. The other iſlands are more fertile, and produce rice, maiz, or Indian wheat, bananos, lemons, citrons, oranges, pomegranates, cocoa, nuts, figs, and melons; there is ſome wine, cotton, and ſugar canes, which they gather twice a year. The goats generally bring forth three or four kids at once, and that very often thrice a year. The chief merchandize is ſalt and goat ſkins, of which are made the beſt cordevants. They are called the Iſles of Cape Verd, becauſe they lie oppoſite to the Cape ſo called, being the weſtern point of the iſland that lies in the mouth of the river Niger, formed by the north and middle branches thereof, called Senega, and Gambea; when they were firſt diſcovered (viz. anno 1440) by a Genoeſe, they were all deſert, and ſo continued for thirty years, when they began to be inhabited by the Portugueſe.

The iſland of Fuogo, or of Fire, has its name from a burning mountain that is in it; it is moſt terrible to ſee (in the night eſpecially) what prodigious flames and vaſt

clouds of ſmoke it vomits up continually, which we could perceive afterward in a clear day, though we were above ſixty miles diſtant from it.

Here I reſolved, by the advice of the chief officers of the ſhip, to go into the port of Praya in the iſland of St. Jago, to take a freſh ſupply of water and proviſions, but particularly to ſtop a dangerous leak in the bow of the ſhip, which ſhe had ſprung in a great ſtorm that happened to us in the Bay of Biſcay, where we were all like to have periſhed. Another conſideration that moved me thereto was, that by recruiting here I might avoid touching at the Cape of Good Hope outward bound, whereby my paſſage would be much ſhorter. Accordingly on the 12th of November we anchored in the aforeſaid port, which is in the latitude of fifteen degrees north, and the longitude of twenty-three degrees thirty minutes from London, having made my paſſage thither from the Downs in thirty days. I ſaluted the caſtle with five guns, but had no return; there was a ſmall Portugueſe ſhip in the road bound for Braſil; at our firſt coming ſhe was jealous of us as we were of her, both ſuppoſing each other to be pirates, it being a place much frequented by ſuch.

About a mile eaſtward of the port, is another bay ſo much like this, that without the following inſtructions one may be miſtaken; but it is not by much ſo good a road; in the former bay you have the iſland of Mayo open off the eaſt point of the bay, which in the port of Praya, is for ſome time ſhut in before you run high enough into the bay to anchor; and you have the top of the iſland of Fuogo over the weſt point of the bay, when you are in the port. I never was in this port before, but my chief mate, and ſeveral others of the ſhip's crew had been there; however, they were deceived, and ſteered the ſhip up the wrong bay, where they were like to have caſt anchor before they perceived their miſtake; but whoever follows the foregoing obſervation, can never err in this particular. During our ſtay here, which was five days, we caught with our nets and hooks a great quantity of fiſh, as mullets, beams, large craw-fiſh, and a fiſh called a ſoldier, being of a blood-red colour, having ſcales as large as half-a-crown, in ſhape like a carp, and ſome weighing eighty pounds; there is alſo plenty of ſeveral other ſorts of fiſh.

The country is exceedingly pleaſant, and abounds with all things neceſſary for the uſe or delight of man; but the natives are a poor, lazy, ignorant ſort of people, prodigious thieves, and moſt of them as black as negroes or at leaſt mulattos; by religion Roman Catholics, as they are told; but, God knows, their ignorance and ſtupidity is ſuch, that they know little more than the name of religion. Their churches are meanly adorned, and as meanly built, not much exceeding our country barns; their houſes are very ordinary, ſcattered here and there; here is the remains of an old decayed caſtle, very little of which is ſtanding beſides the wall, whereon are planted ſeven or eight old iron guns without carriages, which are of no defence, but ſerve only for ſalutes. The French with eighty or one hundred men took the iſland a few years ago, but abandoned it in a little time, having carried away what plunder they could find.

Here are great numbers of ſmall oxen, hogs, goats, ducks, geeſe, and other ſort of fowls, which the natives bring down to the port to ſell, or rather to exchange for old cloaths, black caſes, hats, knives, oil, butter, cheeſe, or almoſt any thing of foreign growth or manufacture, be it never ſo old or indifferent; for though the iſland be of itſelf very plentiful, yet their ſloth is ſo great that they make no improvements; and their pride ſuch, that if you aſk a poor ſorry fellow (that has ſcarce the neceſſaries of life) who he is, he will immediately reply, that he is nearly related to ſome nobleman in Portugal; that himſelf or his forefathers were baniſhed thither on ſuſpicion, but

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very unjuſtly; and to be ſure he is ſome officer, for moſt of them are either colonels captains, or lieutenants; they are very nimble fingered as well as nimble footed, ſo whatever they can lay their hands on, they take, and then truſt to their heels: they bring down their cattle tied either by the legs or horns with rotten cords, which as ſoon as they have ſold and delivered to us, and received the price in either money or barter, they fail not to make ſome hideous noiſe and whiſtling at a diſtance, at which the cattle (that are already ſufficiently frightened at the ſight of a white face) begin to caper and bound about, until they either break the rope, or force it out of the hands of him that holds it, and immediately run up into the mountains from whence they came. Moſt of their fowls have bones as black as jet, and ſkins as black as the natives; but the fleſh is as white or whiter than ours, and altogether as good, though not ſo pleaſant to the eye.

I had the governor on board of my ſhip, treated him handſomely, and gave him ſome guns; he deſired my company on ſhore, with ſome others belonging to the ſhip, that he might have the opportunity of returning the favour he had received. The next day we went to his caſtle; he treated us, according to his ſlovenly manner, tolerably well, as we at firſt thought; but ſoon after we found to our coſt the effects of his perfidious banquet, by which we perceived ourſelves to have been actually poiſoned. As ſoon as we got on board, we took ſuch antidotes as the ſurgeon (who was one of the gueſts, and fared no better than the reſt,) thought moſt proper on ſuch an occaſion; we felt the violent effects of our diſaſter for four or five days, being taken firſt with a moſt terrible vomiting and looſeneſs, and afterwards with violent convulſions both in our bowels and limbs, and at laſt became raving mad; the ſurgeon did not begin to vomit till the third day, but ſwelled in a prodigious manner; after the fifth day we began to recover both our ſenſes and health, but two lay languiſhing for ſeveral months during the voyage, and at laſt died. We had neither time nor power enough to revenge ſo execrable a piece of villany.

We took our departure from thence on the 16th of November, and made the beſt of our way towards the Eaſt Indies. On the 22d day, being in the latitude of eight degrees north, the meridian diſtance eaſting one hundred and eighty-one miles from St. Jago, we loſt our trade wind, and met with much rain, thunder, lightning, and a large rolling ſea from the ſouth. This day I tried the current, and found it ſet to the ſouth-eaſt and by eaſt almoſt one mile in an hour. On the 3d of December I had an opportunity of trying the current again, being in the latitude of three degrees twenty-ſeven minutes north, and forty-five miles to the weſt of the meridian of St. Jago, and found it ſet directly the contrary way, viz. ſouth weſt by weſt about one mile an hour, which made a great difference in the reckoning of the ſhip's way, there being little or no variation of the compaſs here. The 10th of December, about eleven in the morning we paſſed the equinoctial one hundred and ninety-eight miles to the weſt of St. Jago. I ſhould have acquainted you before, that in the latitude of four degrees north, we met the ſouth-eaſt trade-wind, (ſo called becauſe it always blows between the ſouth-ſouth-eaſt and eaſt-ſouth-eaſt) which commonly holds to twenty-four or twenty-five degrees ſouth, or ſometimes much farther, and blows from within twenty or thirty leagues from the coaſts of Africa, acroſs that vaſt ocean, to within twenty or thirty leagues (and ſometimes quite home) off the coaſts of Brazil. This ſouth-eaſt trade-wind we meet within various latitudes, according to the ſundry ſeaſons of the year; which from the beſt accounts, and my own obſervations both going and coming, I find to come near to the following table.

	d.	m.	
January, February, March, April, about	5	0	north
May	7	0	
June	8	0	
July	9	0	
Auguſt	10	30	
September	10	30	
October	8	0	
November	6	0	
December	5	0	

We ſteered away to the ſouthward, keeping as near the wind as we could conveniently, without any thing remarkable till the 21ſt of December, when we loſt our trade-wind in the latitude of twenty degrees fifty-two minutes ſouth; and on the 30th we ſaw the ſun to the north of us at twelve o'clock at noon, as in the European parts it is to the ſouth. But notwithſtanding the ſun's being in or ſo near our zenith, yet the refreſhing ſouth-eaſt gales make the weather cool and pleaſant enough. Here I began to conſider what quantity of water we had left, and whether ſufficient to carry us through, without touching at the Cape of Good Hope; and upon examination I found about ſixteen tuns, which I thought ſufficient. However we continued our courſe in order to get ſight of the Cape, the better to regulate the future part of our reckoning; and accordingly, January the 20th, about ſix in the evening, I diſcovered from the deck the high land, called the Table Tand, we being then about ſixty miles diſtant. We ſtood in all night, and next day about four in the morning, by the falſe appearance of the high land up the country, the ſecond mate, (who then had the morning watch) being wholly unacquainted with the coaſts, ran the ſhip ſo far into the bay, between Penguin and Coney Iſland, that had I not turned out at that very time, we had all moſt certainly periſhed, there being a very great ſea rolling on the ſhore, no wind to govern the ſhip, and no anchor ground. I ordered the boat to be hoiſted out immediately, and the ſhip to be towed about; and a ſmall gale of wind riſing at the ſame time, it pleaſed God we got off ſafe. Here we met with a vaſt multitude of ſeals and large whales, that rolled and played about the ſhip, following her ſome diſtance from the ſhore; alſo a great number of fowls, and particularly a ſort called alcatros or albotros, being a very large fierce bird, having feet like a duck, a crooked beak like an eagle, and a great quantity of feathers of the fineſt down. I ſhot ſeveral of them, and found ſome of them to meaſure fourteen or fifteen feet from the tip of one wing to the tip of the other, when extended. It would be too tedious to mention the great variety of other birds that are ſeen here, which therefore I will omit till my return, and purſue my deſign.

Accordingly this day at noon I took my departure from the Cape of Good Hope, bearing ſouth-eaſt by ſouth, ſixty-nine miles diſtance. We continued our courſe without meeting with any thing memorable, till the 25th of February, about which time we expected to diſcover the iſlands of St. Paul and Amſterdam; but were prevented by a moſt violent ſtorm, which held us forty-eight hours, it being the moſt terrible ever I met with. On the third day the ſtorm ceaſed, and the wind favoured us with a ſtout pleaſant gale. On the 7th of March following, and in the latitude of thirty degrees thirty-five minutes ſouth, and one hundred and twenty-nine miles to the eaſt of the cape, we met the ſouth-eaſt trade wind again. On the 5th of April we made Chriſtmas Iſland (ſo called from its being firſt diſcovered on that day). It lies in the latitude

latitude of ten degrees, thirty-one minutes ſouth, and is four thouſand ſix hundred and eighty miles to the eaſt of the cape. I found my own reckoning very good, becauſe I fell in with the ſaid iſland exactly to an hour's account.

This iſland looks exceedingly pleaſant, being covered with lofty trees, and may eaſily be known by the following directions: — Coming from the north weſtward it appears pretty high, with a ſaddle in the middle; the weſtermoſt land is the higheſt, trenching away to the northward to a low flat point; the eaſtermoſt point is low, but bluff. I ſounded within eight miles of the low point, but had no ground, though with one hundred fathom of line out: the iſland is about ſeven leagues from eaſt to weſt. On the 6th of April I fell in with the iſland of Java about one hundred and twenty miles to the eaſtward of Java-head, and coaſted till the 13th along the ſhore, which part of the iſland I find very well laid down in the Engliſh Pilot, though ſeldom navigated. That day I anchored under Mew Iſland, an uninhabited iſland in the Streights of Sunda, where we recruited from a town on the coaſt of Java, with wood, water and freſh proviſions, particularly fowls, which are very cheap, twenty of the largeſt being generally ſold for a piece of eight. Here is alſo plenty of tortoiſe, and many wild beaſts, eſpecially tigers. A few days before my arrival, the natives killed one that had the boldneſs to come to the very paliſſadoes of the town (that are built to keep off theſe wild beaſts), and there deſtroyed a woman. The Javans are of a middle ſtature, tolerable good features, black complexion, long hair, and a very civil ſort of people; they ſpeak the Mallayo language. They will come off to an Engliſh ſhip (at hoiſting your colours) five or ſix leagues to ſea, in their ſmall boats called praws, which generally are not above eleven inches over, and about twelve feet long. Theſe boats bring off two or three perſons with fowls, tortoiſe, eggs, and fruit of all ſorts, whereof they have great plenty, and which they ſell very cheap, or truck for knives, ſciſſars, &c. We kept turning to the windward till the 20th of April, when we ſafely arrived at our firſt deſigned port of Batavia in the ſaid iſland, being in all five months and ſeven days in our paſſage.

We ſpent here forty-two days partly in re-victualling and refitting our ſhip, the boltſprit being ſprung, and the heads of our maſts diſabled: but the chief cauſe of ſo long a ſtay, was the barbarous and unchriſtian-like uſage we met with (as all Engliſh ſubjects do) from the Dutch general, who refuſed to let us have any manner of neceſſaries, as wood, water, rice, &c. without which it was impoſſible for us to proceed on our voyage: neither would he grant any Engliſhman the liberty of lying on ſhore (the mornings and evenings being the only time in that hot climate to diſpatch buſineſs) though he refuſes not that privilege to the Portugueſe, or any other nation of Europe. All our proviſions and water we got off privately, and the latter in bulk in open boats without caſks, which could only be done in calm weather. This ſtay gave me an opportunity of being able to give the ſhort abſtract following of that place; not but that I know it has been deſcribed more at large by ſeveral, whoſe long reſidence there has given them a much better opportunity than my ſhort time and hurry of buſineſs would permit.

The city of Batavia (ſo called from the Latin name of Holland) ſtands on the north-weſt end of the iſland, and is the principal place the Dutch have in the Eaſt Indies; where the general or chief governor reſides, to whom all other Dutch governments in that part of the world are ſubject. It was formerly called Jacatra, when inhabited by the Javans: it is well built, and ſtrongly fortified, having a ſtone wall, and a large ditch that ſurrounds the city; a citadel, with four regular baſtions, which ſtands where Jacatra did formerly. Here the governor has a very handſome palace, the

road

road ſecured toward the ſea by ſome iſlands, is without diſpute the beſt in all the Indies, being capable of receiving above a thouſand ſhips at once, and having excellent good anchor ground. It is a place of very great trade, and much reſorted to, eſpecially by the Chineſe, who come thither yearly, with a vaſt many junks laden with all ſorts of China merchandiſe, as tea, quickſilver, vermillion in cakes, ſticklack, camphire, copper bars, tutenague, fans, pictures, all manner of china, and lackered ware, ſoye, gumbodge, ſago, and benjamin, with ſundry other drugs and merchandiſes too tedious to name. A certain annual toll is impoſed on the Chineſe here for the liberty of wearing their hair, which brings in no ſmall income to the government, they being much more numerous than the Dutch themſelves. This liberty of wearing their hair is denied them in their own country (as I am informed) by the Tartars, who in the year 1643, having paſſed that prodigious wall four hundred leagues long, built between China and Tartary, conquered the whole empire in leſs than ſeven years. The Chineſe are very proud of having this liberty, and many leave their own country, to live where they may be allowed it: the cutting it off being a mark of ſubjection, which the Tartars impoſe upon them.

The country is very flat all round the city, but exceeding pleaſant, adorned with many curious ſeats, fine gardens, fountains, and large canals, which are let in, and run through ſeveral ſtreets of the city, whereby it is rendered both neat and cool: on each ſide of theſe canals, are planted rows of fine trees, that are always green, which, with the beauty and regularity of the buildings, make the ſtreets look very agreeable, ſo that I think this city, for the bigneſs, one of the neateſt and moſt beautiful in the whole world. There are alſo two large piers, that run out about half a mile into the ſea, and ſerve to drain all the canals and inland water that run through the city. They are likewiſe very uſeful for ſmall veſſels that lie along the piles, where they load or unload their cargoes. Above one hundred ſlaves are employed in taking up the mud, and in ſcouring the ſpace between theſe peers, which otherwiſe would ſoon be choaked up with what is waſhed out of the city and country. At the mouth of this place are many alligators or crocodiles; and if a dead dog, or any other carcaſe comes down the ſtream, it goes not far to ſea, but is immediately devoured by them. Yet, which is very ſtrange, I have ſeen the natives naked up to the middle in the water netting for ſhrimps among thoſe monſtrous creatures, and they are ſeldom hurt by them.

I cannot omit mentioning here, how narrowly we eſcaped a helliſh plot, formed by ſome of our own ſhip's crew. On the 29th of May following, my gunner, and about twenty-two of the ſeamen, went in the long boat to Father Smith's iſland to do ſome buſineſs for the ſhip: in the interim, I ſent the gunner's mate down into the powder room for a gun-caſe; where, to his great ſurpriſe, he found both the doors open, (the ſtaple of the outer door being drawn) and diſcovered a lighted match, laid on a dried horſe hide (doubtleſs by ſome of thoſe that were gone aſhore, as ſhall appear more fully hereafter) to a large train, and the train continued to ſix barrels of powder which if he had not then by good fortune gone down, muſt have taken in leſs than a quarter of an hour, and deſtroyed us all. He had preſence of mind enough to ſlide one of his hands gently under, holding the other over to hinder the powder duſt from riſing, and withdrew the match from the train, which was ſo large that he could take the power up by handfuls. This unaccountable piece of villainy (neither the author or cauſe being known) did greatly aſtoniſh us. I uſed my utmoſt endeavours to find out the bottom of it: after ſecuring the powder room, I took the key myſelf, and impatiently waited the long boat's return, which did not come back till evening: in the mean time I loaded ſome piſtols and blunderbuſſes, and lodged them that night in the

great cabin, where I paſſed the night with ſeveral others whom I might confide in, and placed a truſty centinel at the door; neither did we go to bed, but lay down in our cloaths by turns, imagining that thoſe perſons who could be guilty of ſo wicked a deſign, would not ſtick at any treacherous means to murder us. The next morning I called together all the ſhip's company upon deck; and the better to diſcover the conſpirators, I gave all the promiſes and aſſurances imaginable, that if any one would make a diſcovery of the truth, he ſhould receive fifty pounds reward, and all the protection I could give him. I tried them likewiſe by ſeparate examination, but all to no purpoſe, every man ſeeming equally ſurprized: and ſeeing that my beſt endeavours to bring this affair to light were unſucceſsful, I was obliged to purſue my voyage with thoſe people on board, more dangerous than even the very Indians I was going to, among whom the Engliſh were ſo ill-uſed lately. Accordingly on the 2d of June I ſet ſail, in company with the ſhip Borneo, Captain Thomas Lewis commander (bound to the ſame place, and on the ſame account, in the ſervice of the Honourable Eaſt India Company), and alſo with the ſhip Daulbin, Captain Boadum commander, belonging to Maderaſs, who was bound on a trading voyage. We ſailed together along the north coaſt of Java.

In this time of the year the winds between this coaſt and Borneo, as alſo along the coaſt of Sumatra are always eaſterly in the offing, and are called the eaſterly monſoons; but near the ſhores there are land and ſea breezes; the land breezes come off in the morning about one, two, three, or four o'clock, generally with a ſmall ſhower, a guſt of wind, or ſometimes thunder, which gives always a timely warning. Then we weighed anchor and kept the wind, which ſometimes would run us a great way along the ſhore; but as the day came on, the wind turned always more about to the eaſt, and would run us out of ſight of land by noon or thereabout, at which time it grew generally calm. Then we anchored in the offing with a ſtream-anchor in twenty-five or thirty fathoms water to hold our own, leſt the current ſhould carry us to the weſtward, till about one or two in the afternoon, when we had a freſh gale of wind right from the ſea, with which we made ſuch ſlants in towards the ſhore, that we might be ſure to get ſo near land as to anchor in about four fathoms water before the ſea-breeze was paſt, otherwiſe we ſhould loſe much of the benefit of the next morning land-wind. This method of turning along the ſhore is very pleaſant, by reaſon of the certainty of the winds and fineneſs of the weather; by which means I had the opportunity of having an exact view of the coaſt, which is very agreeable, being always green; and when the land-winds come firſt off they bring with them a moſt delicious ſmell. This coaſt abounds in all ſorts of proviſions, whereof great quantities are carried to Batavia, eſpecially from the north-eaſt part, where there is moſt plenty. There is no port of note from Batavia till you come to Charabon, which is fifty-ſix leagues to the eaſt of it: but you ſee Samarang, Japara, and Roombong, places where the Dutch have ſettlements: at the laſt they get great quantities of oak for building, but I think it much inferior to our Engliſh oak. Theſe parts alſo afford great plenty of rice, ſalt, ſugar, white ſugar-candy, tamarinds; and as for other proviſions, there are oxen, goats, eggs, ducks, and almoſt all ſorts of fowls, &c. Wherever you ſee a grove of cocoa-nut trees (which abound here) as you ſail along the ſhore, there you are ſure to find a ſmall town of the Javans, who are very civil, and will ſupply you with what you pleaſe of the produce of their country, at a much cheaper rate, and with much more humanity than the Dutch.

I was informed that the Dutch government reaches no farther than a place called Sooroobaya, which is a ſmall pleaſant village of the Javans, where I touched and bought ſome proviſions; but it is no good place to water at. I will not trouble you with the deſcription of it (nothing here being remarkable) but proceed to a place called

called Arabaya, on the iſland of Madura, that lies on the north-eaſt end of Java. It is a place very convenient both for victualling and watering, and the inhabitants are a very civil people.

The town ſtands on the north-weſt end of Madura, about eight leagues from the weſtermoſt land, about a quarter of a mile up a ſmall river, which lies to the weſtward of the firſt large and moſt north point of land; though in all the ſea-charts that I ever ſaw it is laid down to the eaſtward of the point: it is at the bottom of a deep bay, in which you may anchor, but more commodiouſly off the point. You cannot miſs your way into the river, becauſe there are ſtakes ſtuck on both ſides of the channel for a quarter of a mile out to ſea. In the dry ſeaſon it affords water ſufficient at half tide for a large long boat loaden to go over the bar, and in the rainy ſeaſon at low water. When I was there, I ſaw two Chineſe, who called themſelves Shabanders, which ſignifies governor of a port, and were very ſerviceable in keeping the natives in ſubjection, and managing the whole trade of the place. The town is large, and the pleaſanteſt I have ſeen belonging to the Javans. On the muddy banks of the river, at low water, are great numbers of alligators, and variety of ſea-fowls; we ſhot ſeveral of both kinds, they ſuffering us to come very near them.

The 14th of June 1714, we all anchored under the little iſland of Carimon-Java, Captain Boadum's cargo being partly ſaltpetre, we agreed with him for fifteen tons a piece, the better to enable our ſhip to make ſail when laden with pepper: but when we came to pay for it we ſoon found the reaſon of the black deſign hatched againſt us in the road of Batavia; for having called for a certain ſmall cheſt of the Company's treaſure, containing about five hundred pounds ſterling, to our great ſurpriſe it was not to be found; and notwithſtanding all the ſtrict ſearch and enquiry we made among the ſhip's company, we could hear nothing of it. We ſent for another cheſt, which when brought we opened, and found upon examination half the money gone which it ſhould have contained according to the invoice; ſo that what was miſſing of this, with the other entire cheſt, amounted to near one thouſand pounds. This made the caſe plain, that whoever ſtole the money, the ſame were the perſons that attempted to blow up the ſhip, with all thoſe that had not a hand in their villainy, that there might be nobody left to call them to an account; as it has often happened that thieving ſervants, when they have robbed their maſter's houſe of plate or money, ſet it on fire in the night, and if they can, burn the whole family in order to cover the theft. This was a heavy misfortune, and particularly affected me, being the firſt time I ever had the honour to ſerve the honourable Eaſt India Company. This villainy would not have ſtopped here, but would have been of farther evil conſequence, had it not been prevented, as ſhall appear hereafter.

However, we paid Captain Boadum; and having weighed anchor the 17th in the evening, we parted with him, and made the beſt of our way towards the port of Banjar Maſſeen, where we arrived the 29th of June at twelve o'clock at night, and anchored in the road without the bar, called Tomberneo, in eight fathoms water. At five next morning we held a conſultation, and agreed to run over the bar a little way up the river, where we might have a better opportunity of proceeding on our deſigns; which I accordingly did, keeping the little iſland of Poolo-Cocket open off the eaſt point of the river half its breadth. I came to anchor at twelve at noon about a quarter of a mile within the river's mouth, in four fathoms and a half water, over againſt a river called Biajo ſmall river. The Borneo had not ſo good fortune as we in getting over the bar, for ſhe ſtuck faſt aground until the next tide, when ſhe got off and came to anchor juſt by us.

CHAP. II.—*A Deſcription of the Iſland of Borneo; of the Inhabitants, Manners, Cuſtoms, Product of the Country, &c.*

THE iſland of Borneo, ſo called from a city of that name, lies on the north of Java, and on the eaſt of Sumatra and of the peninſula of Malacca. It is ſituate between ſeven degrees thirty minutes north latitude, and four degrees ten minutes ſouth, under the equinoctial, which divides it into two unequal parts, ſeven degrees thirty minutes lying northward of it, and four degrees ten minutes ſouthward; ſo that it is in length ſeven hundred miles, in breadth four hundred and eighty, and in circuit about two thouſand. It is counted the biggeſt iſland, not only in the Indian Sea, but in the whole world, except perhaps California in the South Sea.

The air, conſidering the climate, all round the iſland along the ſea coaſt is pretty temperate, becauſe of the refreſhing ſea-breezes that blow always about eleven in the morning on the ſouth parts, otherwiſe the heat would be inſupportable; but it is very unwholeſome becauſe of the moiſtneſs, in the ſouth parts eſpecially. For about the river of Banjar Maſſeen, many ſcore miles near the ſea, the country looks like a foreſt, being full of prodigious tall trees, between which is nothing but vaſt ſwamps of mud. At high water you may ſail in a great way among theſe trees in ſeveral places, but at low water it is all mud, upon which the ſun, eſpecially in the equinox, darting his ſcorching beams perpendicularly, raiſes noiſome vapours, fogs, &c. which afterwards turn into moſt violent ſhowers, that fall more like cataracts than rain, and are very cold, being followed generally by cooling winds; ſo that the weather changing ſuddenly from ſcorching heat to chilling cold, cauſes the air to be ſickly and unhealthful. In the beginning of the rainy ſeaſon there is no ſleeping for the noiſe which the frogs make, whereof there is a vaſt multitude in theſe ſwampy woods; and a great number being left, with their ſpawn and other ſlime and filth on the mud, when the dry ſeaſon begins (which is commonly in April, and holds till September) they die, and the carcaſes lie rotting, and occaſion a very noiſome ſtink and corruption in the air. During all this dry ſeaſon the wind is eaſterly between the ſouth coaſts of Borneo and the Iſle of Java; and this is by much the more healthy part of the year; but from September, or thereabouts, to about April, the weſterly winds reign, with violent ſtorms, prodigious rain, thunder and lightning almoſt daily; for during this ſeaſon it is rare to have two hours of fair weather in twenty-four on the ſouth coaſt of this iſland; and though the other ſeaſon is ſo fair, yet you are ſure to have a ſhower for about an hour every day at the coming in of the ſea-breezes, which cools the air, and makes it very agreeable.

The country abounds with pepper, the beſt dragons'-blood, bezoar, moſt excellent camphor, pine-apples, pumble-noſes, citrons, oranges, water-melons, muſk-melons, plantains, bananas, cocoa-nuts, and with all ſorts of fruit that is generally found in any part of the Eaſt Indies. The mountains yield diamonds, gold, tin, and iron; the foreſts honey, cotton, deer, goats, buffaloes, and wild oxen, wild hogs, ſmall horſes, bears, tigers, elephants, and a multitude of monkies. Here are ſmall hog-deers (the feet of which are often uſed for tobacco ſtoppers, when tipped) which they catch in this manner: when they find the track of theſe creatures, they dig ſquare holes in the earth, about five feet over and four feet deep, which they cover over with a little ſtraw, or ſuch like, and ſift ſome duſt thereon, ſo that the hog-deer in paſſing over falls in. The monkeys, apes, and baboons are of many different ſorts and ſhapes; but the moſt remarkable are thoſe they call Oran-ootans, which in their language ſignifies men of the woods: theſe grow up to be ſix feet high; they walk upright, have longer arms than men,

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tolerable good faces (handſomer I am ſure than ſome Hottentots that I have ſeen) large teeth, no tails, nor hair but on thoſe parts where it grows on human bodies; they are very nimble-footed, and mighty ſtrong; they throw great ſtones, ſticks, and billets, at thoſe perſons that offend them. The natives do really believe that theſe were formerly men, but metamorphoſed into beaſts for their blaſphemy. They told me many ſtrange ſtories of them, too tedious to be inſerted here. I bought one, out of curioſity, for ſix Spaniſh dollars; it lived with me ſeven months, but then died of a flux; he was too young to ſhew me many pranks, therefore I ſhall only tell you that he was a great thief, and loved ſtrong liquors; for if our backs were turned, he would be at the punch bowl, and very often would open the brandy-caſe, take out a bottle, drink plentifully, and put it very carefully into its place again. He ſlept lying along in a human poſture, with one hand under his head. He could not ſwim, but I know not whether he might not be capable of being taught. If at any time I was angry with him, he would ſigh, ſob, and cry, till he found that I was reconciled to him; and though he was but about twelve months old when he died, yet he was ſtronger than any man in the ſhip.

As to the birds, I met with none ſuch as we have in England, except the ſparrow. Here are parrots and parroquets of various ſorts and ſizes, from the bigneſs of a bulfinch to that of a raven; particularly a ſort, called by the Banjareens luree, that are brought hither by the Macaſſars, which they ſo much admire for their beauty, docility, and ſweet ſmell, that there are few houſes without one of them; they give ſometimes ſix or ſeven pieces of eight for one; I bought ſeveral, but the cold weather at ſea killed them. Here are ſuch vaſt multitudes of bats, that at particular times (viz. juſt before the ſetting in of the weſterly monſoon) towards evening I have ſeen the ſky almoſt darkened by them, when at Tatas, flying from the weſt towards the eaſt for the ſpace of two hours. I ſhot one in the woods, whoſe body in ſhape, colour, and ſmell was like a fox, having head, ears, and teeth, &c. as big as a young one: the wings when ſpread, meaſured, from the tip of the one to the tip of the other, five feet four inches.

The rivers and the ſea coaſts afford plenty of fiſh, as mullets, breams, &c. a ſort of fiſh called cockup, the beſt taſted foreign fiſh I ever met with; and many other ſorts which we have not in Europe, particularly the cat-fiſh, which is much eſteemed by the natives, but ſeldom eaten by the Engliſh. I think the fleſh of the young ones is of a tolerable reliſh, but very luſcious. There are ſome of five or ſix feet long, they have no ſcales, their heads are large, not unlike a cat's head, having barbs very like a cat's whiſkers. The river Banjar diſchargeth its waters into the ſea, in the latitude of three degrees eighteen minutes ſouth. It is remarkable, that at the latter end of the dry ſeaſon, when the ſprings are low the water is of a brackiſh taſte up as high as China river; at which time the cat-fiſh follow the boats in great numbers, and getting under the bottom of them make a dreadful groaning; it ſurpriſed me much at firſt. In this river are caught prawns generally ſix or eight inches long; alſo very large rock oyſters at a little iſland called Pooloobatoo.

The natives are of two ſorts, viz. thoſe that inhabit in or near the ports of trade (as particularly the Banjareens), and the inhabitants of the inland country; for the former are of a middle ſtature, rather under than over, well ſhaped and clean limbed, being generally better featured than the Guinea negroes: their hair is long and black, their complexion ſomewhat darker than Mulattos, but not quite ſo black as the aforeſaid negroes; they are affronted if you call them black men. Both men and women value themſelves in a particular manner if they are whiter than ordinary. They are very weak

of

of body, which is occaſioned chiefly by their lazy unactive life, and mean diet, not having the opportunity of walking, or of any land exerciſe, and working ſeldom, but are always in a ſitting poſture, either in their boats or houſes; neither do they ſtir without it be out of abſolute neceſſity. They uſed to laugh at us for walking about in their houſes, telling us that it looked as if we were mad, or knew not what we did: "If," ſay they, "you have any buſineſs at the other end of the room, why do you not ſtay there; if not, why do you go thither; why always ſtalking backwards and forwards?" If the Banjareens have but a quantity of rice and ſalt, they think themſelves very rich; for if they throw a caſting net at their door, they need not fear the want of a dinner, ſo great abundance of fiſh is in that river.

The women are very little, but very well ſhaped, having much handſomer features and better complexion than the men; they walk very upright, and tread well, turning their toes out, which is contrary to the purchaſe of moſt Indians. I believe it is a cuſtom forced upon them by their walking on the logs that float upon the river before their doors from houſe to houſe, as I ſhall explain more at large by and by. They are very conſtant when married, but very looſe when ſingle; neither is her former compliance counted a fault in a wife; and the mothers do often proſtitute their daughters at eight or nine years of age for a ſmall lucre. They generally marry at that age, and ſometimes under; but as they are ſoon ripe for matrimony, their fertility ſoon decays, for they are generally paſt childbearing at twenty or twenty-five; it is rare that a woman holds till thirty. They live to a tolerable good age, and uſe daily bathing in the rivers, and are expert ſwimmers. Every day whilſt we remained at Tatas we ſaw the river full of men, women, and children, even ſome in arms, which they carry in for health's ſake, to which this way of bathing muſt needs be very beneficial and refreſhing in ſo hot a climate.

In burying their dead they take care to lay their heads towards the north, and put into the grave with them a great deal of camphor, and ſeveral things neceſſary for the ſupport of life; for what end the camphor is depoſited there I know not; but the latter is according to an old Pagan cuſtom, that has been handed down to them, as believing that thoſe proviſions were uſeful to them in their journey to the other world: but now being Mahometans they ſay they do it only as a mark of reſpect. They carry them in boats as near as they can to the burying-place, attended by their friends in great order and ceremony, being dreſſed all in white, with lighted torches in their hands, though it be in the day time.

The inland inhabitants are much taller and ſtronger bodied men than the Banjareens, fierce, warlike and barbarous. They are called Byajos, an idle ſort of people, hating induſtry or trade, and living generally upon rapine and the ſpoil of their neighbours; their religion is Paganiſm, and their language different from that ſpoken by the Banjareens. They go naked and only have a ſmall piece of cloth that covers their private parts; they ſtain their bodies with blue, and have a very odd cuſtom of making holes in the ſoft part of their ears when young, into which they thruſt large plugs, and by continual pulling down theſe plugs the holes grow in time ſo large, that when they come to man's eſtate, their ears hang down to their very ſhoulders. The biggeſt end of the plug is as broad as a crown piece, and is tipt with a thin plate of wrought gold. The men of quality do generally pull out their fore teeth and put gold ones in their room. They ſometimes wear, by way of ornament, rows of tigers' teeth ſtrung and hung round their necks and bodies. Thoſe of them that were ſubject to the Sultan of Caitangee (whom I ſhall have occaſion to mention often hereafter) are now in rebellion

bellion againſt him; he that headed them made pretences to the crown, and was ſet up by theſe mountaineers againſt the preſent Sultan, to whoſe government they are very averſe, who was choſen by the general conſent of the people, at leaſt of the civilized trading part of them. But this pretender, before I came away, was diſpatched by poiſon. However, ſome of theſe people, viz. thoſe that live near the ports of trade, are in ſubjection to their different Kings or Sultans; the others live in clans by themſelves, without Kings, or any form of government. I have ſeen ſome of the former come down the river to the port of Banjar Maſſeen in very ill-ſhaped prows; and bring down gold duſt, diamonds, bezoar-ſtones, rattans, and ſundry other merchandiſes. The Banjareens will not ſuffer the Europeans to have any acquaintance or trade with them, but do purchaſe the goods from them, which they ſell to us at a greater price. And I do verily believe, that the many frightful ſtories they tell of thoſe people's barbarity and cruelty, are only invented on purpoſe to deter us from having any acquaintance or commerce with them, which would be a great diſadvantage to the latter; though ſome of theſe reports may be true: as to their women I never ſaw any of them, and ſo can give no account of them. The iſland is divided into different kingdoms, having their particular Kings or Sultans, whom they call Rajas.

There are in this iſland four chief ports of trade, viz. the city of Borneo, ſituate on the north, in the latitude of four degrees thirty minutes north; Paſſeer on the eaſt ſide, in the latitude of one degree fifteen minutes ſouth; Succadana on the weſt, in the latitude of fifteen minutes ſouth; and the port of Banjar Maſſeen on the ſouth, in the latitude of three degrees eighteen minutes ſouth. Here was formerly a town called Banjar, about twelve Engliſh miles from the ſea, built partly upon floats of timber, partly upon ſtilts; it was near it the Engliſh factory was eſtabliſhed, but there is not ſo much as the remains of a town to be ſeen now, the inhabitants having removed to other places, but moſt to Tartas or Tatas, a city about ſix miles further up the river. As to the three former I can give no particular account of them from my own obſervation, but by what I learnt from the Banjareens. As to the laſt I ſhall be very particular, all that I ſhall mention touching it being of my own knowledge, and have taken more pains than ordinary that I might be more capable of informing the Honourable Eaſt India Company of the methods that may be uſed in order to ſettle a trade there: and I dare ſay, no perſon ever had a greater opportunity of knowing thoſe matters than myſelf. I ſhall only ſay that there are ſeveral Kings or Rajas in the inland country; as alſo the cities of Borneo, Succadana and Paſſeer have each of them one; that formerly all the other Rajas (as well as he to whom Banjar Maſſeen belongs) were ſubject to the Raja of Borneo, who was a ſupreme King over the whole iſland; but now his authority is mightily decreaſed, and there are other Kings equal, if not more powerful than himſelf, particularly the Sultan of Caitangee. His name is Pannomboang, and ſtyles himſelf Sultan of Caitangee, which is the city where he reſides, ſituate within one hundred miles of the port of Banjar Maſſeen. His brother is another King, and ſtyles himſelf Sultan of Negarree, a city about three hundred miles up the main river, where he reſides. But the former is the greateſt, by reaſon of the trade and the cuſtoms he receives from this port, which may be computed to amount to ſix or eight thouſand pieces of eight per annum. But I think I have ſaid enough of theſe general matters, and it is time to give an account of our particular proceedings after our arrival in the river.

After we had caſt anchor as aforeſaid, we eſpied a ſmall praw or boat under the ſhore; we ſent in a very civil manner to the perſons that were in it, and intreated them

them to come on board. We lay then with our Engliſh colours flying, at which they were much ſurprized, knowing how ſeverely they had uſed our countrymen, when laſt among them. However, partly through fear, and partly through our kind invitation, they came on board. They were very poor-looked creatures, that had been at Tomberneo, and were returning to Tatas. We expreſſed all the civility imaginable towards them, gave them ſome ſmall preſents, and deſired that they would acquaint their King or grandees in the country, that there were two Engliſh ſhips come to buy pepper of them; that we were not come to quarrel, but to trade peaceably, and would pay them very honeſtly, and comply with all reaſonable demands according to what ſhould be hereafter agreed on. They inquired whether we were Company ſhips, to which we did not readily anſwer them; but before we did, they proceeded and ſaid, that if we were, they, as friends, would adviſe us to depart the port forthwith, becauſe their Sultan and their oran-cays, or great men, would by no means have any dealings with us. We deſigned to have ſent our boat that night to their town called Tatas, which is about thirty miles above the place where we lay, that ſhe might arrive there by day-light the next morning; but thoſe perſons diſſuaded us from it, aſſuring us that we ſhould ſoon have news from their Sultan; and that ſome of their men would not fail to be down with us the next day. Then they took their leave of us, returning us many thanks for our preſents.

The next day came on board of us a boat, with one Cay Rouden Tacka, and Cay Chetra Uday, being meſſengers from the King. We received them as civilly as poſſible. The firſt thing they inquired, was whether we were Company ſhips, or ſeparate traders; that if the former, we need not wait for an anſwer, and that it would be our beſt way to be gone; deſiring earneſtly that what anſwer we ſhould return them might be ſincere; for that whatever we ſaid to them ſhould be told the Sultan. Finding no other method to introduce ourſelves, we were forced to aſſure them that we were private traders, and came thither on our own account to buy pepper. This we did, believing we might in time have a better opportunity of making our honourable maſters known, and of excuſing the heavy crimes laid on their former ſervants, whoſe ill conduct had been the cauſe of the factory's being deſtroyed. They aſked us why we came thither rather than to any other place, ſince our countrymen had ſo groſsly abuſed them? We anſwered, that we were ſtrangers to that affair; and that at firſt we deſigned to go to Pallambam; but being informed that pepper was much cheaper here, we were willing firſt to try this market. They alſo inquired what number of men and guns we had, and caſt their eyes ſlily about to endeavour to gueſs of what ſtrength we were; for they are exceeding jealous of all Europeans.

Towards night they departed, and we gave them ſome guns. They left two perſons on board, with whom they deſired that our linguiſt would come up to the town the next day, to give anſwer to ſuch other queſtions as might be aſked. We gave inſtructions to our linguiſt to tell them, that we were two ſmall ſeparate ſtock-ſhips; that we were informed at Batavia, that pepper was very cheap at this port, ſo choſe rather to come hither than to Pallambam: we ordered him to learn on what conditions they would offer to trade with us, and who were the propereſt perſons to apply to; to preſs a ſpeedy meeting: and if they aſked what we had to purchaſe pepper with, to tell them Mexico pieces of eight, (for the pillar-dollars they will not take); to give them kind invitations to come on board; to write down all queſtions and anſwers: and if any thing of conſequence ſhould be further aſked, to give no aſſurances or anſwers of themſelves, but to plead ignorance, and to refer all to the merchants, (for

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ſo they were to call us, and not ſupercargoes, which would have created a jealouſy that we belonged to the Company;) to take care to keep the ſailors ſober, and in good order; with ſome other inſtructions leſs material.

Having given them theſe general directions, we ſent them away the 2d of July at two o'clock in the morning. One of the linguiſts was an Engliſhman, the other a Javan, whom we hired at Batavia; but we put moſt confidence in the firſt. They returned that very night, and told us, we ſhould have an anſwer in ſeven days from the Sultan of Caytangee, and in eleven from the Sultan of Negarree. They alſo brought us a caution from the Banjareens to beware of ſome large pirate praws manned with about a hundred of the Byajo men, that lay ſkulking thereabouts. But before this advice came, we were like to have felt ſome of the cruel effects of their barbarity through our own inadvertency: for that day about noon we ſaw three large praws under the ſhore, which had ſhot up the river a little above our ſhips: whereupon, imagining they were Banjareens, and hoping to get ſome better information in relation to trade, I went into the long-boat in company with Mr. Bartholomew Swartz, chief ſupercargo of the Borneo, Mr. John Beacher, chief ſupercargo of my ſhip, and Mr. John Gerard, our aſſiſtant and purſer, with five men and a boy. We carried only two muſkets, and a ſmall fowling-piece, with two cartouch-boxes; but had we thought of meeting with ſuch barbarians as we did, we ſhould have been much better provided. We hoiſted our ſail, and ſtood towards them; but they rowed with all their might from us; and finding we were like to come up with them, they ran their three veſſels up a creek among the trees, which were exceeding thick, hanging over the water, and gave ſo great a ſhelter that there was no wind for us to ſail up the creek after them: however, we made in, thinking they were bound no further. But being come cloſe to the mouth of the creek, we ſaw their praws a little way up, and no men in them: for they, being about a hundred in number, were got aſhore among the trees, deſigning to draw us in, and deſtroy us all; which they might eaſily have done, had they all equalled the courage and reſolution of their leader: for the creek was not above ten yards over, and they exceeded us in number above ten to one, being armed with javelins, ſampits, and poiſoned arrows. We called aloud, and aſked them what they had to ſell, with ſome other queſtions, but received no anſwer till we were got up into the creek; when on a ſudden we heard a horrible ſhout, after the manner of theſe barbarians; and at the ſame time their captain advanced boldly towards the boat, threw a javelin at us, and immediately after ſhot an arrow. It was fortunate for us that his men were not ſo forward, and ſeemed diſmayed, keeping back among the trees, but let fly a ſhower of their poiſoned arrows among us, which however did us no damage. We immediately put ourſelves in a poſture of defence, and preſented our ſmall arms, but were at firſt unwilling to fire, leaſt ſuch a proceeding ſhould fruſtrate our deſign of trading in the port. But ſeeing no other remedy, and perceiving by their dreſs and language that they were not Banjareens, we diſcharged our pieces at them, which put them to flight, ſcouring in among the trees; though even in their retreat they ceaſed not to let fly their arrows at us, after the maner of the antient Parthians. Whilſt Mr. Gerard was loading our guns again, we uſed our pocket-piſtols, firing wherever we ſaw a buſh wag. In the meantime the ſailors were in great confuſion, but not idle, haling the boat by the means of the boughs and ſhrubs, until they got her out; before which we had diſcharged our pieces a ſecond time. But we ſaw no more of theſe villains, they being frightened at the noiſe, and danger of our fire-arms. We were not a little pleaſed at our narrow eſcape! What loſs the enemy had we know not; but our good fortune brought us off without ſo much as one wound. We

brought away ſome darts that ſtuck in the ſide and ſail of our boat. Theſe people go naked, having only a chawat, or ſmall piece of cloth, about the breadth of a hand, to cover their privy parts. Their bodies were all over ſtained with blue; and they ſeemed to be ſtrong, tall men, like the mountaineers ſpoken of before.

We remained on board without any further anſwer until the 6th of July, when Cay Rouden Taka, and Cay Chetra Uda came on board. They brought us preſents of fruit, fowls, eggs, &c. which we had rather been without, knowing that our return for thoſe trifles muſt be expenſive, though we were too often troubled with ſuch mercenary civilities.

They told us, that the Sultan's pleaſure was, that we ſhould come up to Tatas to hold a bechara, or conſultation, with Pangarang Purba Negarree, or Prince of Negarree, (who is a Prince of the royal blood) promiſing that they would ſtay as a pledge till our return. Whereupon the other ſupercargoes went away on the 7th of July, about eleven in the morning, Captain Lewis and myſelf remaining on board to entertain thoſe grandees. When they arrived at Tatas, they were introduced to the Prince; who, upon enquiry, underſtanding that they were not the captains, he ordered them to bring us along with them to the next conſultation. He examined them ſtrictly whether we were ſeparate traders; which being affirmed, he ſaid, that we were welcome; and aſking what quantity of pepper would load us, he was anſwered four or five thouſand peculls. We had preſented him with an extraordinary good ſilver watch, and in return he promiſed mighty ſervices; but at the ſame time told them, that the Sultan being now at war with the rebels, who inhabit the pepper country, that commodity was grown very dear; therefore he could not come to an exact price, nor ſign a contract, becauſe the Sultan's great ſeal was not there, with which all ſuch contracts are ſigned. It is remarkable, that no buſineſs can be done in thoſe parts, nor ſcarce admittance gained to any of their great men, till he underſtands by his ſervants that the perſon is not come empty handed.

The next evening the ſupercargoes came back, and on the 11th the aforementioned Cays returned on board, and deſired us to go with them to the Prince. They ſtayed with us that night, and we made them very merry; for though it be againſt their religion to drink ſtrong liquors, yet we ſoon perceived that they were no enemies to arrack or wine. The next day I ſet out about two in the morning with the other ſupercargoes; ſome in mine, and the reſt in the Borneo's pinnace; having ordered my two trumpeters to attend us, that we might appear with more advantage.

We went up the river for about twenty-two miles, where we turned off into a narrow branch of it. This river is extremely pleaſant, being about twice as broad as the Thames at Graveſend, having a vaſt number of prodigious tall trees on each ſide that are always green. I remarked here four very agreeable iſlands at ſome miles diſtance one from another, each being ſituate about the middle of the river. The firſt is called Pooloococket, being covered with trees, ſome of which are of a vaſt height. You may ſee it before you enter the river, and it ſerves as a land-mark to ſail over the bar. There is a large ſand ſpits out all around it, but ſhoots itſelf out fartheſt at the north and ſouth end, which muſt be carefully avoided; for if a ſhip ground, the ebbs are ſo very ſtrong, becauſe of the land-waters, that it might wring her to pieces; beſides, great drifts of trees come down the river continually, which in ſuch a caſe would be of ill conſequence. Beſides, it is ſomewhat dangerous, becauſe of the often ſhifting of the ſand: the beſt advice I can give is to anchor any where about a mile or two within the river's mouth, where the ground is clear, and water enough from ſide to ſide: then ſend your boat to ſound off the aforeſaid iſland, and buoy it; which after you have

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paſſed, keep the ſtarboard ſhore on board within your ſhip's length; or, if you pleaſe, nearer, at any time of tide, but beſt on the flood; for the ebbs run ſo ſtrong in ſome ſeaſons, that for want of wind, which the trees keep off, you will find it very difficult to get a-head when you come to open the firſt river on your ſtarboard ſide, which is pretty broad, and is called China river as you go up. You muſt ſheer off towards the middle, to avoid a ſpit that ſhoots out from the larboard entrance of that river's mouth; but you have gradual ſoundings.

The tide flows here but once in twenty-four hours, and that always in the day-time; in the ſpring-tides the water riſes about twelve feet; but in the night there is only a kind of ſtagnation of the water when the tide comes in, and never riſes above half a foot, unleſs it be in very dry weather: the reaſon is, that beſides the ſtrong current of the inland waters, the land-winds, which blow always in the night with more vigour than at other times, make ſo great a reſiſtance that the flood cannot riſe to any conſiderable height.

This river China runs up as far as the town of Tatas, and is navigable not only thither, but a conſiderable way farther for the biggeſt ſhip in the world. All the China junks go up the ſaid river, and from hence I ſuppoſe it has its name. All other ſhips that will go up ſo far muſt take the ſame courſe; but our ſhips lay higher up the main river, over againſt the factory, which was at the entrance of another river, ſmaller than the former, and which you meet next on the ſtarboard ſide alſo as you go up: it is called Tatas Small River; between which place, if you keep neareſt the ſtarboard ſide, there is no danger. We paſſed China river about nine or ten in the morning, and about eleven got to the ſmall river laſt mentioned, which is much the neareſt way for ſmall veſſels or boats. It was no little diverſion to us in our paſſage, to ſee the prodigious multitude of monkeys and baboons of all ſorts that ſwarmed on the trees on each ſide of us; ſeveral with their young ones hanging about their necks. We ſhot many of them; but at the report of a gun they make a terrible buſtle with with their jumping and ſcouring from tree to tree: they would ſhake off their young ones, and make the woods ring and echo with their loud ſquealing; the ſound of our trumpets had the ſame effect on them. The natives never hurt them, which makes them ſo void of fear, that they will let you come very near them. We ſaw many alligators ſunning themſelves on the mud, ſeveral of which we ſhot at, but to no purpoſe.

We had eight miles to go up this river, which is very crooked, where the ſcorching heat of the ſun would have been as troubleſome to us as theſe ſights were diverting; but it being narrow, and the trees wonderful high on each ſide, we were pretty well ſhaded from the heat. We could not ſee the town till we were juſt entering into it, becauſe of the tallneſs of the trees that ſtand cloſe together. It conſiſts of about three hundred houſes, moſt of them built on floats in the river, which is here about a hundred yards over; but the houſes of the poorer ſort are built on ſtilts in the mud on each ſide. The owners are forced at high water to make uſe of boats to get into the houſes; and at low water they have large logs that lie from houſe to houſe, on which they walk. The houſes on the floats are built on vaſt logs or trees laid and trunneled together, or bound ſtrongly with cables made of rattans, and faſtened by the like cables to the trees on ſhore, and to one another. Each houſe conſiſts only of one floor, divided into ſundry apartments, according to the family; the ſides being only ſplit bamboo plated croſs-wiſe; and they are thatched on the top with cajans, much after the manner of the Javans, and other Malayans. Though theſe houſes are tolerably high for the ſake of air, yet the eaves hang over the ſides within five feet of the logs

or ſtage they are built upon, to keep out the ſun. Here runs a very ſtrong ebb, which ſometimes breaks their moorings, or what faſtens them to the ſhore; andyou may ſee three or four houſes adrift at a time. I have been informed, that ſome houſes having broke looſe in the night, whilſt the people were aſleep, drove out into the main river, and thence to ſea; which is very probable, becauſe the flood ſometimes runs very weak, when, on the contrary, the ebb is exceeding rapid and ſtrong.

When I firſt got into the town, I was ſurpriſed to ſee theſe floating houſes, and the people in great numbers paddling up and down from houſe to houſe in ſmall but neat built canoes or praws. The curioſity of ſeeing us had brought a great many to town from all parts of the country, which cauſed it to be more crowded with people and boats, than it had been in many years before. On our firſt entrance I ordered the trumpets to ſound; the fine echo from the woods and waters added to the harmony of our muſic. Moſt of the natives were aſtoniſhed at the ſudden noiſe, and ſome fled one way and ſome another in their little boats, with all the confuſion of a frightened multitude. The number of ugly black ferry men was ſo great, the ſtink of the oil or ointment wherewith they beſmear their bodies daily ſo noiſome, and the ſultry heat ſo exceſſive, that I had almoſt perſuaded myſelf I was paſſing the river Styx, or Phlegeton in Hell. We were conducted to Cay Arrea's houſe, who is the principal trader in town, but not a very ſtrict obſerver of juſtice, and was afterwards introduced into the Prince's preſence, who ſat croſs-legged at the upper end of the room, with Cay Arrea on his left, and Cay Demon on his right. There was alſo the chief of the Chineſe, who lives there, and is a very conſiderable trader, beſides ſeveral other great men. We were ordered to ſit down croſs-legged, juſt oppoſite to the Prince; which we no ſooner did but the houſe was immediately filled with other Indians of the meaner ſort, who ſat down behind us; ſo that we were almoſt ſtifled with heat, and the ſtench proceeding from their abundant perſpiration. Our crew waited with the pinnaces at the door.

The Prince, with a very reſerved countenance, after a profound ſilence, ſpoke firſt to us, and let us know that they had great reaſon to be jealous of all Europeans; and that the Sultan did inſiſt that we ſhould bring up our ſhips into the narrow river, or even into the town, as a ſecurity for the ſafety of his ſubjects; and that it would forward our loading, and be other ways advantageous. We excuſed it in the handſomeſt manner we could, telling him that our men being uſed to a colder climate, could not live in that warm ſituation without the ſea-breezes. This indeed was one reaſon; but the chief was, that if we ſhould comply, we muſt be ſubject to their power to uſe us as they pleaſed, ſhould they at any time diſcover that we were Company ſhips, by way of repriſal, and in revenge for the injuries they complained to have been done by our former factory; and knowing that they were as willing to take our money as we their pepper, we abſolutely refuſed to yield to that propoſal; and told him, that we would return to our ſhips, and ſtay three days for an anſwer, but no longer. We diſcourſed on divers ſubjects for about three hours: and when we were about to depart, the Prince deſired our longer ſtay, becauſe the Sultan had given ſtrict orders to Cay Arrea to entertain us whenever we came very handſomely at his charge. And immediately ſeveral large gold and ſilver bowls neatly wrought were brought in full of rice, boiled fowls, hard eggs, &c. We eat plentifully, and drank our own wine and punch; their beſt liquor being the river water that runs before their doors. After we had done, what was left was given to our boat's crew in braſs bowls. The Prince, while we were at dinner, withdrew, and dined by himſelf; after which he came in again. He was dreſſed after their manner, in ſcarlet and blue, having on a

ſmall cloſe-bodied waiſtcoat, without a ſhirt, and over that a chawat, wrapped round once or twice, that hung down to his knees; he wore drawers, but his hands, legs and feet were bare. On his left ſide, in a neat belt ſtuck a creice or dagger, richly ſet with diamonds; before him was a table about two feet long, and one and a half broad, of ſolid gold, much like a hand tea table; on which always ſtood his furniture for his betle nuts, ſeree leaves, and lime, which he chews continually; as it is the cuſtom for men, women and children to do in that country, and to ſmoke tobacco. The box that held the nuts was not unlike a rummer, with a cover to it; that for the leaves like a ſtanding ſnuffer-caſe; and that for the lime was a ſmall, round, flat box, all of the fineſt gold, very neatly wrought in filigreen, and ſet with large ſtones, ſome diamonds, and others that I knew not.

Having reſolved not to bring our ſhips up, nor to ſtay longer than the time we mentioned, we took our leave about four in the afternoon, and the ſame night we arrived on board, being extremely fatigued. On the 13th we ſailed up the river about twenty miles, and anchored over againſt the mouth of China river.

On the 16th came on board the ſame meſſengers from the Prince, and ſignified, that he deſired to ſpeak with us again. We feigned an indifferency, and told them, that we were then ready to depart, ſince we could not agree. We ſoon perceived that this news did not pleaſe them. However, we told them, we would go up once more; and accordingly next day early in the morning we ſet out, and arrived there about two in the afternoon. We were again introduced to the Prince; and after ſeveral hours diſcourſe, we over-ruled the propoſal of bringing our ſhips up to town; and only complied with his requeſt of taking a houſe in town, where the ſupercargos ſhould reſide, receive and pay for all goods on the delivery of them. But as their demands and expectations of preſents were very exorbitant before they would ſign the contract, or agree with us, they demanded and inſiſted on twenty firelocks, and two barrels of powder, telling us what a mighty ſervice it would be to their Sultan towards reducing the rebels, and obliging them to bring down great ſtore of pepper, which they had hoarded up, and would ſoon enable them to load our ſhips, and that they would pay us any reaſonable price for them. When we had agreed to this point, and thought that all matters had been agreed on, there aroſe another difficulty, viz. to pay a ſooco, or quarter part of a dollar cuſtom for every pecull of pepper (which is one hundred and thirty-two pounds) that we ſhould buy. After many debates we were forced to comply with this alſo. Then we ſigned a contract to them in Engliſh, and they to us in the Malayo language and character, with the Sultan of Caytongee's great ſeal to it. I deſired our linguiſt to tranſlate it verbatim; and it is as followeth, without any amendment of their method or manner of expreſſion.

"A contract made between the Kings of Caytongee and Negarree, and the Prince Purba of Negarree, with the ſons of Engliſhmen, come hither this year to fill both their ſhips, and go away; not to make any ſoldiers, or build houſes or forts. The price of the pepper to be four dollars and half per pecull, and a great deal of it, amounting to four or five thouſand peculls, and to ſtay here three months for it; and farther to pay one ſooco cuſtom per pecull to the King. The pepper to be weighed at the town of Tatas, and to pay for it when weighed."

We ſignified to them our great deſire of paying our reſpects to the Sultan of Caytongee, the capital city, about forty miles further up the narrow river. This was readily granted: they at the ſame time told us, that our countrymen did not uſe to truſt themſelves ſo far up into the country; and that they were not a little pleaſed to

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ſee that we put ſo much confidence in them; aſſuring us that we ſhould be very civilly received there; and protected, if need were, from the inſults of the common people.

Having thus, as we thought, overcome all the difficulties, and fully eſtabliſhed our trade, we took a formal leave after dinner, and returned on board, where we arrived about eleven at night, the paſſage being very pleaſant. We always carried a cheſt of ſmall arms, with powder, granadoes and match in our boats; not ſo much for fear of the Banjareens, as of the Byajos, who trade there. On the 21ſt of July we took a houſe, and agreed to pay forty-five dollars for the uſe thereof whilſt we ſhould ſtay there, having divided it into proper apartments. I reſided there with the other ſupercargoes

The 22d we ſet out in our two pinnaces about eleven at night on our journey to Caytongee; and having rowed all night, we arrived there about nine in the morning. We had a guide boat to ſhow us the way, and a guard boat, with ſome great men of the country, to accompany us. They chuſe the night to travel in for its coolneſs: but they had much the advantage of us, for both the rowers and paſſengers are ſheltered over head with a covering made of cajan leaves, from the prodigious dews that fall in the night; whereas the cold dew fell in ſuch abundance on our poor ſailors, who were exceeding hot with rowing, that their ſhirts were as wet as if dipped in the river; which proved of fatal conſequence to one of them, who died ſoon after. We paſſed that night very unpleaſantly, having little room, no ſleep, and our cloaths very wet; neither had we the ſatisfaction of making any remarks on the country or river, it being dark. We only heard the noiſe of ſtrange beaſts in the woods on each ſide. But the moſt intolerable plague was a vaſt number of muſchetos, or flies, which ſtung and ſo disfigured us, that in the morning the eyes of ſome were ſwelled up, others mouths drawn awry; and, in ſhort, our faces ſo full of tumours, that when day-light came, we ſcarce knew one another, but only by the voice or habit. Though the ſun riſes always at or about ſix, yet we could not ſee the tops of the trees till almoſt nine, becauſe of the great fogs: for the greateſt part of the country, from the river's mouth for near a hundred miles one way, and above two hundred the other, is nothing but an entire marſh or ſwamp, and that full of an infinite number of trees of an incredible ſize. This ſpace at low water is but mud; and at high water it is all overflown, as I have already mentioned. This vaſt body of water draining itſelf down the channels cauſe the rivers to be ſo deep, and the currents, or ebbs, ſo very rapid. I was reſolved to return by day-light, that I might have the advantage of ſeeing the country. The houſes are built upon floats, except the King's, Princes, and ſome few grandees. It is almoſt four miles long, and our men were more tired in rowing to the upper end of it than in all the reſt of our journey: for the current is ſo very ſtrong there, and we obliged to keep the middle by reaſon of the houſes on each ſide, that ſometimes in half an hour we did not go the length of a furlong. After above two hours hard labour we paſſed the Sultan's palace, to whom I ordered my trumpets to ſound a levit; from hence we had orders to paſs on to the houſe of Cay Demon our guide, where we were very civilly treated. It was no ſmall refreſhment to us to have room to ſtretch out our legs that had been almoſt forty-eight hours cramped up in the boat.

This city has much the advantage over Tatas, becauſe it is much more agreeably ſituated; and at this time of year, (which is called the fair ſeaſon, becauſe the eaſterly monſoon or wind blows) there are good dry banks on each ſide of the river, firm land, and pleaſant fields full of deer, goats, and other animals; when, on the contrary, in the rainy ſeaſon, or weſterly winds, all is overflown, and the wild beaſts

and cattle forced into the mountains; as I ſhall have occaſion to mention more particularly hereafter.

About two in the afternoon the Sultan ſent for us; the meſſengers enquired what preſents we had brought, of which we informed them. There is no approaching empty handed; and therefore care ought to be taken to begin ſo as the ſtock may hold out. Our ignorance of this cuſtom was of ill conſequence to us. They brought handſome baſkets, with covers of wrought ſilk, into which we put the preſents. We went in our boats along with the meſſengers, who carried the preſents. We put ourſelves in as good habits, and as much order as we could, knowing what effect a good outward appearance has on thoſe people. We marched up, with our trumpets ſounding before us, to his council-houſe, which is built on ſtilts or poſts, about ſeven or eight feet from the ground, to ſecure it againſt the overflowing ſeaſon: but then the land was firm and dry, covered with very high graſs, which was ordered to be mowed down for the greater conveniency of our walking thither. This houſe is open on all ſides, and covered on the top, being about fifty yards in length, and thirty in breadth. At the weſt end was placed ſeveral of their muſicians, who played on all ſorts of that country muſick. In the middle ſtood the Sultan's throne, being a rich gilt wooden chair, and over it a large ſilk canopy wrought with gold and ſilver. This houſe ſtands without the bounds of the Sultan's palace. The reaſon why it is ſo open is, becauſe all affairs of a public nature, wherein the people in general are concerned, are tranſacted there; and perſons of all conditions and capacities are allowed the liberty of coming upon the ſtage, keeping their reſpective diſtance. Six or eight guns of about one thouſand weight a piece were placed round the houſe, but without any ſhelter or battlements, or ſcarce carriages. By the time we got to it there were above five hundred people in it, who were ordered to ſtand clear to make room for our entrance: the Prince of Negarree met us, and complimented us very civilly to ſit down croſs-legged on a carpet that was laid over againſt the throne, within ten or twelve feet of it. Many thouſands of people were round about us both on the ſtage, and in the fields about the houſe, to ſee and hear what was concluded. We did not ſit long before we perceived the Sultan coming out of his palace, who is a man of a very good preſence, and honeſt mien, but as ſwarthy as the reſt, dreſſed in a cloſe-bodied waiſtcoat, having breeches not unlike rope-dancers, and ſcarlet ſtockings, with ſlippers, a looſe China atlice gown, wrought with gold and ſilver, with a rich dagger ſet with diamonds in his girdle. Before him were carried in men's arms two young beautiful children, dreſſed very prettily, the one in ſcarlet, the other in yellow rich ſilks, with turbans. They were guarded by twelve men, armed with blunderbuſſes and muſkets, and as many more, with their own country weapons, viz. ſampits or hollow trunks, with bayonets fixed to the end of them, and ſhort daggers or creices ſtuck in their girdles; the latter are worn by men and boys, rich and poor: with the ſampits they ſhoot poiſoned arrows, and they are very dangerous weapons. Upon the King's mounting the ſtage, or council-houſe, all his ſubjects lifted up their hands in a praying poſture, and bowed down their faces to the ground, as they ſate croſs-legged. We immediately ſtood up and bowed according to the European cuſtom, which is looked upon there as a great affront; for none muſt ſtand in his preſence, or near him: but when they approach him to deliver any thing, they go creeping almoſt double; and when they withdraw, they creep back in the ſame manner. We ſoon perceived our miſtake, excuſed ourſelves, and he as readily forgave us, being naturally a man of admirable temper, good, juſt and merciful.

According to cuſtom he ſat ſilent a few minutes, looking us full in the face; then thanked us for our preſent without ſeeing it, though I believe he was privately informed what it conſiſted of. He bid us welcome, and ſaid he hoped we met with nothing but civility from his ſubjects. We thanked His Majeſty, and aſſured him we had no reaſon to complain; and that on our own parts we would ſtudy how to keep up a good correſpondence with them. He alſo enquired whether we were Company ſhips, or ſeparate traders; and being anſwered the latter, he began to lay heavy complaints on our countrymen, telling us how that at their firſt arrival they came like us, and contracted with them in the ſame manner, obliging themſelves to build no forts, nor make ſoldiers; but that under pretext of building a warehouſe, they mounted guns, and inſulted him and his ſubjects in a moſt baſe manner; that he bore it patiently for a great while, till ſeveral of his ſubjects were beaten, wounded, and ſome killed by them, as they paſſed by in their boats on their lawful occaſions; that they forced from them ſuch duties and cuſtoms as belonged only to him, and acted very contrary to reaſon, or honeſty, in all their proceedings. All this, ſays he, I bore with great patience. Then he told us with very great concern how they fired ſeveral of their great ſhot at the Queen-Mother, which frightened her ſo, that ever ſince ſhe continued almoſt diſtracted; and that they would have taken her priſoner, for what reaſon he could not imagine: This, ſays he, I had not patience to bear. He likewiſe told us of one Captain Cockburn, and ſome others, (whoſe names I have forgot) who were taken priſoners, and there put to death, and the manner of their ſuffering. But, continues he, this is not at preſent our affair. After an hour's diſcourſe, having told us he would ſend for us again ſhortly, he diſmiſſed us, and we went to the houſe of Cay Arrea, (who has one here as well as at Tatas) where we bought a parcel of pepper, and hired boats to carry it down.

We continued there weighing of pepper during the four days following, when in the afternoon the Sultan ſent for us again. He then received us not in the council-houſe, but in his own palace, in a large room, where there was a multitude of people. He ſat in his chair of ſtate, the reſt of his ſubjects ſitting croſs-legged on mats, and we on a large carpet. He bid us welcome in a very friendly manner, and ſaid he had provided us a dinner, which was accordingly brought in, and ſerved up in bowls, ſome of gold, ſome of ſilver, and others of braſs, laid on the carpet, without cloth or napkins. We had above fifty ſeveral diſhes of broiled and boiled fowl, curree, or ſtrong broth, rice dyed with turmerick, hard eggs, buffalo fleſh and veniſon; which laſt was very good, and dreſſed in a very reliſhing manner. He had no better liquor to give us than water; however that defect we ſupplied with our own punch and wine. The King, who is a great bigot to his religion, would taſte of none; neither did any of his ſubjects dare to do it in his preſence, though they often uſed to drink plentifully with us, when in private. During dinner-time we had the King's muſic, and ſometimes our trumpets, which he was mightily pleaſed with. Dinner being over, the betle-tables were brought, and we fell to diſcourſe of many affairs, till at laſt he brought about the ſtory of his ſubjects in rebellion. He preſſed us to ſpare him more arms and ammunition, to which we pleaded inability; alledging, that we had a long voyage of many months ſailing to our own country; that ſeveral pirates were abroad; and that if we ſhould ſpare him any more arms or powder, we ſhould not be in a condition to defend ourſelves. Then he deſired us to lend him thirty of our men to aſſiſt him againſt the rebels; but we excuſed ourſelves, telling him, that it was not in our power to oblige them to go: at which he ſeemed ſurprized, aſking us, if we were not their commanders.

Then

Then he told us, that he would favour us with a ſight of ſome of his diverſions, which indeed we found to be very comical. At a diſtance from us, behind a ſort of a ſcene, ſate an old woman with a white wand in her hand. The King cauſed the muſic to play, and taking himſelf a large ill ſhaped, ill-tuned fiddle, nodded to the old woman, who on a ſudden ſtruck a blow with her wand on the floor: upon which ſignal immediately entered four very beautiful girls of about ſeventeen years of age, three much of a height, but one taller than the reſt; all dreſſed in rich ſilks after a pretty antic manner, with coronets of pure gold on their heads, their hair hanging down in a careleſs, though pretty order; their necks, breaſts, arms, legs, and feet were bare, but painted with a light yellow, which they count beautiful. They alſo wore weighty gold rings, as big as a man's thumb, about their wriſts, and round the ſmall of their legs. The talleſt was the richeſt dreſſed, and ſeemed to repreſent a queen. They entered the room following cloſe behind one another; and as ſoon as they came on the carpet before the King, they fell on their faces to the ground; then roſe on their knees, and lifting up their hands, bowed low three times; this being the reſpect due to him. After which they fell into an odd faſhioned ſort of dance, which conſiſted chiefly in ſcrewing their bodies into ſeveral antic and laſcivious poſtures, ſcarce ſtirring their feet from the ground. The old woman (who I ſuppoſed to be their teacher) would often ſtrike the floor with her wand, whereupon they would all immediately ſquat down almoſt on their breech, and riſe in ſo ſlow and whimſical a manner, as cannot be well deſcribed. This laſted above half an hour to our great ſatisfaction. Then they made their obedience as before, and withdrew.

He aſked us how we liked it. We anſwered very well, and ſignified that we ſhould be very glad to ſee ſomething more of this nature, which he readily condeſcended to: but we were told by his prieſt, who ſat by him, that we muſt wait half an hour; for that now was an unlucky, or improper time, and therefore God would be diſpleaſed at it: that the Sultan was a good man, loved God, his women, and all honeſt men; ſo they all muttered ſomething to themſelves; I ſuppoſe ſome prayers, or rather ſome ſuperſtitious incantations. After which we had a ſecond part of the aforementioned diverſion, and then took our leaves. He adviſed us very civilly not to ramble far by ourſelves, neither in the evening, or late at night: for, ſays he, there may as yet be ſome perſons willing to revenge the injuries they ſuſtained by your countrymen in the loſs of a father or brother, &c. We returned him our moſt humble thanks for his kind and generous admonition, and departed to our lodgings at Cay Demon's houſe, who is a man of as much integrity as any in that country; but is very old, and could not be ſo ſerviceable to us as he wiſhed.

We employed our time in buying up pepper, as aforeſaid, till the 28th of July, then we took our leave of the King; and upon his earneſt and reiterated requeſt, did at laſt promiſe to ſpare him our two gunners to go about three hundred miles up the country, to ſhew them how to uſe their cannon againſt the rebels. We ſet out for Tatas again, having been ſix days abſent from our ſhips and houſe.

Our paſſage down in the day was as pleaſant, as our fatigue was great in coming up in the night: for we had a very ſtrong current, by means of which we made forty miles in leſs than five hours. The water in ſome places, and at certain times, is as rapid as under London Bridge at half flood: the river is about thirty yards broad at the wideſt, and is mighty pleaſant, becauſe of the thick woods, and lofty trees on each ſide always green; full of ſtrange birds and monkeys, a great many of which we ſhot. There is a ſmall town that lay on our ſtarboard ſide, or right hand, in our return, about three miles from Caytongee; and another ſomething larger on our lar-

board ſide; about eighteen miles from the ſaid city. Theſe we did not ſee as we went up, becauſe it was dark. The latter has an ill-ſhaped wooden caſtle, with about eleven guns pointing down the river; but ſo ill mounted, and the caſtle, or rather ſhed, ſo ill contrived that it is of no defence: I believe an open boat, with twenty armed men, might drive the inhabitants out of both town and caſtle. We paſſed through another large town that almoſt joins to the upper part of Tatas, and is called Quaen; and about nine at night we arrived at Cay Arrea's houſe in Tatas. He obliged us to ſtay with him that night, though we had rather he would have excuſed us, being very much fatigued: but he being the chief trader in the country, we durſt not diſoblige him. He told us, that his daughter was to be married on the morrow, and that we muſt ſtay and ſee the wedding; which was indeed exceeding pleaſant, far ſurpaſſing any ceremony of that nature I ever ſaw: I believe he made it the much more magnificent upon the account of us ſtrangers being there. I ſhall endeavour to give the beſt account of it I can.

The partitions of one of the largeſt houſes in the town were pulled down, ſo that it was one entire room, to which another great apartment was added, to make ſufficient room for the gueſts, being ſome hundreds in number of the beſt people in the town: the cieling was hung with white linen reaching on each ſide to the floor, which was covered with curious cane mats. Round the room they hung the fineſt of their apparel; and I believe what they had not of their own they borrowed of their neighbours. At the upper end of the room was built a handſome throne, or ſoufraw, having a canopy, or teaſter over it, not unlike our fine beds. There were many cuſhions and pillows piled up, but no perſons thereon. All the night before the wedding day their muſic kept jangling (for ſo I may properly ſay), conſiſting of ſeveral braſs-pans, called gongs, from the tenor to the baſe, which they beat moſt unmercifully upon, whilſt another toſſes up and catches again a jingling chain; others beat on ſmall crooked irons, and ſome keep clinking of braſs-plates together: which jargon I can compare to nothing more like than the rough muſic that the butchers make with their marrow-bones and cleavers, the noiſe of a copper-ſmith's ſhop, or even the thumping and jingling of chains by the mad-folks in Bedlam. We laid down (where we were appointed) not far from the muſic, in order to take a little reſt; but you may gueſs how little we ſlept, our heads being dinned with the noiſe of ſuch a horrid concert. In the morning there was a great number of ſmall flags and ſtreamers hung round the door. All their large veſſels diſplayed their colours, firing very often with their guns: and I, to honour this wedding, ordered our men to draw up and continue firing all the day in vollies, with which the father was very well pleaſed, and returned me many thanks. There were alſo many of the Banjareens placed round about the houſe, who ceaſed not firing and ſhouting all day long.

About three in the afternoon was ready a great feaſt, according to cuſtom, and vaſt numbers of people were placed together, according to their ſundry ſtations or quality. After they had eat plentifully, each man, rich and poor, had a ſmall baſket given him to put up and carry away the fragments in. I and my companions dined by ourſelves, and what we eat not was given to the ſailors. Beetle, ceeree, and opium went about plentifully, and had the ſame effect among them as ſtrong liquors among us. Immediately after dinner we ſaw driving down with the current, from the upper end of the town, the ſeeming hulk of a large ſhip, of about two hundred tuns, very neatly built with canes on a ſtage, and covered with cloth painted, ſo as to repreſent the ſides of a real ſhip: in the middle of the quarter-deck was ſeated on a throne the bridegroom, with a coronet of gold on his head, and a green bough in his hand; his body dyed yellow, having a linen

cloth about his waiſt, his breaſts gilt, and his eye-brows ſhaved cloſe. Before him on the deck ſtood a figure repreſenting an oſtrich, or a pelican, I have forgot which, of a large ſize, and gilt with gold; on the back of which was a charger filled with rice dyed with turmeric. This ſhip was full of people, and on the prow or forepart ſtood a man in a very antic dreſs, with a broad ſword in his right hand, and a ſhield on his left arm, in a challenging or defying poſture; while round the veſſel were numbers of boats, and ſmall veſſels called guntins, that fired continually on pretence of attacking the large ſhip wherein the bridegroom was. At length ſhe was drove down to the houſe cloſe to a ſtage that floated before the door, and a ladder was put down, by which at firſt came out of this ſhip twelve young women, with gold, ſilver, and braſs bowls, containing preſents for the bride, who ſat on a throne in the houſe, at the upper end of the room: ſhe likewiſe ſent preſents to the bridegroom, who ſtopped at the door, and was met by the prieſt; who, after ſaying a few words, ſcattered ſome dyed rice over him as a token or an omen of plenty, which cauſed a great ſhout among the people, and an extraordinary firing of guns. Then he was conducted to the bride, and ſat down on her right hand. After a little while all the people withdrew, and only they two were left together. This was his ſecond wife, the firſt living with him alſo, for polygamy is no ſin among them; and a man has the liberty of marrying as many wives as he can purchaſe and maintain. They all buy their wives, and on the leaſt diſguſt or offence they turn them home to their parents again. A man indeed in any conſiderable ſtation muſt, for his grandeur, keep up the number of his wives: ſo that if one is turned away, or dies, he muſt purchaſe another; and generally a young one, when perchance he is old enough to be her grandfather.

On the 6th of Auguſt we received a compliment of welcome from the Sultan of Negarree, with a ſmall preſent of the fruit of that country; for which we were obliged to make a return, they always expecting ſomething of greater conſequence in lieu of what they give, which is no more than a genteel way of begging. We were now ſettled in our floating houſe, where we had a vaſt number of viſitants, which at firſt was troubleſome to us, as well as a hindrance of our buſineſs. But we were forced to bear it patiently, becauſe it is a cuſtom among the Banjareens to keep their houſes free and open to one another. We were chiefly plagued with this inconveniency when we were at dinner; for then our firſt room was crowded with a great number of them, who in a rude manner would have always ſomething to ſay to us. We had no other place to eat in, and to meet and agree with them, or to weigh our pepper. But we were not long troubled at this rate, before we had a hog's head roaſted, without any deſign to affront them; which, when brought upon the table frightened them all away, and we were left to ourſelves; it being againſt the principles of their religion to eat, touch, or even be where any ſwine's fleſh is.

The Banjareens are the greateſt lovers of opium imaginable; it works the ſame effect on them as wine and other ſtrong liquors do on us. When it is taken moderately it exhilarates and revives the ſpirits, and diſſipates all drowſineſs or ſleep; but when taken to exceſs it cauſes heavineſs, ſleep, ſtupidity, and illneſs. Their method of taking it is by boiling a quantity of opium in water to a thick conſiſtency; then ſteeping their tobacco in it, they roll it into ſmall pellets as big as grains of peaſe; and having thus prepared it, when they deſign to be merry, a large diſh is brought with a lighted lamp in it round which the company ſits croſs-legged in a circle; the maſter of the feaſt begins, and taking a large pipe, puts into it one of theſe pellets and ſmokes it, blowing the ſmoke out both at his mouth and noſtrils, which ſeldom holds longer than three or four whiffs at moſt; then he gives the pipe (for they uſe but one, let them be never

ſo many in company) to the next perſon on his right hand, who does the ſame; and ſo they continue ſmoking ſeveral rounds till they are very much intoxicated. They are ſenſible that it ſhortens life, yet the pleaſure is ſo great they cannot abſtain from it. Beſides, their women, who are very wanton and ſalacious in that hot climate, exhort them to it, with views to their own ſatisfaction and pleaſure, it being a great incentive to venery. I was once prevailed upon to ſmoke one of theſe lumps, and indeed I found it had the ſame effect as if I had drank a bottle of the ſtrongeſt wine, only with this difference, that I found a more than ordinary livelineſs, delight, and ſuch a merry diſpoſition, that I think human nature cannot long bear the practice of it. However they do not take opium to that exceſs as the Javans do: for the latter will ſometimes take ſuch a quantity as makes them diſtracted, running in a deſperate manner through the ſtreets, with their creice or dagger drawn, and killing all they meet. This they call runing ammook. When a perſon is fallen into ſuch a fit of madneſs, it is lawful for any man to diſpatch him by what means he can, but they are generally ſhot, or run through with ſpears by the ſoldiers. I was told a remarkable ſtory of this kind by a perſon that was eye-witneſs to the fact: a certain Javan who ran ammook in Batavia, and had killed ſeveral men, women, and children (the place being very populous), but was at laſt met by a ſoldier, who ran him through the body with a pike; notwithſtanding which the wretch preſſed and thruſt himſelf forwards on the pike (which was half through him) towards his adverſary, till he got near enough to ſtab him with his dagger, ſo they both died on the ſpot. They reckon that opium makes them valiant, as well as laſcivious.

I have given ſome hints already in general of the commodities of this country. Thoſe of this port are more particularly pepper, of which they can generally ſupply you with two or three thouſand tuns every year; alſo long pepper, dragons-blood, the beſt in the world, bezoar of moſt ſorts, and particularly the fine monkey bezoar, gold, jambe canes, rattans, the beſt camphire unrefined, and ſundry drugs brought thither by the Chineſe. Here are alſo rough diamonds, from three carats downwards: I ſaw none to be ſold of greater weight. I ſhall hereafter give the beſt inſtructions I can towards managing a trade with them; and alſo the price current of ſome goods I bought there. I muſt own they were dear bought; but we being the firſt ſhips of our country that went thither ſince the deſtruction of the factory, were obliged in ſome meaſure to comply with many inconveniences: but if ſhips were ſent thither conſtantly in the ſame manner as we were, there would be greater variety of goods to be ſold, which with good management might be procured much cheaper.

They have no particular handicrafts among them, except carpenters and goldſmiths; but every one in general has a genius to carving, and with their ſmall ill formed knives they carve the heads of their creices in a very pretty manner. Theſe heads are generally of ivory, but ſometimes of wood.

They have a ſort of boats which they call flying praws, from their ſwiftneſs in ſailing. They are made of the trunk of a tree hollowed, and ſharpened at both ends, not much unlike the ſtern of our wherries. They have no keel nor rudder, but are ſteered in a different manner from ours, over the quarter, with very long but ſmall paddles, whereof one, that is thirty feet long is not above twelve or fourteen inches over. Their ſeats are acroſs, raiſed above the gunnel or ſide of the boat, where they ſit with their legs in the bottom; and to prevent their overſetting, they fix two long poles or outlayers, one acroſs the fore-part, and another acroſs the after-part of the boat, each end being run into a large bamboo. Being thus fixed, and fitted with a large mat ſail, they will run ſometimes at the rate of twenty-four miles an hour; and when it blows

hard, the people run out and in on the outlayers, according as the gale is freſher or abates, to keep the boat upright.

The Chineſe that live among them are the only perſons that have ſhops tolerably well furniſhed: they ſet them off with coarſe chintz, calicoes, baftees, tea, drugs, China-ware, and many other things.

Their current money is dollars, half and quarter-dollars; and for ſmall change they have a ſort of leaden caſh, being ſmall rings ſtrung on a kind of dry leaf.

The pepper is not cured till about the middle of September; however we continued buying ſeveral quantities that were of the laſt year's product; but when it was cured, they brought ſome every day to the door of our houſe in their praws, but in very ſmall parcels; ſometimes under a pecul, and ſometimes four or five, which we weighed by a large dotchin or ſtilliard that belonged to the town, the truth of which we had tried by our own weights. We paid them for it on the delivery, and ſometimes went to their houſes in our long-boat, and weighed off thirty or forty peculs at a time, for which we paid them preſently, and brought it to our houſe. We were now put to great ſtreights for room to ſtow it in, till we had an opportunity to ſend it on board, which we were prevented by rain, wind, and many other accidents, for two or three days. We had loaded our houſe ſo deep that we feared its ſinking; ſo we thought proper to buy a veſſel, that might ſerve us in lieu of a ſtorehouſe. We accordingly bought one of Cay Arrea for fifty pieces of eight, which held about two hundred peculs. This alſo ſerved to carry it down to our ſhip. We continued buying and weighing of pepper till the 19th of Auguſt, and ſeveral of the great men of the country came to ſee us, ſometimes on board, but oftener at our houſe, to whom our intereſt obliged us to ſhew great civility. We were daily entreated to lend money to ſeveral of theſe Oran-Cays, with mighty promiſes of being faithfully repaid in pepper; moſt of which propoſals we put off, but were obliged to comply with ſome, and always took care to have ſuch ſecurity as not to make bad debts.

On the 20th we had another invitation to go to Caytongee, from the Sultan of Negarree, who came thither above two hundred miles to ſee us. Accordingly I went, together with Mr. Swartz and Mr. Becher, leaving a proper perſon behind to buy what pepper ſhould offer in our abſence. We arrived there the 21ſt, and had admittance to him, having made him a preſent. He thanked us for the ſmall arms we had ſpared his brother the Sultan of Caytongee, but heartily preſſed for more; but we excuſed ourſelves. Our reception was much the ſame as we had from the Sultan of Caytongee, therefore I will not trouble the reader with the particulars. I ſhall only add, that he is a man of a middle ſtature, well proportioned, and of a good countenance. The next day we made a viſit to the Prince of Negarree, at his houſe at Martapoora, or Matapoora, a town ſo called, about ten miles wide of the city of Caytongee on the banks of a ſmall river, that falls into the former, and is ſo narrow that in ſome places we had not room enough for our oars. This part of the country is never overflown, and is exceeding pleaſant. The Prince's palace is as good as that of the Sultan at Caytongee; there are a few guns placed round it, and he has a ſmall armoury, conſiſting of firelocks, match-locks, blunderbuſſes, piſtols, braſs rantackers or ſwivel guns. Thoſe people look upon him as the greateſt of generals, and he is as renowned among them for his courage, conduct, and ſucceſs as the great Duke of Marlborough is all over our part of the world. Both the Sultans of Caytongee and Negarree (who are brothers) have their chief dependence on his conduct and management of their wars, imagining him to be invincible. He entertained us very civilly, and treated us with an excellent dinner of veniſon, &c. He was pleaſed to give us an account of the ſtate of the

the rebels, and of the cauſe, which I hinted at before, of their riſing; how that he had headed the Sultan's forces twice againſt them, and having routed them each time, had brought down ſeveral of their chief priſoners to His Majeſty, who thinking to win their affections by clemency, pardoned them, and having loaded them with ſeveral preſents and marks of his tender indulgence, he ſent them back, exhorting them to continue ſtedfaſt in their duty and loyalty towards him for the future. However, that this had no effect upon their ſtubborn ungrateful minds, but that they rebelled a ſecond time. That he was now deſired again by the Sultan to march againſt them; "but (adds he) if I do, I ſhall take care not to bring them hither to be puniſhed."

The day proved very rainy, which prevented the deſign he had of giving us the diverſion of ſtag-hunting, for which purpoſe he had ordered horſes to be got ready for us. He told us their method of hunting, viz. ſeveral men well mounted, with ſpears about ſix feet long in their hands, take out one or two of their mongrel dogs, who ſoon rouze the game, which is in a very little time run down (the deer in that country being very fat, and conſequently eaſy to be overtaken) by the dogs and horſes, and then they ſtick them with their ſpears. We diverted ourſelves in the afternoon with ſhooting at a mark with his cannon, over which he had cauſed a ſhed to be built while we were at dinner, to ſhelter us from the rain, which was very violent. I have great reaſon to believe that they get a great part of their gold at the head of this river, which cannot be much farther up the country, by reaſon of the prodigious high hills that are not far from hence. One Cay Deponatee informed me, that this river ſprings from the top of one of the higheſt of theſe mountains, from which it falls in a moſt wonderful cataract. Having taken our leave of the Prince, we returned that night to Caytongee, and lay at Cay Demon's houſe, which we preferred to Cay Arrea's, by reaſon we had there much better lodgings and entertainment. The next day we returned to our factory. At this time the rainy ſeaſon was begun, but the land was not yet overflown about the city of Caytongee.

Whilſt we continued here buying our cargo, the gunner of the Borneo, and mine, went up with the Indians on the 3d of September, according to the promiſe we made to the Sultan, to aſſiſt againſt the rebels. Theſe wars retarded very much our loading, and the rains being now come, we were very much afraid that the enemy could not be ſubdued this year; if ſo, it was impoſſible for us to load both our ſhips: but on the 14th we were ſomewhat encouraged by the coming of the Prince of Negaree with ſix praws of war, and a great number of men, it being in his way; for he muſt have come down this ſmaller ſtream to go up the main river againſt the rebels. He cauſed his ſhips to anchor before our houſe, and did us the honour to come to ſee us. He made us the compliment of telling us, that it was chiefly for our ſakes that he was prevailed upon to go againſt them any more, and that if he had ſucceſs he would immediately diſpatch our loading. However the rains continued ſo violently, that we were very dubious of the poſſibility of his attacking them, or of the pepper's being cured that ſeaſon. This made us conſider, whether it was proper to keep both our ſhips there in expectation, or to diſpatch one to Bencouli in the iſland of Sumatra, before the weſterly monſoons were ſet in; for if not, ſhe muſt have lain ſix months longer on demurrage in this port: and ſhould we not find pepper enough for us both, it would have been a great and needleſs trouble to us, and expence to our maſters. After having conſidered thereon, we reſolved to ſend away our conſort the Borneo. Our gunners were now returned from Negarree, and gave us an account that the rebels had been forced to retire, by reaſon of the rains that had already overflown a great part of the country about that place; that they had attacked the caſtle, but were repulſed.

We

We ſent meſſengers on the 29th of September, to acquaint the Sultan of Caytongee, that the expiration of our time was near at hand (there being but fifteen days to come), and that we had not yet the fourth part of our loading; and moreover that the Chineſe and ſeveral of his ſubjects had hoarded up their pepper, in hopes to ſell it for a greater price to the Chineſe junks, when they ſhould come, which was not according to our contract: that in caſe we were not ſoon ſupplied, we ſhould have the weſterly monſoons to encounter with: that likewiſe his ſubjects refuſed to take two-thirds of our money, though it be ſuch as all other nations accept of: and in fine, we deſired that he would be pleaſed to think of ſome expedient to load us both, otherwiſe we ſhould be obliged to ſend one away to ſome other port. On the 3d of October the meſſengers returned, and told us, that His Majeſty expreſſed great concern for our diſappointment, and was againſt our ſending away one of our ſhips, aſſuring us that he would oblige his ſubjects to bring in all their pepper at the contracted price, and hoped to find an expedient for our light money. Accordingly he ſent ſome perſons the next day down to ſearch both Tatas and Quaen, with orders to ſeize all ſuch pepper as the people ſhould refuſe to ſell us at the price firſt agreed on. However we found no probability of loading both; therefore we diſpatched away the Borneo with the overplus of our money (being eleven thouſand pieces of eight), alſo two hundred and twenty-four bags of ſaltpetre, reſerving to ourſelves as much as would be ſufficient, as near as we could gueſs, to purchaſe the remainder of my loading.

On the 21ſt of October I, with two other ſupercargoes, went in my long-boat over the bar with the ſaid ſhip, and took our leave of the captain about nine at night, in order to return to mine. We rowed and ſailed moſt part of the night for the river's mouth; but it being very dark we loſt our way, and had like to have gone up the river Byajo, amongſt the wild Indians; but perceiving our miſtake we came to anchor, and waited till day, keeping a ſtrict watch for fear of being ſurpriſed by any of the Byajo men. The evening following we arrived on board, much tired, and from thence we proceeded towards Tatas, where we arrived the 23d, towards night.

We were not long there ere we were ſenſible how exactly the King's orders were put in execution for ſeizing the pepper, and forcing the owners to bring and ſell it to us. There was alſo a larger quantity brought into town than we could have imagined, by reaſon of many dry days that happened, which is very uncommon in this ſeaſon, ſo that now we began to repent that we had ſent away the other ſhip; therefore, hearing that ſhe was ſtill not far off on the coaſt, we diſpatched our long-boat with orders for her return, but could not find her. This pepper ſoon filled my ſhip, and the overplus of the money I employed in buying gold. The price and manner of purchaſing it I ſhall hereafter mention.

My ſhip being loaded, I ſailed out of the port of Banjar Maſſeen on the 1ſt of November 1714, and anchored on the other ſide of the bar, in four fathoms and half water, about four leagues from the ſhore, having good anchor ground there. We had now our water to fill and proviſions to bring on board, becauſe I was willing to go over the bar as light as I could to prevent our grounding, which we performed very happily, though it was in the night, and we drew thirteen feet eight inches water: and whatever may, or has been ſaid of that bar, if care be taken to find out the deepeſt water of it, any ſhip, though ſhe draws fifteen feet water, may go over with great ſafety.

The next day about three in the afternoon, (having taken care to ſee the ſhip well moored) I ſet out in my pinnace towards the factory, the wind blowing very hard: at night we reached the river's mouth, and ſo rowed all night, till about four in the morning

morning we got to Tatas. During our ſtay here, from the beginning, we had great plenty of fiſh, fowl, fruit, potatoes, yams, cucumbers, deer, goats' fleſh, &c. brought to our door every morning early in ſmall boats by women, of whom we bought what we wanted, and that at a very reaſonable rate. This was, they owned, the greateſt opportunity they ever knew of getting ſo much money in ſo ſhort a time; for when the Engliſh factory was there before, there was always ſuch enmity and inveterate hatred between them, that the natives declared they never carried to them the tenth part of what they did us, being willing to have as little to do with them as poſſible. They owned to us that they poiſoned one Captain Barry, who was chief of the ſettlement, and that they did it ſo cunningly that the reſt of the Engliſh had no ſuſpicion of them. It is moſt certain that they had a great hatred againſt all that belonged to that factory, and even the whole Engliſh nation for their ſake, which made us meet with more difficulties than ordinary. It was an imprudent thing of thoſe gentlemen to have given them occaſion of having ſo barbarous a notion of the principles and behaviour of all their countrymen. It is true, we took all the pains imaginable by an honeſt, civil, complaiſant way of behaviour and dealing, to remove this great prejudice out of their minds; though I muſt own we found it a pretty hard taſk, they being ſo prepoſſeſſed with an opinion of our baſeneſs and barbarity. I believe, indeed, that the great confidence we put in them, by converſing civilly and familiarly with them, eating, drinking, and ſmoking frequently with them, and truſting ourſelves ſo far up in the country among them, did not contribute a little to make them have a greater value for us than for other ſtrangers. They are certainly the moſt peaceable people in the world to one another, quarrelling ſeldom or never among themſelves, and avoiding above all things any occaſion of giving an affront, becauſe when once it is given, it is never to be forgot; for they exceed even the Italians in revenge. They were ſtrangely ſurpriſed to ſee two of our ſailors fight with one another at handy-cuffs; and when the battle was over, and perhaps both very bloody, to ſee them ſit down in a friendly manner over a bowl of punch, ſhaking each other by the hand, as merry and as intimate as if they had never quarrelled. To ſatisfy them on that point, we told them, that if our quarrels were never ſo great we never bore each other malice. I cannot omit mentioning an inſtance of their timidity and fear of ſeeing their own or any other perſon's blood: one day I being indiſpoſed, ordered the chirurgeon to bleed me, Cay Deponattee and ſeveral others of the natives being in the room, and being ſtrangers to ſuch an operation, were in a great amaze to know what we were about to do; till at laſt the vein being opened, they ſaw the blood guſh out, whereupon they ran immediately out of the room in a great fright, crying out, "*Oran gela attee,*" that is, the man's heart or mind is fooliſh; telling us, that we let out our very ſouls and lives willingly, which they ſaid was very ill done; to which I anſwered, that their diet being mean, and their drink only water, they had no occaſion for bleeding; but that we who drank ſo much wine and punch, and fed upon ſo much fleſh, which rendered the blood hot and rich, had an abſolute neceſſity of doing it, otherwiſe we ſhould be ſick. "Aye, (ſays Cay Deonattee,) I think that ſhews you to be ſtill greater fools, in putting yourſelves to ſuch great charges on purpoſe to receive pain for it."

To convince him that bleeding on ſome occaſions was abſolutely neceſſary, I put him in mind of the wonderful effect he had formerly ſeen it produce; for he, with others, being entertained by us on board, to honour them we fired ſeveral great guns. There was on quarter-deck a young monkey lately caught, which was ſo frightened at the noiſe, and overcome by the ſmell of the powder, that he fell down dead to all appearance. Mr. Henly, chirurgeon of the Borneo, being preſent, offered me to bring

him

him to life again. I told him he would do very well to ſhew ſuch an experiment before theſe ignorant perſons; whereupon he bled him in the fore leg, which immediately revived the monkey, and made him ſkip about as briſkly as ever. This ſeemed no ſmall miracle to them, and gave them a great opinion of our ability: "for (ſaid they) if you can bring a dead beaſt to life, no doubt but you can bring a dead man alſo."

They eſteem him the beſt qualified and moſt ingenious man, that can moſt overreach and cheat his neighbour by falſe weights, meaſures, &c. neither do they reckon it a fault, but glory in it as a maſter-piece of wit. They often uſed to call us fools, when we have prevented their cheating themſelves by a miſtake in weighing goods, &c. Sometimes they would bring to our factory poor ignorant fellows out of the country (having a parcel of pepper to ſell) who could neither read, write, or underſtand the weights: and the perſon in whom they confided in town to ſee juſtice done to them in diſpoſing thereof to the beſt advantage, uſed to whiſper one of us, that in weighing the pepper we ſhould ſay eighty pounds when there was one hundred or thereabouts, and ſo ſet it down; that, ſays he, we may divide the overplus between us; which we always refuſed to do, and rejected his propoſal with indignation; telling the ſimple owners, that whenever they came by themſelves, though they underſtood not the weights, yet they ſhould not fail to have juſtice done them, and that we ſcorned to take any more than our due. We took all occaſions to make them have the beſt opinion of us that poſſibly could be, to the end that if ever we were ſent thither again, we might not only be the more able to ſerve the Honourable Company, but alſo that we may thereby give them a good opinion of all Chriſtians in general, that may have occaſion hereafter to go thither. By our equitable way of dealing we inſinuated ourſelves very much into the Sultan's favour, who, as I mentioned before, is really a Prince of very honeſt moral principles; and alſo into the good eſteem of the generality of his trading ſubjects, who had a great value for us upon the account of our plain honeſt dealings.

Having now in a manner finiſhed my affairs in this country, I ſhall give a ſhort account of my laſt journey to Caytongee to take my leave of the Sultan. I ſet out from Tatas on the 8th of November, in company with Mr. Swartz and Mr. Becher before mentioned, in a praw rowed up by the Indians; for we were now ſo intimate with them, that we could as well truſt ourſelves with them alone as with our own men. We arrived there on the 10th, and took up our quarters at our old friend Cay Demon's houſe, where we were made heartily welcome. We ſat very merry till about eight at night, when, preparing to go to bed, we heard all on a ſudden a moſt terrible outcry, mixed with ſquealing, hallowing, whooping, firing of guns, ringing and clattering of gongs, or braſs pans, that we were greatly ſtartled, imagining nothing leſs but that the city was ſurpriſed by the rebels. I ran immediately to the door, where I found my old fat landlord roaring and whooping like a man raving mad. This increaſed my aſtoniſhment, and the noiſe was ſo great that I could neither be heard, nor get an anſwer to know what the matter was. At laſt I cried as loud as poſſibly I could to the old man to know the reaſon of this ſad confuſion and outcry, who in a great fright pointed up to the heavens, and ſaid, "*Leat joo Shatan dea Macon Boolon;*" which ſignifies, "Look there, ſee the devil is eating up the moon." I was very glad to hear that there was no other cauſe of their fright but their own ignorance. It was only a great eclipſe of the moon. I ſmiled, and told him that there was no danger; that in a little while the moon would be as well as ever. Whereupon catching faſt hold of my ſleeve, as I was returning to bed, he aſked me if I was ſure of it, for they take us white men to be very wiſe in thoſe matters. I aſſured him I was, and that we always knew

many years before when ſuch a thing would happen; that it proceeded from a natural cauſe, according to the courſe and motion of the ſun and moon, and that the devil had no hand in it. After the eclipſe was over, the old man being not a little rejoiced, took me in, and after much diſcourſe upon the nature of ſuch a thing, I promiſed to give him an account to an hour when ſuch another ſhould happen; which I did accordingly ſome few days after. He ſeemed to be doubtful of the truth, but told me, that if what I ſaid ſhould happen true, though not to an hour, but within twenty-four hours of the time I had calculated it to, he would then believe his prieſts no longer touching that ſubject.

Finding that we were like to ſtay here ſome days before we could have admittance to the Sultan, we propoſed in the interim to go to ſee the Prince at Martapoora: as we went, we met him hunting by the river-ſide. He told us, that he ſhould come to Caytongee before our departure thence, wherefore we returned back. That night we had news from the factory, that our gunting was loſt in Tomborneo-road, juſt a-ſtern of our ſhip, the men having narrowly eſcaped with their lives; alſo that our houſe having broken its moorings, drove ſeveral miles down the river, and might have gone to ſea had it not been for the kind aſſiſtance of our neighbours, who came with their boats and ropes, and towed it up the next flood. The next day we had admittance to the Sultan, who received us now in a private manner, without any ſtrange company or retinue as formerly. He expreſſed ſome concern for our departure, and, becauſe the other ſhip was gone away without her loading from his port, he gave us moſt preſſing invitations to return again; aſſuring us that there ſhould be pepper enough prepared to load two or three ſhips without loſs of time, though they ſhould be much bigger than ours. We thanked His Majeſty, and at firſt pretended an indifferency, telling him, that the price was very great, that we came a vaſt long way, and feared that we ſhould get nothing by it. He anſwered us, that ere we came again it would be much cheaper. He further deſired me to bring him ſundry things, which he made me write down, and ſaid that he would pay exactly for them, and that the price ſhould be allowed us out of the cuſtoms. He cauſed three gold plates to be made of the form and ſize here marked, of which he gave one to me, another to Mr. Swartz, and the third to Mr. Becher; and told us, that was a token of his friendſhip, and a chop or grant of trade, having the ſtamp of his great ſeal on it; that on the producing it at our return, he would not only protect us, but grant us the liberty of trade in any part of his dominions; then he wiſhed us, in a hearty manner, a good voyage, and a ſpeedy return. I have here inſerted the words that are on the gold chop, as alſo the Engliſh of them, as near as I can, viz.

De ca Tawon Zeib, daen ca Boolon Dulcaidat,
Eang Sultan Derre Negree Caytongee, dea
Caſſe enee Chop pada anacooda Beeckman.

That is,

In the year Zeib, and the moon Dulcaidat,
The Sultan of Caytongee gave this chop to Captain Beeckman.

The prince alſo deſired us to bring him ſeveral things, and obliged me to write them down. After this, we took our leave, and proceeded on our return to Tatas. The country was then all overflowed, and afforded a diſmal proſpect: the fields where the cattle uſed to graze, when we were there laſt, were now covered with water, and the people obliged to go from houſe to houſe in boats. Thoſe mighty inland floods drove us down with great expedition by reaſon of the rapidity of the currents. We ſpent the remaining part of our time in buying gold, and in clearing all matters, that we

might part as fairly and friendly as poſſible: in the mean time, I thought proper to go down on board to ſee how forward our affairs were there, and whether there was any room for more pepper. Accordingly, on the 12th of November, about ten in the morning, I ſet out in the long boat, with ſix men only and the mate, ſhe being deep laden with proviſions, arrack, and canes: about five at night we got to the river's mouth, where we caſt anchor, reſolving to lie there that night, and not venture to ſea in the dark, by reaſon the mate had forgot to bring a compaſs in the boat. We had not been there long, when the fairneſs of the weather made us alter our reſolution; ſo we weighed, in hopes to get that night on board the ſhip that lay about ſeven leagues from the river's mouth: but we had not been at ſea above two hours, when there aroſe a very great ſtorm, and ſo much rain, that we could ſee neither ſhip nor ſhore: our caſe was very deſperate, having an old leaky boat, a long dark night, and no compaſs. We ſpent the night driving up and down till daylight; neither were we then in a better condition, for the wind began to blow much more violently, the ſtorm increaſed, and the weather ſo hazy, that we could not ſee the length of ten or twenty yards on either ſide of us: So that finding the ſea ſwell moſt boiſterouſly, we found that unleſs we lightened the boat, we muſt inevitably periſh. Hereupon I cauſed two thirty gallon caſks of arrack, that were in the bows of the boat, to be ſtaved, and the liquor to be heaved overboard in buckets. This made the boat more lively; however we could not get ſight of our ſhip till about ten o'clock. We were mightily overjoyed when we ſaw her, and made the beſt of our way, expecting to be on board in a ſhort time: but alas! how eaſily are human hopes fruſtated. On a ſudden the wind flew about to the ſouth-weſt and blew much harder, though we were now ſo near her that we waved our hats at each other, yet we could get no aſſiſtance, neither could we hold the wind any longer; but were forced to go before it, let it drive us where it would: notwithſtanding all the art we could uſe, we loſt ſight of the ſhip again in leſs than half an hour. We could expect nothing then but death; for the ſeas increaſed ſo prodigiouſly, that we were forced to ſtave two caſks more of arrack, and heave it over, beſides ſeven hundred canes that lay in our way; and as an addition to our misfortune, a ſmall cagg that had ſome boiled fowls and bread in it, was in the hurry thrown overboard alſo: ſo that we had no victuals left, nor drink but arrack, which laſt was the only thing that kept life in us; for the rains had held us now almoſt forty-eight hours, which ſo extremely chilled us, that our teeth chattered in our heads; and we were in a ſtrange ſickly condition, by being ſo long a time ſopped in rain and ſalt water. At laſt we diſcovered ſome trees a-head of our boat, which was rather a terror to us than a comfort; for firſt we were toſſed with ſuch violent ſeas, that we feared our boat would be daſhed in pieces againſt the ſhore, which it was not in our power to keep clear from. We knew of no harbour, or what ſort of people we might fall in with, or whether there were any inhabitants or no; and then we had neither fire nor proviſions; and our pieces were ſo wet that they could not be ſerviceable to us, either in killing wild fowl or beaſts for our ſuſtenance, or in defending ourſelves againſt any barbarians among whom we might be caſt, beſides the danger of being drowned; ſo that we were in a moſt deplorable condition. However, when no hopes ſeemed to be left, and nothing appeared but (as the poet ſays) *Plurima mortis imago*, "a manifold image of death," it pleaſed God to drive our boat againſt the mouth of a ſmall creek; there was a bar, or bank of ſand, before it, againſt which our boat being toſſed by a ſtrong ſea, ſhe ſtuck at the firſt blow, it being ebb, but the ſeas continued to break over our heads, and ſometimes over the very top of our maſt. However, the ſea falling off ſoon by reaſon of the ebb, we were left dry on the ſaid bank, about a muſket's length from the ſhore, there being a conſiderable depth of

water between us and land. As faint and benumbed as we were, being ſtarved both with hunger and cold, we plucked up our ſpirits, and the wind being ſomewhat abated, we leaped overboard up to our middles in the ſea, and as the tide came in ſo we launched the boat a head, till at length we got her over the ſand into deeper water, and ſo into the narrow creek about twenty feet over, and covered with trees. Now night was coming on again, and the rains ſtill continuing made it moſt intolerably cold, we having nothing to ſhift us, or fire to warm ourſelves. The boat being moored, we ſent two of our men on ſhore to ſee if there were any houſes or inhabitants: they ſaw nothing but an old hut, covered up one ſide with Cajan leaves to keep out the weſterly winds; alſo a little pathway, which they having followed for about half a mile returned back again, being afraid to go farther, leſt, being unarmed, they might be attacked by the wild beaſts. They having brought us no comfortable news, we began to ſearch the boat, and found ſome potatoes that had been all the while ſoaking in arrack and ſalt-water: however, we eat them raw very greedily. Before it was quite dark, we eſpied a man making down towards the ſea, who, as we afterwards found, had ſome fiſhing-gear there: he was mightily ſtartled when we ſpoke to him. We told him, that the ſtreſs of weather had drove us into that place; that if he could help us to ſome fire, rice, or other proviſions, we would pay him honeſtly; and further to gain his favour, we gave him a knife, a burning-glaſs, and ſome other trifles that I had in a little box. This pleaſed the old man, who offered us his hut to lie in; but we refuſed, thinking ourſelves ſafer in our boat, though not ſo well ſheltered. He made a fire by rubbing two ſmall pieces of dry wood together (which we afterwards endeavoured to do but could not), and gave us ſome rice, and a ſmall earthen pot to boil it in. Then he went to the place where his ware was, and in a little time brought us a mullet and a cat-fiſh: in the mean time, we found a ſmall piece of raw ſalt-beef, that had been trod under foot in the bottom of the boat, which we boiled with the cat-fiſh, the broth whereof I thought then was the beſt that I ever eat. He told us, that there was a town about three miles off; but that he, his brother, and his daughter, lived at this hut, getting their livelihood by what fiſh they could catch, and ſell to the townſmen. The river that runs here into the ſea, is called Bowalajoong: when you are in Tomberneo road, bring Tanjong Salatan to bear ſouth-ſouth-eaſt, and Tomberneo ſouth-eaſt quarter ſouth, then Bowalajoong river ſhall bear eaſt quarter ſouth of you. I take it to be a better place to water at than Tomberneo.

We were now come to life again, and had almoſt forgot our late melancholy ſcene. We lay there in our boat three days and three nights longer, ere the wind and rain abated: then we got our boat over the bar, and ſet to ſea. After ſome time, the weather being then pretty clear, we got ſight of our ſhip again, and arrived happily that day on board, having been ſix days and ſix nights in our boat expoſed to the ſtreſs of weather, and all the dangers of periſhing imaginable. We had ſuffered ſo much by cold, hunger, and wet, that all our lives were in danger; particularly one Mr. Lawrence Orchard had got ſuch a terrible cold by it, that he died in a few days after, and another eſcaped very narrowly; for my own part, though I held out the beſt of any of the company, after the firſt night's reſt in my bed, I was ſo ſtiff, and had ſuch a pain all over my bones, that I was hardly able to ſtir. Our people on board, as well as thoſe at the factory, had given us over for loſt.

I ſet out again for Tatas on the 30th of November, and arrived there next morning; where I found Mr. Becher very dangerouſly ill of a fever, and light headed. There was one Cay Deporiattee, a very honeſt man, who often uſed to viſit us: he happened

to come one day, when Mr. Becher was delirious, and perceiving him to be very earneſt in ſpeaking, he aſked us what he talked of? We told him, he was ſeila, that is, light-headed; and we explained to him what extravagant things he ſaid. Whereupon he told us, that he was poſſeſſed with the devil, and that it was not he that ſpoke, but the devil that was within him. He begged that we would carry ſome fowls, rice and fruit, and offer it to the devil in the woods, where they have certain places for that purpoſe, and that then the devil would leave him; for, ſays he, what ſignifies the expence? We anſwered him, that we knew better things, and that his illneſs did not proceed from what he imagined; that we Chriſtians feared not the devil, for that he had no power to hurt any, but thoſe that put their truſt in him, and not in God. The old man laughed at our notions, and ſaid, that their Sultan was of our opinion, but that for his own part he knew otherwiſe by experience. The next day he came to ſee him again; and upon his enquiring how he did, Mr. Becher (being then ſenſible) anſwered him, that he was ſomething better, but that he had a great pain acroſs his ſtomach. "Aye," ſays the old man, "I told you yeſterday what the matter was, but you are fools, and would not believe me, nor be ruled by me; for though the devil is gone, he has ſmote you on the ſtomach; and without you follow my directions, you will certainly die in a very little time." Then he deſired that his wife might go and make ſuch offerings; but Mr. Becher anſwered, that ſhe might do what ſhe pleaſed, but not on his account; for that he would rather loſe his life, than be beholden to the devil for it.

The manner of theſe offerings is thus: when any perſon is very ill, eſpecially in the condition Mr. Becher was, imagining him to be poſſeſſed, they buy the aforeſaid proviſions; and having dreſſed them with as much care as if they were to make a ſplendid entertainment, they carry this banquet into the woods to a certain houſe or ſhed, built always under the largeſt trees near the water ſide, where they leave it. As to what ceremonies of prayer, &c. they uſe on this occaſion, I know not particularly; only that they invite the devil very kindly to it, aſſuring him that it is very good, and well dreſſed, and begging him to accept it. Now theſe woods are ſo full of monkies, that if never ſo much was left at night they would devour all before morning, which theſe ignorant creatures believe to be eaten by the devil; and if the perſon recovers, they think themſelves very much obliged to him for his civility and good nature, and by way of thanks they ſend him more: but if the perſon dies, then they rail againſt him, calling him a croſs ill-natured devil; that he is often a deceiver, and that he has been very ungrateful in accepting the preſent, and then killing their friend: in fine, they are very angry with him. I ſaw one of theſe houſes on the banks of the narrow river, where we paſſed almoſt daily, under a vaſt tree, which is called the devil's tree. They have beſides, ſeveral other ways of inchanting away diſtempers, and fixing them ſometimes on other perſons, as they think. One particular manner is thus: they make a thing in the form of a boat, but ſo little, that one may carry it in his hand; into this they put ſome offerings, and ſet it on the water, and let it go adrift; but woe be to him, as they imagine, that takes it up. I was once going to take up one of thoſe diabolical ſtore-ſhips as it floated down the river; but the natives cried out immediately, charging me not to touch it, for that I ſhould inſtantly die, the devil would be in that rage with me, for intercepting his proviſions. I often enquired of them, whether they ever ſaw the devil; and being anſwered in the affirmative, I offered to go any where with them to ſee him; but they refuſed to go purpoſely on that account, by reaſon he would be very angry at it, and they

they did not care to provoke him, he being miſchievous enough of himſelf. I aſked them in what ſhape he did appear to them; they anſwered, like a flame of fire, and that they only ſee him in the woods. This convinced me that what they take for the devil is only what we call in the country, Will in the wiſp, or Jack-a-lantern, ſeen chiefly in ſuch ſwampy wet grounds.

Thus much and more they retain of their Pagan cuſtoms. As to what they hold of the Mahometan religion, which is what they pretend to profeſs, I know that they allow polygamy; they keep Friday as a ſabbath, and faſt all the Bairam, as other Mahometans do, in the day-time, and make great illuminations and feaſtings in the night only. Some are ſo ſtrict that during the Bairam time, they will not ſwallow ſo much as their ſpittle in the day. They ſay their women have no ſouls, but die like beaſts; and that they are only deſigned by God to gratify men's appetite; for which reaſons the women are never ſuffered to uſe any divine worſhip. Some of the wiſeſt of them have not ſuch averſion for Chriſtianity as other Mahometans, who generally are profeſſed enemies to it: but theſe ſpeak very reſpectfully of Jeſus Chriſt, and ſay that he was a great prophet. They believe that Adam was the firſt man; that the world was once drowned, which they have great reaſon to do, ſeeing yearly ſuch great deluges in their own country; and that there are people in the world, though none amongſt them, that they call Oran Mooſa (meaning the Jews), who they ſay follow only the law of Moſes, rejecting the doctrine of both Mahomet and Jeſus.

I cannot think it would be a difficult matter to eſtabliſh the Chriſtian religion among them. It is true, the Romiſh miſſioners attempted it formerly; but after making many proſelytes they ruined their own deſign, and loſt their lives by their own obſtinacy and indiſcreet zeal. Cay Deponattee, a man of the greateſt character of probity among them, told me, that ſeveral years ago there came into thoſe parts a Portugueſe padre, or monk, who by his courteous behaviour and endearing ways had gained a great many to the Chriſtian religion, but not content to preach among them, he muſt needs venture up into the country among the barbarous inland people, called Byajos, by whom he was cruelly murdered. That ſome few years ago (it being long after the former was dead), there came another who ſpoke the language as well as if he were a native of that country; that by his preſents, particularly of linen, and his ſhew of having ſo little value for money, aſſuring them that his voyage thither was not out of any motive of worldly intereſt, but to ſave their ſouls, he inſinuated himſelf mightily into their favour, and made great progreſs whilſt among the Banjareens; but that after ſome time he told them that the ſpirit of his deceaſed brother had appeared to him, when in his own country, acquainting him how he was ſlain up in the inland country, and ordering him to come thither; that accordingly he was then come, and muſt go to the place where his brother was murdered. The Banjareens had great love and reſpect for him, and uſed all means to diſſuade him; and particularly this Cay Deponattee, who is my author, and was very intimate with him, preſſed him extremely not to venture himſelf, for that he could expect nothing among ſuch barbarous people but to meet with the ſame fate as the former had. However, all was in vain, for he was reſolved to go; and ſaid, that if they put him to death he would glory in his ſufferings. Accordingly, he went and made many proſelytes, who built him a church, and were ready even to worſhip him; till at laſt they began to be diſcontented and murmur at the great expence he had put them to in adorning their church with gold, &c. and more eſpecially becauſe he had not performed his promiſe of ſhewing them all their deceaſed friends; whom indeed he promiſed they ſhould ſee in the other world, but they

they underſtood it was to be in this world, neither could he beat that notion out of their heads. So that taking him for a falſe prophet and an impoſtor, ſince his words did not prove according as they underſtood them, they put the poor man to a moſt cruel death, and demoliſhed the church, which they looked upon as a decoy to cheat them of all their riches. Now had he ſtayed among the Banjareens I doubt not but he might have ſucceeded in his deſigns, and have converted the whole civilized part of the country: by which means and by the influence and power of theſe people, the goſpel might have been more eaſily propagated among that other barbarous ſavage nation. Neither was there leſs imprudence in endeavouring ſo ſoon to perſuade them to part with their riches, which they are ſo fond of, to embelliſh churches; for that could be done in due time, when they were better inſtructed in the principles of Chriſtianiſm. Nor do I ſee what neceſſity there was for ſuch mighty ornaments more than the apoſtles required in the primitive times, among much more civilized and ſenſible nations. But no good ever comes of blind obſtinate zeal.

There is but one moſque, or Mahometan church, in the town of Tatas, and is called by them Meſajit. Every one that enters muſt waſh his feet, and there hangs a piece of linen at the door to wipe them dry. As to their manner of worſhip I can ſay nothing, for they will ſuffer none to enter but ſuch as are of their own religion; but I have heard them at prayers ſometimes all night long. They circumciſe their children when they are about eight years of age, at which time the boys begin to cover their nakedneſs; but the girls begin ſooner, by reaſon they are at that age generally marriageable.

We hired a large gunting on the 6th of December, to carry on board a parcel of pepper, that we had bought to complete our loading, together with our baggage and the furniture of our houſe. Many perſons came to viſit us, and wiſh us a happy voyage, expreſſing a general concern for our departure: for we had lived ſo long and ſo friendly with them, that we were in a manner naturalized there. Before our departure, our old friend Cay Deponattee deſired a private conference with us. He acquainted us, that the Sultan had enquired of him what he thought we were, whether Company's ſhips or ſeparate traders; ſaying, that he was ſometimes jealous that we were not what we pretended; that however, be it how it would, we had behaved ourſelves very well, and had done nothing unfair, and therefore he ſhould be glad to ſee us again. I then aſked his opinion, whether he thought the Sultan would ſuffer the Company to trade, in caſe they ſent thither again. He anſwered, that he did not know but he might, provided proper perſons were ſent, but that they had not yet forgot the late ill treatment which they received from the Company's ſervants. After this we fell into ſundry diſcourſes in relation to the Company; and I took no ſmall pains to give a true idea of the honour, riches, and fair dealings of that honourable body. I found that their notions were very odd of them, believing them to be a body of people at variance with the government in England, in the ſame manner as the Byajos are againſt their Sultan. How they came by this notion I know not, unleſs it were put in their heads by ſome ſeparate traders that uſed to load there, during the time of the Company's ſettlement; thinking by defaming them to eſtabliſh the better their own intereſt. He told me likewiſe, that the barbarous behaviour of thoſe ſervants had confirmed them in that opinion, but I perſuaded him as much as I could to the contrary.

On the 10th, about noon, we departed out of town with colours flying and trumpets ſounding, in the ſame manner as we came in; leaving a perſon behind as ſecurity till the veſſel returned. That night we anchored in China river, and the next day by noon we got ſafe on board. On the 14th Mr. Becher, the chief ſupercargo of my ſhip, died

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on board of a violent fever; and on the 18th our linguiſt, whom we had left at Tatas, came on board very ſick, for the rainy ſeaſon being now well ſet in, we all began to be very unhealthy.

We weighed anchor the 21ſt, about ſix in the morning, with a ſmall gale of wind at north-weſt, and the next day about eight in the morning I took my departure from Tanjong Salatan, which ſignifies the ſouthermoſt cape or head-land, it bearing eaſt half north ſeven leagues diſtance. I then directed my courſe to paſs through the ſtreights of Bally, according to the orders I had received from my honourable maſters. Being now at ſea, where very little worthy of remark happens, I ſhall take the opportunity of making a ſmall digreſſion; and, for the benefit of thoſe who hereafter may be ſent to this port, give the beſt inſtructions and remarks I can, whereby a trade may be continued with great advantage in the port of Banjar Maſſeen.

If the ſhips be there by the beginning of Auguſt, it is ſoon enough to make the contracts, and alſo to purchaſe what pepper remains, if there be any of the laſt year's crop, which may forward your diſpatch; beſides, it is better than what you buy afterwards, as being better cured by the length of time, and conſequently will not waſte ſo much in weight in bringing over as the other. At your firſt arrival I think it moſt adviſeable to anchor below Poolo Cocket, where you need not wait long ere you have an opportunity of ſending an account to the Sultan of your arrival and buſineſs, and receive his anſwer; for ſhould you immediately ſend up your pinnace to Tatas, it would greatly ſurpriſe them, unleſs there was ſome perſon therein that they knew very well. However, you cannot lie there long before ſomebody comes on board, who will aſk innumerable queſtions, and be very careful to know your ſize, number of men and guns. They can preſently tell very near what quantity of pepper your ſhip is able to carry. You ought to be very cautious of ſhewing any fear or diſtruſt of them, or of arming any centinels, &c. which will give them great cauſe of ſuſpicion, that you look more like warriors than traders. The former they have the greateſt averſion imaginable to, being naturally cowards. They will expect a preſent as often as they can have the leaſt colour for it; eſpecially by their frequent ſuperfluous viſits, and feigned pieces of ſervices, and ſtories from their oran-cays. But remember there is no end to their expectations; and before you have done with them, though you be never ſo good an economiſt, you will find them amount to a conſiderable value. We were led into an error for want of knowing this, and on our firſt arrival we gave pretty handſomely, thinking that doing it at once was ſufficient. But as they go on gradually with their ſervices, ſo you muſt with your preſents; for I have been obliged to ſtay eight days at Caytongee before I could have admittance to the Sultan, when he had been informed by his emiſſaries that I came empty-handed, though his former preſents had been large and conſiderable. They are ſo mercenary that the beſt of oran-cay, or great men, will receive four or five dollars wrapt up in a piece of paper. I am the longer upon this head by reaſon you will find it a material article; proper things may be provided cheaper in England than at Batavia. I cannot give inſtructions touching a price or agreement with them, for that is according to the plenty or ſcarcity of pepper, and according as there are more or leſs China junks in the port; but be ſure to make your contract very full and ſpecial, for if there be the leaſt room for a further demand they will be upon you. It is proper to inſiſt in the contract upon a houſe to dwell in among them, and a warehouſe. Theſe they will be glad to allow you for their own advantage; however, if you do not mention it in your contract, they may make ſome other demands upon you afterwards.

If

If two ſmall ſhips were ſent, I conceive it would be more advantageous than one that would carry as much as both; for if any difference ſhould ariſe out of the natives' jealouſy, &c. the two would undoubtedly be better able to defend themſelves, and to keep them in awe till they could give a proof of their behaviour, which ought to be extreme civil towards them, without the leaſt ſhew of fear or diſtruſt. However you cannot be too much upon your guard. Moreover, two ſhips could ſooner diſpatch loading, for one could go up to the town, and ſtay there whilſt the other ſhould anchor againſt the mouth of China River. This would ſave the loſs of many a day, when the rains prevent the bringing down the pepper ſo far to the ſhip, beſides the time ſpent in going and returning; whereas the ſhip that lies in town and alongſide or near the houſe (being according to cuſtom cajaned or thatched over the deck) might take in and garble the pepper in all ſorts of weather, having one mill on ſhore and another on board, which would certainly ſave two-thirds of the time it would take in carrying it down in boats; and when ſhe had thus got her full loading ſhe ſhould fall down the river, and the other might come up in her room: but both ſhould by no means be truſted up at one time, unleſs the trade were better eſtabliſhed than it is as yet. The Company did ſend with us inſtruments for garbling the pepper, but we did not uſe them, having made there a kind of mill much eaſier to be built than deſcribed, wherewith we garbled or cleanſed ten times the quantity of pepper in a day more than the other would, and with much leſs trouble, as being more convenient in every reſpect. As to your pepper-duſt you ought not to heave it overboard, for the natives will drive down after it in their boats, ſcum a great part thereof up, dry it, then mix it with their pepper and ſell it to you again, beſides, I doubt not but the Chineſe would give ſomething for it: for, as the Banjareens informed me, they make no difference between that which is free, and that which is full of duſt, but load all together in their junks without garbling. You will every day have the proviſions above mentioned brought to your door by the men's wives in the town; but you muſt be very careful to keep your folks from affronting them, and you need not fear being ſupplied while you lie there.

You will be firſt mightily crowded with people of all ſorts, under pretence of buying or ſelling; and you muſt bear a little with their impertinence: but to prevent the ill conſequence of affronting them, and to hinder them from pilfering, which the poorer ſort are much addicted to, it is but hiring a houſe large enough, which you may do for about fifty pieces of eight, and ſeparate it into different apartments, according to your ſtations, and leave one large room to meet theſe people in, and to weigh and pay for your pepper: not but that you will be obliged to carry into your private apartments ſome of the topping dealers, with whom you are obliged to have private conferences; but you muſt refuſe that liberty to the ordinary people from the very firſt. One of the reaſons why I propoſe your having a houſe there, as we had, is the great advantage you will have of keeping your ſhip clear, which otherwiſe would be like a fair, full of perpetual comers and goers; whereof ſome, under pretence of buying and ſelling, would not only pilfer whatever they could lay their hands on, but greatly hinder your folks from doing their duty, and often create differences between them and the ſailors.

You ought to look upon the Chineſe there as your enemies at bottom; however be always civil to them, as they to outward appearance are always to you: you may alſo turn a penny with them in many things that the Banjareens are ſtrangers to. They are complete merchants, and know very well the value of all ſorts of drugs, diamonds, and other goods.

The Banjareens are ſtrangers to the price of your commodities, which I ſhall mention hereafter, and you muſt aſk twice as much as you intend to take: for though you deal with the beſt of them, and aſſure them that what you aſk is only a ſmall profit, yet, having firſt deſired you not to be angry at the price they are going to bid, they will offer you one quarter, or never above half what you aſk. They are cunning wheedlers, and always complain of poverty; but be ſure that whatever they ſell you, they will aſk enough, and often ten times more than they will take; therefore you ought to be cautious in bidding little enough. If you barter for goods, truſt not their ſample, nor their weights, but try the latter by your own, and take care they ſhift them not, for they are as dextrous at that as ſharpers are in ſhifting dice at play, though they aſſure you never ſo much to the contrary. You muſt ſort your goods and theirs, and as you deliver the one, take the other; however, you will not be long there ere you find out the faireſt dealers in town. To prevent your buying knowledge ſo dear as others have done, I recommend, as a very honeſt man, Cay Deponattee, ſo often mentioned by me, otherwiſe entitled Kin Abee, a very topping trader, whom, if ſtill alive, you will ſoon meet with there; as alſo Pangeran Purba, Prince of Negarree, Cay Rattattee, and Cay Demon, may claim the name of candid honeſt men. The ſhabander is likewiſe a man of a fair character, and one whom you ought to keep in with. His buſineſs is to collect and look after the Sultan's cuſtoms; you will find him a ſerviceable man. They will inſiſt, if you buy your pepper by weight, to have it weighed by their dotchin or ſtilliard, which you may do; but be ſure try it firſt by your own weights, and keep it in your own cuſtody; not truſting it back again to them while you lie there, leſt they ſhould deceive you by another like it; for they want no cunning nor deſign, eſteeming it no diſhoneſt thing to cheat another with falſe weights and meaſures; for very few are honeſt among them but by good looking after: therefore when you buy their goods, truſt not to themſelves to weigh them, for which they will at firſt cavil very much, they having a method of cheating thereby more than you are aware of.

Their great weights are a pecull and a catte: a catte is twenty-two ounces neareſt; one hundred cattes make one pecull, which is one hundred and thirty-two pounds Engliſh avoirdupoiſe weight. Their ſmall weights are a tiall, mas, tela, and mata boorong.

Three mata boorongs make one tela; ſix telas one mas; ſixteen mases one tiall; one tiall is one ounce eight pennyweights troy weight.

You ought to carry no dollars under ſeventeen pennyweights nine grains; for the Banjareens will take them on no account; therefore it is very proper to weigh a parcel of your dollars, ere you arrive there, and reſerve the heavieſt till laſt; otherwiſe they will cavil at taking thoſe of ſeventeen pennyweights nine grains. If you have more money than will purchaſe pepper enough to load your ſhip, there is gold to be purchaſed, which will turn to good account, if well bought: and alſo diamonds, brought from Succadana, from three carats downwards. You buy your gold paying ſo many dollars in ſilver for one dollar weight of gold. Now if your dollars be more than ſeventeen pennyweights nine grains, they will ſtiffly inſiſt on having ſo many of thoſe your dollars for ſeventeen pennyweights nine grains of gold; which muſt by no means be complied with. The following table may be of ſervice to the ready payment, eſpecially of the Chineſe, who dwell there, and might be brought more readily to take your weight of ſilver ſo, being their own cuſtom in China.

A Table

A Table of Dollars of Banjar reduced into Troy Weight.

Dollars.	Ounces.	Dwt.	Grains.
1	0	17	9
2	1	14	18
3	2	12	3
4	3	9	12
5	4	6	21
6	5	4	6
7	6	1	15
8	6	19	0
9	7	16	9
10	8	13	18
11	9	11	3
12	10	8	12
13	11	5	21
14	12	3	6
15	13	0	15
16	13	18	0
17	14	15	9
18	15	12	18
19	16	10	3
20	17	7	12
30	26	1	6
40	34	15	0
50	43	8	18
60	52	2	12
70	60	16	6

Dollars.	Ounces.	Dwt.	Grains.
80	69	10	0
90	78	3	18
100	86	17	12
200	173	15	0
300	260	12	12
400	347	10	0
500	434	7	12
600	521	5	0
700	608	2	12
800	695	0	0
900	781	17	12
1000	868	15	0
2000	1737	10	0
3000	2606	5	0
4000	3475	0	0
5000	4343	15	0
6000	5212	10	0
7000	6081	5	0
8000	6950	0	0
9000	7818	15	0
10000	8687	10	0
20000	17375	0	0
30000	26062	10	0
40000	34750	0	0
50000	43437	10	0

Dollars.	Dwt.	Grains.	Decimal parts.
$\frac{1}{2}$	8	16	.500
$\frac{1}{4}$	4	8	.250
$\frac{1}{8}$	2	4	.125
$\frac{1}{16}$	1	2	.062
$\frac{1}{32}$	0	13	.031

For example: admit you had purchaſed 40 dollars weight of gold, at 10 dollars per dollar weight of 17 pennyweights nine grains, in the table you will find againſt 40 dollars weight, 34 ounces 15 pennyweights; which by the following table of ounces troy reduced into tialls, maſses, telais, and mata boorongs, is of their weight 24 tialls, 13 maſs, 0 telai, 2 mata boorongs, and .57117 decimal parts: but if you pay them 10 dollars weight for the weight of 17 pennyweights 9 grains of gold (as they will inſiſt on, eſpecially the Banjareens), there will be a great difference to your loſs when you purchaſe gold with your heavy money, if there be any left, as generally there is.

A Table of Troy Weight reduced into Weights of Banjar.

Ounces.	Tial.	Mafs.	Telai.	Mata Boorong.	Decimal parts.
1	0	11	2	1	.71428
2	1	6	5	0	.42856
3	2	2	1	2	.14284
4	2	13	4	0	.85712
5	3	9	0	2	.57140
6	4	4	3	1	.28568
7	4	15	5	2	.99996
8	5	11	2	1	.71424
9	6	6	5	0	.42852
10	7	2	1	2	.14280
20	14	4	3	1	.28560
30	21	6	5	0	.42840
40	28	9	0	2	.57120
50	35	11	2	1	.71400
60	42	13	4	0	.85680
70	49	15	5	2	.99960
80	57	2	1	2	.14240
90	64	4	3	1	.28520
100	71	6	5	0	.42800
200	142	13	4	0	.85600
300	214	4	3	1	.28400
400	285	11	2	1	.71200
500	357	2	1	2	.14000
600	428	9	0	2	.56800
700	499	15	5	2	.99600
800	571	6	5	0	.42400
900	642	13	4	0	.85200
1000	714	4	3	1	.28000
2000	1428	9	0	2	.56000
3000	2142	13	4	0	.84000
4000	2857	2	1	2	.12000
5000	3571	6	5	0	.40000
6000	4285	11	2	1	.68000
7000	4999	15	5	2	.96000
8000	5714	4	3	1	.24000
9000	6428	9	0	2	.52000
10000	7142	13	4	0	.70000

Pennyweights.	Mafs.	Telai.	Mata Boorong.	Decimal parts.
1	0	3	1	.2857
2	1	0	2	.5714
3	1	4	0	.8571
4	2	1	2	.1428
5	2	5	0	.4285
10	5	4	0	.8571
20	11	2	1	.7142

The

The Banjareens caſt up the ſums or accounts, as the Chineſe do, by ſmall things like button-moulds, on ſundry ſticks placed in two rows in a box. Theſe they ſhove up and down very nimbly with their fingers, and are very exact and expeditious. They are naturally very docible and inquiſitive, for moſt of the beſt traders had learnt from us, the little time we were there, to underſtand our figures and way of counting; and, when they ſold us pepper, would ſet down their ſundry draughts, (tens in a ſum) then add their totals together at laſt.

If the trade was continued annually, it would improve greatly; for on the certainty of the China junks meeting here with the Engliſh ſhips, you might be well ſupplied with China goods near as cheap as if you were to go to China for them, conſidering how much longer the voyage is, the great expences thereof, the Emperor's cuſtoms, the port-charges, and other extraordinary ſums exacted from the ſurpercargoes by the hoppos, &c. they can ſettle the trade, and leave the port: I am ſure at leaſt, that ſome advantage may be made hereof. Moreover, the Maccaſſer praws come in here yearly about the latter end of September, and bring ſlaves, cloves, nutmegs, mace, gamboge, caſſia-lignum, and ſundry other merchandizes; with whom ſome money may be laid out to advantage.—Note, that we paid no cuſtom here but for pepper.

The Banjareens have only one crop of pepper every year, though I have been told that they had two; for the latter is only what ſprouts out of the ſtocks after the chief crop is gathered, and it never amounts to any great quantity. It is gathered only by the poorer ſort, whom neceſſity obliges to do it: however, the gathering thereof doth much prejudice the enſuing crop.

Of black pepper they have three ſorts: the firſt and beſt is called Molucca, or Lout pepper; the ſecond, or middling ſort, is called Caytongee pepper; and the worſt, Negarree pepper, of which laſt ſort they have the greateſt quantity: it is a ſmall, hollow, light pepper, and the moſt full of duſt; therefore in bargaining at firſt with them, you muſt agree to buy by weight, and not by meaſure, otherwiſe they will ſhuffle you off with the lighteſt and worſt ſort, reſerving the Molucca and heavy ſort for the Chineſe, who buy by weight. If you are not cautious, they will mix ſmall black ſtones with the pepper, which are not eaſily diſcerned, neither can your garbling-mill throw them out; which would be a double loſs in paying pepper-price and freight for ſtones. Their meaſure is the ganton, which contains about a Wincheſter gallon.

They have white pepper, which is commonly ſold for twice the price of the black. They tell you that it is made white by a certain bird, which they call ballaree, that lives on black pepper, digeſting nothing but the huſk, and dunging out the ſubſtance, which through this means becomes white, and is gleaned up by the poor people, of whom we always bought it by very ſmall parcels at a time. Their beſt long pepper, free from duſt and worms, is ſold at about four dollars per pecull.

Beſides pepper, they have plenty of birds'-neſt, the beſt in the world, which are ſold at ninety or one hundred dollars per pecull; the whiteſt and cleareſt is the beſt. It is ſo called from certain birds, much after the nature of a petrell, or ſwallow, which (as they tell us) having ſwallowed the ſcum, ſpawn, and froth of the ſea, fly into the holes of the rocks, and high cliffs near the ſea, where they vomit it, and beat it up with their wings into a conſiſtency, which ſerves them that ſeaſon as neſts, (for they make new ones every year) and after they have abandoned them, the natives do gather them, being then a hard ſubſtance, and ſell them at the aforementioned price. This bird's-neſt is counted a great provocative to venery.

Their ſanguis draconis, or dragons' blood, is alſo the beſt and fineſt in the world; it is the juice of a tree, whoſe fruit is as red as a cherry: the beſt is known by its

bright colour, when rubbed on paper. They bring it to you in ſmall drops about an inch long each, wrapped up in leaves, or flags, and will endeavour to perſuade you to buy it ſo; which you muſt not comply with, unleſs you are willing to buy a pig in a poke, by truſting to their honeſty. The beſt is ſold out of the leaves at about forty dollars per pecull.

Here are Jambe canes, which, if you pick them, they ſell for four dollars per hundred. We bought ſeveral of them, which to the eye ſeemed very beautiful, but in two or three days proved to be good for nothing, being ſhrivelled up; which happened by reaſon they were not cut in a proper ſeaſon, and not come to their full growth, or rightly cured, which is done by fire and bees'-wax; whereby the outward rind is hardened, and hindered from falling in and ſhrivelling, as aforeſaid. They have alſo plenty of rattans, iron-ſtone, and very good loadſtone.

Their gold is of three ſorts, diſtinguiſhed by head, belly, and foot. The head, called alſo Molucca gold, is in grains as big as bay-ſalt, of a very irregular ſhape. We bought ſome (and I reckon it dear) at eleven weights of ſilver for one of gold. The belly is a ſmaller ſort, like ſand or braſs-filings, and is ſold at ten weights of ſilver for one of gold. The foot-gold is the ſame to outward appearance; but is ſold at nine for one: however, I do not queſtion but, when a trade is fully ſettled with them, it may be bought cheaper. I find the belly-gold, according to the differences of the aforementioned prices, the moſt profitable to buy.

If you buy any in bars, cut them half way with a chizzel, then break, and touch them; for very often they will cover a baſe metal ſo artificially with gold, that if you cut it quite through with your chizel, inſtead of breaking it, you will draw the gold over with it, and prevent the diſcovery. The Molucca gold has no artificial allay, and comes up in fineneſs to about twenty-two carats Engliſh: the belly and foot gold, being more uncertain, is often found with more or leſs quantity of iron duſt, or ſomething much reſembling it, and comes ſo out of the rivers. The natives do clear it by the help of a loadſtone, which they rub amongſt the gold duſt in a ſhell or diſh; whereby the loadſtone draws out moſt of the iron particles; but for want of better knowledge, they can never get it clear out; therefore you cannot be too circumſpect when you buy any. They eſteem the higheſt coloured gold the beſt, provided it be without allay, as it always is when in duſt. Now I have ſpoken of their gold, I call to mind a pleaſant notion that they generally believe to be true. I often enquired of them why they held up the price of their gold and diamonds ſo very high, ſince the country afforded ſo great a plenty of both? They always anſwered me, that they had great trouble, difficulty, and danger, in getting thereof out of the earth; that the devil, who is the ſole maſter of all the gold and diamonds that lay hid in the earth, often appeared to them in the mines, ſtriking ſome of them dead on the ſpot, afflicting others with ſickneſs, &c. and that when he ſuffered them to get any into their poſſeſſion, it was chiefly to ſerve his own ends, by ſetting them, and the reſt of the world together by the ears about it. This notion proceeds from the damps that frequently kill thoſe who work in mines: and as to ſeeing the devil, it is only what we call Will in the wiſp, as I have already mentioned.

They have likewiſe the beſt unrefined camphire in the world; but that being out of my knowledge, I bought none; neither can I tell the price, or different ſorts thereof.

The fine monkey bezoar is here ſold at four or five times the weight in ſilver. The beſt is of a greeniſh, or olive colour. You will find ſome in ſize from a penny-weight, to an ounce and upwards. I queſtion whether theſe very large ones are monkey, or goat bezoar: however, the natives value them at a greater rate for being

large. They are very dexterous at making falſe ſtones, which appear ſo like the true bezoar ſtones, that unleſs you take great care, you will be often deceived. The beſt way to try them is thus: rub on a piece of white paper ſome white-lead, lime, or chalk; then rub your bezoar thereon: if it be good, it will turn the white-lead, &c. to a greeniſh colour. Here is alſo a ſort of bezoar, called by the natives golega derre landack, which gives a pleaſant bitter taſte to wine, water, &c. when infuſed a ſmall time therein; and yet there appears no viſible diminution of its ſubſtance.

As to an inveſtment outward, a ſmall matter for a private trader, may turn to account, viz. iron bars, ſmall ſteel bars, ſmall looking-glaſſes, hangers with buckhorn handles, ſheet-lead, beautiful callimancoes, knives without forks, proper mixture of cutlery-ware; the ſmalleſt ſort of ſpike nails, twenty-penny nails, ſmall grapplings of about forty pounds weight, and ſmall guns from one to two hundred weight, without carriages; red leather boots, ſpectacles, proper ſortment of clock-work, ſmall arms, braſs-mounting bell-mouth-iron blunderbuſſes, ordinary horſe piſtols, gunpowder, a few ſcarlet-worſted ſtockings, &c. But now I think it is time to proceed on the journal of my return through the Straits of Bally, wherein I ſhall be the more particular, by reaſon thoſe ſtraits were ſeldom or never navigated by any of our country before, eſpecially in the weſterly monſoon, which is the only time we are obliged to attempt it.

CHAP. III.—*Giving a Deſcription of the Iſland of Madura, the City and Kingdom of Ballamboang, the Straits of Bally, Cape of Good Hope, the Iſlands of St. Helena and Aſcenſion, &c.*

WE ſteered our courſe by log ſouth-ſouth-weſt having little wind at weſt by north, in order to get ſight of the eaſt end of the iſland of Madura: and the next day, being the 25th of December, I ſaw the iſland called Arients, bearing ſouth by weſt diſtant about ſix leagues. At firſt I took it to be the iſland called Niſle Solombo, but found my miſtake, being carried away by the current near eight leagues to the eaſtward of my reckoning in ſo ſmall a run, having little wind and fair weather: not being able to weather it, I ſtood along the ſhore, and had good ſoundings; but we were greatly ſurprized when we found the water on a ſudden ſhoaling from twelve fathoms to three and three-fourths; and upon examination, the water being clear, we could ſee rocks at bottom, and found all along the ſhore uncertain ſhelves of rocks and depths of water, which you may be hurried on or over by the great currents; ſo that it is very dangerous coming near that ſhore, without you are very well acquainted with it, and have a commanding gale. The wind coming about to the northward of the weſt, we laid up pretty well, and at ſix in the evening we ſaw the iſlands Solombo and Niſle Solombo, but came not near enough to be able to give any particular account of them: however, I have been credibly informed that beef eſpecially, and other proviſions, are very cheap there. We ſteered away ſouth-weſt all night, with little wind, fair weather, and a very ſmooth ſea, ſounding every hour till ſeven the next morning; and had from thirty to forty-three fathom water. At twelve at noon this day, being the 27th, Poolo-Pondy bore ſouth, and the eaſt end of Madura ſouth-weſt by weſt half weſt about five leagues; and I found by my reckoning, that the end of Madura lies ſouth-half-weſt diſtance ſixty-ſeven leagues from Tomberneo road. At this time of year there is a ſtrong current ſets to the eaſt-north-eaſtward.

December the 27th, we had the wind at north-weſt, ſqually the firſt part, the latter fair weather: I ſtood along ſhore between Poolo-Pondy and Madura, according to the beſt directions of the drafts, and our own judgments, in order to get into the ſouth-

eaſt

eaſt great bay to buy ſome proviſions, and recruit our freſh water, believing this might be the laſt place we ſhould touch at till we came to the Cape of Good Hope. I found very good gradual ſoundings according to the directions of our ſea-cards, till I came to the northernmoſt point of the bay, which is the eaſternmoſt point of the iſle of Madura, where on a ſudden the water ſhoaled from four fathoms and a half to fourteen feet, and my ſhip ſtruck faſt on a ſhelf of coral rocks at four in the afternoon, which happened the more unfortunately becauſe it was at the time of high-water: we endeavoured to back her off, but to no purpoſe, ſo that in leſs than a quarter of an hour the ebb came on ſo ſtrong that we could not get out an anchor, neither could the long-boat row a-head with ſeven oars. Finding no remedy but patience till the next tide, we ſtruck the yards and topmaſts to eaſe her; for the tide ſetting on her broadſide at the rate of five or ſix miles an hour, had wrung her over ſeveral rocks, ſo that had ſhe not been very ſtrong it might have ruined her; for at half an hour after ten at night, it being low water, and the ſhip ſewed eight feet, we could ſee where beſt to lay our anchor, which accordingly we did, and at eleven the tide ſet ſtrong to the north-north-eaſt, it being on the change of the moon, whereupon we got her off without any viſible damage at that time, and anchored in the offing in five and a half fathoms water, and oozy ground. In coming from the northward on going into this bay, or through between the aforeſaid iſlands, you will ſee a pleaſant town on the ſtarboard ſide; and if you come no nearer the ſhore of Madura than five fathoms water you can receive no damage.

December the 28th, wind at north-weſt, ſqually weather, we weighed and run into the bay, giving the point aforeſaid a large birth, at two in the afternoon, where we anchored in five fathoms water. This bay lies in the latitude of ſix minutes forty-eight degrees ſouth, and longitude one hundred and eleven minutes twenty-two degrees from London; the ſouth-eaſt end of Madura bearing ſouth-weſt by ſouth, the eaſternmoſt land north-by-weſt, and Pooly Pondy eaſt-north-eaſt. Here is very good riding, and alſo good victualling very cheap: as oxen, buffaloes, fowls, eggs, ſalt, tamarinds, ſugar, lemons, oranges, and moſt ſorts of other fruit. We lay here ſeven days, fitted up our boats, fiſhed the bolt-ſprit, ſalted up proviſions, and filled our water. We went aſhore about a mile within the north point of the bay, where lies almoſt at high-water mark a prodigious large ſcull of a whale, which has been there above three years. This ſcull may be ſeen from the ſhip, if not gone, and will ſerve to direct where to land, it being the propereſt place. As you go aſhore with your boat, you will find in ſounding a long ſhelf of land and rocks that lie between you and the ſhore, which thoſe who ſail that way ought to be acquainted with, ſhould they have occaſion to turn their ſhip farther up the bay: the ſaid ſhelf is neareſt the ſhore.

The natives are very treacherous, therefore you ought to go well armed, and not ſtraggle far up into the country. They are in ſtature, countenance, and dreſs much like the Banjareens, by religion pagans, and are governed by a Raja of their own. The ſoil is of a reddiſh colour, but very fruitful; part thereof being covered with pleaſant woods and groves; part fine fields incloſed with hedges that are full of ſilk-cotton trees, which afford both profit and delight. The houſes are built with bamboos, and covered with cajan-leaves, the floors being generally laid over with curious mats. Their towns are ſituated among agreeable groves of cocoa-nut and pomegranate trees. I ſaw no other grain but rice and maize, or Guinea corn.

We pitched a tent by the ſea-ſide, where we lodged ſome of our men night and day, but I would not adviſe the practice thereof again, it being very dangerous, as will appear hereafter. Hither the country people, men, women and children came down to us with all ſorts of proviſions. We killed our beef about ſun-ſetting, then cut it up and ſalted it before ſun-riſing, it being the cooleſt time. The water we got there was but indifferent,

indifferent, the wells being near the ſea-ſhore, ebb and flow with the tide; ſo that the water cannot be very freſh, being drained only that ſhort ſpace through the veins of the earth: it is always beſt at low water.

In all theſe parts you find ſomebody who has the title of Shabander, and ſeems to govern the reſt in reſpect of trade, and exchanging your money, to whom ſome ſmall preſent muſt be made. We had not been long on ſhore ere the old ſhabander came to us, and charged us, as a friend, to be gone from the place, or elſe it would be worſe for us; whereupon we all went on board the ſame evening, which, if we had not done, I do not queſtion but we ſhould have repented it. I did not know the danger thereof till afterwards. The reaſon it ſeems was, that after we had ſettled the prices of the proviſions we wanted with the ſhabander, ſeveral of their own people ſtole their neighbours' oxen, &c. and in the ſhabander's abſence brought them to us, and ſold them at a cheap rate, then ran away with the money and hid themſelves, and left us to be puniſhed for what we were innocent of. This, it ſeems, is a trick they commonly put upon ſtrangers, therefore I thought fit to give other perſons a caution thereof that they may avoid it, which may be done by buying only of the ſhabander, or ſuch of his friends as you will ſoon find out, or in his preſence.

Having got all things ready, we weighed on the fifth of January, about ſix in the morning, and ſtood away ſouth-ſouth-weſt, and ſouth-weſt-by-ſouth, from the ſouth point of the bay. Note, that in running out this bay, if you are bound for the ſtreights of Bally, it is beſt to keep the ſouth point on board, in about eight, nine or ten fathoms water, and not farther from the ſhore; to which you have gradual good ſoundings; but farther in the offing are ſundry ſhoals, ſunk rocks and uncertain depths, which are not laid down in any ſea-cards as ever I ſaw. We were like to have run on one of theſe ſhoals in the day-time; but ſeeing the water coloured, we avoided it, brought to, and ſent the boat to ſound where we found no more than eleven feet water, though a ſhip's length farther we found fourteen fathoms, ſo that there is no warning, by ſoundings there. This ſhoal is a quarter of a mile long, lying north-eaſt, and ſouth-weſt neareſt. When you are on the rocks or ſhoal the ſouth-eaſt end of Madura will bear weſt-half-ſouth, and Poolo Pondy north-half-eaſt. Theſe ſhoals are the more dangerous, becauſe of the uncertain ſtrong currents; but whoever follows the foregoing directions may go ſafe in and out of this bay.

The courſe from the ſouth-eaſt point of Madura to Cape Zandareen is ſouth-ſouth-eaſt diſtant about twenty leagues, and no danger between, but what is called in our cards Muyden's rock, which is there very erroneouſly laid down; its bearing from the north-eaſtermoſt point of Java is ſouth-by-weſt, diſtant eight miles. Neither is it a rock as the cards repreſent, but ſeveral ſhoals of ſand that lie eaſt and weſt, a mile and more in length. Some at high water are juſt covered, and the higheſt is not to be ſeen above a mile in the day-time. I ſailed all round them, and had no ground with eighty fathoms of line, when we were within muſket-ſhot of the ſaid ſhoals.

The ſaid north-eaſt end of Java is exceeding mountainous, and may be ſeen plainly from the aforeſaid Bay of Madura. South half eaſt, from the ſaid point, diſtant about two leagues, is the cape called Cape Zandareen, being a low rocky point, but ſteep withal. From Cape Zandareen to Poolo Gilleboang, which is a ſmall iſland lying about a third part over the entrance of the ſtreights of Bally, the courſe is ſouth-by-eaſt half-eaſt diſtant about four leagues. The iſland is low, full of trees and breakers all round, but you may ſail on either ſide, giving the iſland a good birth. I ſailed to the weſtward, between it and Java, and could get no ground with our lead. The Paſſage there is very narrow, but between the iſland and Cape Zandareen is a large

bay, where there is good anchoring. Near the ſhore are two or three fiſheries, where ſeveral rivulets fall into the ſea, and one large cataract of water from a very high hill that falls not above one hundred yards from the ſea-ſhore.

I anchored one evening there, and being willing to take in freſh water, I went with the long boat, manned and armed, to ſeek ſome. We diſcovered a ſmall village near the ſhore, which we made towards, and perceived that on our approach the people were in a great fright and confuſion; for, it ſeems, very few of them had ever before ſeen any Europeans, or white men; the women and children flew into the neighbouring woods, and the men made down towards the ſtrand, being in number between twenty and thirty, all armed with long ſpears, and poiſoned daggers; their bodies ſtained, and naked, all but their privities: they are tall, ſtrong men, and ſpeak the Malayo language. I ordered the boat on ſhore at once amongſt them, where I landed with one Mr. Richardſon, a paſſenger, having left all the arms in the boat, except our pocket piſtols, and ordered our men to keep in it, and make no ſhew of arms without they ſhould ſee them offer to affront us. One whom I ſuppoſe to be their chief, ſeeing only us two, advanced from the reſt, and met us half way: we took each other by the hand, in a very friendly manner; and after the firſt ſalutations, I informed him that we were not Dutchmen, (whom theſe people have a great hatred for,) whereupon he gave a ſignal, and the reſt laid down their weapons, and came in a peaceable manner to us. They informed us where we might water; and indeed, were very kind and generous; for I thought they would never have done preſenting us with dried veniſon and ſalt-fiſh; in return of which, I gave them tobacco, arrack, knives, and empty bottles, which we had in the boat, and were very acceptable to them. After we had ſpent an hour in chatting with them on the beach (for we went not to the town,) the night approaching, we returned on board. As we rowed cloſe along the ſhore, it being dark, we were mightly ſtartled at a great noiſe, ruſtling and bounding that we heard in the neighbouring wood; but we found afterwards that it was a large herd of deer, who were drinking at a ſmall river, and being frightened at the noiſe of our oars, made this buſtle in ruſhing through the woods.

That night we had a violent tornado, that forced us to ſea, with the loſs of a new anchor and cable, and drove us over to the aforeſaid bay on the iſland of Madura. From our firſt ſailing from the ſaid bay, to get through the ſtreights of Bally, we were fifteen days, though it be not above thirty leagues, and in the weſterly monſoon; at which time a perſon, who is a ſtranger to the coaſt, would think it not above twenty-four hours work. At laſt we fell into the following knowledge and method, otherwiſe we could not well have got through at all; for once in twenty-four hours you have a ſoutherly wind from the ſea, blowing through the ſtreights, and is right againſt you, coming on like a tornado, and blowing with ſuch force, (being always attended with violent rain) that at firſt coming on you will be obliged to hand all your ſails, till the ſtrength of it be over. The reaſon I take to be, (for on the other ſide of the ſtreights, in the road of Palamboan, or Ballamboang, you ſhall only ſee it, and never feel it,) becauſe the ſtreights, not being wider than in the river Thames, and having ſteep mountains on each ſide, whoſe tops generally overlook the clouds, the wind coming out of the wide ſea, though in a gentle manner, gathers, hangs to, and is encreaſed by thoſe clouds; ſo that it is obſtructed and contracted by the narrowneſs of the paſſage, till it forces its way through at once, in a manner like wind forced through a tube, or through the nozzle of a pair of bellows, but ſeldom laſts above an hour or two; though not a quarter of an hour in its greateſt violence.

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You always have timely notice before it comes, ſo that when you would paſs to the ſouthward, it is adviſeable to keep the coaſt of Java on board, ſteering along ſhore, within a mile or two with the northerly ſea-breeze, which laſts till the other comes from the ſouthward, till you run four or five leagues to the ſouthward of the north-eaſt end of Java. Then you will open a black ſandy bay, which reaches to Poolo Gilleboang: and when you ſee the tornado beating up in the ſtreights a-head of you, which may be diſcerned for about an hour before it reaches you, then get near enough into that bay to anchor; for it will ſuddenly fall calm, and the current will horſe you out again: however, the current runs not always to the ſouthward, but you will find many eddies; ſo you muſt night and day attend the northerly breezes, and anchor in that bay, before the other comes on; otherwiſe you will loſe by the latter more than you gain by the former, and never get through. Note, that there is no ſafe anchoring before you reach that bay.

On the 15th of January we were in the ſtreights; and it was but a very diſmal proſpect to ſee thoſe vaſt mountains on each ſide, which by the narrowneſs of the paſſage ſeem ready to fall upon your head; and the noiſe which the ſea makes in the hollows of the rocks is moſt frightful. Sometimes you have guſts of wind from the hills flying round the compaſs in three minutes time, and then as ſuddenly it becomes calm; ſo that I would adviſe you to keep a boat a head, to prevent your being ſwung round by the circling eddies, occaſioned by the rapidity of the current to the ſouthward; by which means, when once you are entered the narroweſt part, you are ſoon through, and the danger is not by half ſo great as may be imagined.

The next day we anchored in a bay over againſt a pleaſant town on the iſle of Java, called Ballamboang, or Pallamboan, where we deſigned to fill all our empty water-caſks, and take in new ſupplies of what we wanted. This town and road lie ſo convenient for watering and victualling, that I ſhall enlarge a little upon it.

Ballamboang is ſituated on the ſouth-eaſt part of Java, near the paſſage, between that and the iſland of Bally in the latitude of eight degrees thirty minutes ſouth, and in the longitude from London of one hundred and eleven degrees thirty minutes, having fine meadows, and a pleaſant champaign country for many miles round it. Near the ſea the ſoil is ſandy, and there are ſeveral ſmall rivers on each ſide of the town, where you may go with your boat, and water at half tide over the bars; but you muſt not forget to carry a grappling, for you have ſometimes an ugly ſurf on the ſhore. The country affords plenty of oxen, the beſt and largeſt I ever met with out of England; alſo buffaloes, deer, hogs, ducks, geeſe, fowls, eggs, goats, rice, Indian corn, potatoes, yams, cucumbers, and all ſorts of delicious fruits; all which are wonderful cheap: alſo plenty of very fine fiſh, either freſh or dried.

This town, or rather city, is the capital of the kingdom; it is called in our maps Palamboan, and in ſome Palambuam; but the natives pronounce it Ballamboang, and it gives its name to the whole kingdom. Here the King generally reſides, but ſometimes alſo at a place about fifteen miles up in the country, which is called Cota, ſignifying a caſtle. He ſtyles himſelf Raja Mas Boogoos Pettey. His kingdom extends itſelf about ſeventy or eighty miles from the eaſt end of Java, along the ſouthern parts and from north to ſouth, along the eaſt end of Java, about fifty or ſixty miles. As to the north and weſt bounds, I can give no account. He is a great Prince, and very abſolute; by religion a Pagan, as are moſt of his ſubjects. There are ſome Mahometans, and a few Chineſe.

On our firſt anchoring they were under an alarm, and had ſent to their King, who was in the country, and came down immediately to them before our boat had got

aſhore, in which went our purſer, and Mr. Richardſon, who ſpeaks the language. I gave them arms, and cautioned them to be always upon their guard, to uſe them civilly, and let them know that we wanted only proviſions, wood and water; for which we would pay very honeſtly. Now there was a Chineſe among them, as a ſhabander, who, ſeeing our colours, knew us to be Engliſh, and told the King what we were, aſſuring him that we were not Dutch, of whom they are very jealous; and indeed not without reaſon, many cruelties having been exerciſed by them in the weſtern part of the iſland. Upon theſe aſſurances, the King ſeeing the boat make towards ſhore, came himſelf in a flying praw, with his colours diſplayed, gongs beating, and ſeveral attendants in other boats, to meet ours a little way off from ſhore.

After knowing by enquiry, who they were, and what they wanted, the King told them they were welcome, and ſhould be ſupplied; deſiring them to tell their captain, that he would be glad to ſee him on ſhore the next day. In the evening the boat returned with ſome fruit, &c. and gave me the foregoing account; adding, that they ſeemed to be hearty, civil people.

Accordingly, next morning, I went myſelf, with ſeveral others, beſides about twelve ſailors, being all well armed. Before I reached the ſhore, I was met by the King, with his attendants, who welcomed me and told me, he was very deſirous to ſee my ſhip, having never ſeen one in his life. I was much ſurprized at his freedom, in venturing ſo ſuddenly on board; but afterwards I underſtood it was owing to the aforeſaid Chineſe, who aſſured him that the Engliſh were very generous, civil people; that they traded to his country, though the Dutch were not ſuffered to come there, &c. I told him I would return with him, and aſked if he would pleaſe to come into my boat, which he readily complied with. He was dreſſed in a ſhort black velvet jacket, trimmed with narrow gold lace, an ill-ſhaped red cap on his head, with abundance of gold and ſtone rings on his fingers. When we arrived on board I made him heartily welcome, treating him with arrack and wine; the former he drank very plentifully of, but the latter he did not ſo much care for. He enquired my name, and ſet it down, as I pronounced it, in his own writing, which he ſeemed to be very dextrous at; then he pronounced it very properly, and ſaid he would remember me if ever I came again. We then ſet out all together in my boat for ſhore. I ordered the gunner to fire ſome guns, which he did, as ſoon as we got clear of the ſhip; wherewith the King was wonderfully pleaſed, and returned me many thanks. His attendants were ſuch prodigious thieves, that we had much ado to watch, and keep them from ſtealing during their ſtay on board. As to the King, for a rough, unpoliſhed man, I think I never met a better in my life. When we landed, he conducted us to his palace, which was a large ſquare, paliſadoed in, with ſeveral little rooms and apartments for his women, &c. We were not long ſat croſs-legged, when he made us an apology, and having drawn up five or ſix of his ſoldiers, with match-locks, he ſaluted us by way of thanks for our great guns. Then he gave us a dinner, according to their beſt manner, conſiſting of veniſon, currees, rice, fowls, &c. His oran-cays kept all at a great diſtance, and ſhewed him very great reſpect. He took great delight in making ſome of his attendants drunk with our arrack. We had not long dined ere about thirty of his wives or concubines entered the place, and paſſed by us one by one, each having a ſlave to attend her; who bore on their heads ſundry ſorts of the beſt fruit, and preſented us with ſo great a quantity, that it was more than our boat could carry off at once. The King alſo preſented us with two oxen, three large deer, one buffaloe, and ſeveral bags of rice, with ducks, geeſe, hens, &c. amounting full to the value, if not more, than what I preſented to him.

After dinner two of our gentlemen rode out on horſeback a little way into the woods; which abound with deer, wild peacocks, and ſeveral other kinds of fowls. Their horſes are ſmall, but very beautiful and fiery; a remarkable inſtance of which I was eye witneſs to: for the King knowing that they were gone out on horſeback, ſaid he would ſhew me ſome ſport, by which I might know which of theſe two Engliſh gentlemen was the beſt horſeman. I wondered what his project was; when he led me out by the hand, ſeveral of his men following us to the wood-ſide: he had placed two of his ſoldiers unknown to me behind a buſh; who, as ſoon as the horſemen came by, fired their match-locks acroſs the horſes noſes, which made them ſtart, kick, caper, and bound in a ſtrange manner; ſo that they were not to be governed. One of the riders was thrown off, the other with much difficulty kept his ſaddle. The King ſeemed much delighted with his project, and laughed very heartily; but you may imagine how the gentlemen were frightened, eſpecially at firſt.

We ſtaid here ſix days, in which time we had victualled, watered, and cut wood enough, they being all the while very civil to us. He told us, that he tarried there only for our ſake, leſt there ſhould happen any quarrel between his ſubjects and us, or leſt they ſhould ſteal any thing from us, &c. However, about noon he went up into the country; neither was he long gone, when ſome of us had reaſon to be ſorry for his departure: for the purſer having ſome little buſineſs to ſettle with the ſhabander, as he was paſſing through a narrow lane towards the boat, being accompanied by the King's brother and another man, the former having aſked him what it was o'clock; the purſuer pulled out his watch, and upon his deſiring to ſee it himſelf, he gave it into his hand, which he no ſooner got hold of, but he took to his heels, the other man holding a ſpear to the purſer's breaſt whilſt the King's brother ran away, whom he afterwards followed, and left the poor purſer to purſue his way to the boat by himſelf, being glad to come off ſo. You may gueſs what a princely ſpirit the brother had.

Few or none of the natives ever ſaw any white men before, this coaſt being hardly ever navigated by any Europeans: however, this place is mighty convenient for all ſhips that make their paſſage this way home through the ſtreights of Bally, to prevent their being forced to lie during the weſterly monſoon, and loſing ſo much time on demorage, which would be a great charge to the Company. If you ride well in the bay in about five or ſix fathoms water, you will have good anchoring.

I made great inquiry of the product of their country, but found them in many different ſtories, yet generally they acknowledge that they have gold, pepper and cotton in great plenty; however I believe they are not willing to let any foreigners, much leſs Europeans, know the riches or trade of their country, leſt they ſhould force a ſettlement, which is no difficult matter to accompliſh.

On Sunday the 23d of January 1714-15, about eight in the morning, I ſailed from thence towards the Cape of Good Hope. We ſtood away to the ſouthward with the wind at weſt-north-weſt and weſt-ſouth-weſt, moſtly in hopes of meeting the ſouth-eaſt trading-wind in the latitude of twelve or thirteen degrees ſouth, as in other parts of that ſea, but found the contrary; for the monſoon blows between this place and New Holland ſix months one way and ſix another, viz. from October to April between the weſt-north-weſt and weſt-ſouth-weſt, and from April to October again at eaſt-ſouth-eaſt neareſt. We got into the latitude of twenty degrees ſouth, but ſaw no land; therefore do find the coaſt of New Holland to be laid down in all our cards near twenty leagues more northward than it really is. I was almoſt out of hopes of getting into the ſouth-eaſt trade-wind time enough to ſave my paſſage round the Cape, having ſpent ſo much

much time in beating to the windward, but in vain, for we met with very hard gales: therefore I tacked to the north-weſtward on the 19th of February, having the wind at ſouth-weſt and ſouth-weſt-by-weſt, and on the 21ſt following, in the latitude of eighteen degrees ſouth, having gained two hundred and ſeventy miles to the weſtward of the ſouth-eaſt end of Java, I met with uncertain winds: and on the 23d I met with the fixed ſouth-eaſt trade wind, ſtout gales, which held us till the 24th of March following, to the latitude of thirty-three degrees forty-eight minutes ſouth, and four thouſand three hundred and twenty-three miles to the weſt of the ſouth-eaſt end of Java. This made us amends for the former loſs of time, running us to the rate of one hundred and forty to one hundred and ſeventy miles in twenty-four hours time.

Now our fair trade-wind had left us, and we had nothing but uncertainty to depend on, being ſeven hundred and eighty miles diſtant from the Cape; and our water falling ſhort, we were forced to allow but a quart each man for twenty-four hours. On the 4th of April we came to an anchor in Table-Bay, at the Cape of Good Hope, in the latitude of thirty degrees ſouth, and longitude from London ſixteen degrees thirty minutes. Our men were moſt of them ſick and down with the ſcurvy, occaſioned by the length of our paſſage, ſo that we had ſcarce men enough to furl the ſails and bring the ſhip to an anchor without great trouble and riſk. We ſpent here thirty-eight days, being obliged to have our ſick men aſhore; however the repairing our ſhip, which had ſuffered very much in beating betwixt the ſtreights of Bally and New Holland, and alſo re-victualling our ſhip, was the occaſion of our tarrying here ſo long. During our ſtay here I buried my chief mate, which was no ſmall loſs to us, for he way a very good officer, and my cooper.

This place for its pleaſantneſs, fertility, wholeſome air, and convenient ſituation for the ſupply of both homeward and outward bound Eaſt India ſhips, is not to be paralleled, whereof the Dutch to whom it belongs are not a little proud. The town is ſituated on a ſmall aſcent on the ſide of the bay, and conſiſts of about two or three hundred houſes built with ſtone, about two or three ſtories high, having pleaſant rows of trees before the doors. There was formerly a drain of water that ran through the town: this they have lately turned into two canals, and built the ſides up with ſtone, which adds much to the beauty of the town. Here is one large church, a handſome hoſpital, and a pretty large caſtle, garriſoned and kept in good repair, which commands the bay: it is not very ſtrong, but ſufficient to anſwer the deſign it was built for. The governor has a handſome dwelling-houſe therein. At the upper part of the town is a very large fine garden belonging to the Dutch Eaſt India Company, which is ſurrounded partly with a wall, and partly with a ditch, conſiſting of many very beautiful walks, and ſeveral banks and canals, which have indeed been lately neglected, and are much run to ruin, but the then preſent governor was about repairing them. Here is great abundance of good fruit, and variety of phyſic-plants and trees, as aloes of different ſorts, dragons-blood, and camphire-trees, with ſeveral others paſt my obſervation. In this garden is likewiſe a houſe, built for that purpoſe, wherein is kept a collection of the ſkins of a multitude of ſtrange beaſts which Africa is famous for, ſo artificially and nicely ſtuffed, that at firſt you would be ſurpriſed at them, and would believe them to be really live creatures, viz. lions, tigers, leopards, elephants, rhinoceroſes, wild cats, antelopes of ſeveral ſorts; many large unſizeable deer, and a creature called a ſtriped aſs, which they ſay can never be tamed, though taken young: it is a beautiful creature, reſembling a fine little horſe with an aſs's tail, and is ſtriped and coloured like a tiger. There is alſo an amphibious creature, called by them manitee, or a ſea-cow, which when alive could weigh no leſs than twenty-five or thirty hundred weight. She comes up the freſh rivers in the night-time, and

then gets on ſhore to graze: ſhe has a large body, a belly hanging low almoſt to the ground, ſhort thick neck and legs, and ſeems to be a very unwieldy ſlow creature: her teeth are large, with huge long tuſks, which are counted good ivory. They ſay the fleſh of the young ones makes excellent bacon.

At the hither end of the garden is the ſlave-houſe, where all the Company's ſlaves are lodged and dieted; their children are taken care of, and taught to write, read, &c. but continue ſlaves: you may ſee the Dutch ſailors frequently go in and out to the ſlave-women, which is connived at by the government, and are very acceptable to them who are negroes, and are very proud when their children prove whiter than themſelves. There are no Hottentot ſlaves; for as ignorant and brutiſh as thoſe people are, they have a great love for liberty, and an utter averſion to ſlavery; neither will they hire themſelves in your ſervice longer than from morning to night, for then they will be paid, and ſleep freemen, and no hirelings.

Here is a ſtore-houſe, wherein are kept all ſorts of maſts, anchors, cables, guns, rigging, &c. to ſupply their own ſhips: but ſhould an Engliſh ſhip unfortunately loſe a maſt, or ſtand otherwiſe in need of their aſſiſtance, they may periſh ſooner than be ſupplied, unleſs it be by ſome clandeſtine method which the government do not allow of, and then pay a moſt exorbitant price for what they want.

The country all round is very pleaſant and fertile, affording great plenty of all ſorts of proviſions, eſpecially beef and mutton, which are both of a price, viz. about two-pence a pound, though the latter is much better in its kind, and not inferior to ours in England. As for carrots, cabbage, turnips, and ſalletting, they are not behind hand with us; which things are very agreeable to our palates, after ſo long an abſtinence from ſuch diet as we were uſed to in our native country. It abounds alſo with all manner of fruit, as oranges, lemons, citrons, muſk, and water melons; apples, pears, cherries, pomegranates, grapes, &c. They have lately improved their vine-yards, ſo that they have plenty of red and white muſcadello wine, and another pleaſant, though ſmaller white wine. The muſcadello is ſold from twenty to twenty-four pounds the leaguer, which contains one hundred and ſixty gallons, and the other at ten or twelve pounds. The neighbouring vallies are full of herbs (very many being medicinal) and flowers: the rivers and bordering ſea afford plenty of fiſh, as the woods do veniſon and honey.

Neither is there a leſſer plenty of wild fowl, as duck, teal, widgeon, curlew, partridge, pheaſant, and many other ſorts, as we have in England; beſides, ſuch as are peculiar to thoſe parts, as oſtriches, whoſe eggs are ſold very cheap, and are good eating, one being ſufficient for two or three men at a meal. Here are great numbers of Canary birds. You may ſee the ſea, eſpecially to the caſtward of the Cape, almoſt covered with a ſmall beautiful ſpeckled fowl, about the bigneſs of a wood-pigeon, which they call pintado birds, ſo named, I ſuppoſe, by the Portugueſe, by reaſon of their ſpeckled and, as it were, painted feathers. They are very tame, and will ſwim after you in light winds: and ſometimes in the worſt of weather, when the ſhip tries under little or no ſail, they will ſurround it in great numbers, ſwimming and playing on every wave. The ſailors, for their diverſion, do often put out hooks, or crooked pins, at the end of a piece of twine, baited with tallow or fat meat, wherewith they catch a vaſt many of them, but they are of ſo fiſhy a taſte that they are hardly fit to eat. You ſhall alſo ſee frequently in the bay, as you are at anchor, whales and other great fiſhes ſporting about, particularly great ſhoals of ſeals, which will often follow your boat, whoſe ſkins are very fine, and I believe the beſt in the world.

The

The money that paſſes here is the ſame as in Holland, viz. ſtivers, doublekees, ſkellings, and rix-dollars. Two ſtivers make one doublekee, three doublekees one ſkelling, eight ſkellings one rix-dollar.—Note: that if you pay away your Engliſh crowns or Spaniſh dollars, they will take them at no more than eight ſkellings a-piece, which is twenty-five per cent. loſs: therefore if you deſign to touch at the Cape outward-bound, I would adviſe you to ſtock yourſelf with ſuch goods in England as may be proper for that market, to ſupply your wants, or otherwiſe you muſt furniſh yourſelf with Dutch money; though goods, if properly choſen, may produce forty or fifty per cent. profit. Small pale ale in caſks of about ſix pounds per tun, ſtrong beer in bottles, tobacco, butter, cheeſe, flint-glaſſes, watches, and other proper ſortment of clock-work, with ſlight ſcarlet, black, or ſky-colour ſtockings, will turn to as good account as any thing you can carry thither.

Though ſo many accounts have been given of the Hottentots, or Hotmendods, as our ſailors vulgarly call them, by perſons of greater capacities than I can pretend to, yet I cannot leave the place without ſaying ſomething of them: they inhabit the country adjacent to the Cape, being the ancient inhabitants, or aborigines thereof. They are called Hottentots from their frequent repetitions of that word in their dancings; the men are tall, ſtrong ſet, and very ſwift runners; having broad flat noſes, blubber lips, great heads, diſagreeable features, ſhort frizzled hair, and take them altogether nothing can be more ugly. Their ſkin is like our chimney-ſweepers, not that they are naturally ſo black, but they make themſelves ſo by daubing themſelves with ſoot and ſtinking greaſe, which makes them ſmell moſt intolerably, and wherewith their ſhort curled hair is ſo clodded and ſtiff, that I can compare it to nothing better than a frozen mop; they wear no cloaths, but throw a ſheep's ſkin, or the hide of ſome other beaſt over their ſhoulders, the hairy ſide being turned inward. They cover their privy parts with a caſe of proportionable length made of the ſame ſtuff as the aforeſaid mantle, which ſticks out in a moſt unſeemly manner. They bruiſe to pieces the left teſticle of their male children when young, for what reaſon I know not, unleſs it be in hopes that they may beget more males than females: being perhaps of the opinion of ſome naturaliſts, who hold that the male ſemen comes from the right teſticle, and the female from the left. The women are generally ſhort ſquat creatures, but ſtrong built, altogether as ugly in their kind as the men, having long flabby breaſts, odiouſly dangling down to their waiſt; which they can toſs over their ſhoulders for their children to ſuck, whom they generally carry on their backs: they wear the ſame garb, and cover their privities with a ſmall flap of ſkin about five or ſix inches ſquare, tied round their waiſt with a thong of leather: they beſmear themſelves as the men do, in order to have their bodies as ſweetly perfumed, and their complexion as well painted as they. However they ſurpaſs them in one point of dreſs, for they adorn their legs and arms with raw ſheeps' guts, not as much as waſhed from the ordure, but blown up with wind, and hung to the ſun till they are pure dry and ſtinking. Theſe they wear by way of ornament, though if they happen to be hungry they will ſoon ſtrip them off, and make a hearty meal of them. You may gueſs that theſe filthy animals, for they hardly deſerve the name of rational creatures, if at London, would be much greater cuſtomers to our butchers, kitchen-wenches, and chimney-ſweepers, for their dreſs, &c. than to the mercers, perfumers, &c. of Ludgate-hill or Covent-garden. There is no carrion ſo tainted and nauſeous but what they will make a dainty meal of; which makes me think that they are born without the benefit of either ſmell or taſte, for they covet not better food than what I mentioned before. They are great lovers of tobacco and arrack,

arrack, or any other ſort of ſtrong ſpirits: and what is remarkable, and ſhews a good temper in them, is, that when one of them has earned two or three doublekees, he fails not to call others of his acquaintance to partake with him, and will ſurely ſpend it all before night in tobacco and arrack, ſitting down in the ſtreets; where they get drunk, and ſleep all night, though the weather be ſometimes very cold. They are not really unlike monkeys or baboons in their geſtures and poſtures, eſpecially when they ſit ſunning themſelves, as they often do in great numbers. I could not learn that they have any religion; neither did I ſee any thing like a prieſt among them; ſo that I am apt to believe they are wholly ſtrangers to any manner of divine worſhip. However, they are very ſerviceable fellows; they ſerve in town as porters: neither will they willingly ſuffer a ſtranger to carry any burden, but will endeavour to ſnatch it away in ſpite of him, and carry it where it ought to be, as one of them did to a ſailor of mine, crying, "you Engliſhman, you no Hottentot:" ſo that they look upon themſelves to have the privilege of being ticket-porters at the Cape. They are ſo honeſt, that you may truſt them almoſt with any thing; and they will carry it ſafely where directed, though nobody follows, or looks after them. This ſhews the aſperſion to be groundleſs which ſome authors (particularly Mr. Morden, in his book of Geography Rectified) caſt upon them, ſaying, that they are ſuch great thieves that they will ſteal with their feet, while they ſtare in your face: others affirm, (and particularly Dr. Heylin) that they feed upon human carcaſes: it is true, their diet is very beaſtly; but upon inquiry, I never could find that to be true.

Their language is ſo very harſh and guttural, that I never heard of any European that could pronounce ſcarce any one word of it; and when they ſpeak, they ſeem rather to cackle like hens or turkeis, than ſpeak like men. However, thoſe that live near the Cape, do generally ſpeak a little Dutch, and ſome few words of Engliſh, which they pronounce intelligibly enough.

The Dutch do never puniſh them for any crime, but ſend the delinquents to their own people, by whom they are puniſhed, for ſtriking or quarrelling with a Dutchman, but more ſeverely if they have offered to ſteal. By the Dutch laws it is death for a Dutchman to lie with a Hottentot woman; though I think they need not have laid that reſtriction upon them, the very ſmell and looks of ſuch hideous creatures being a ſufficient antidote againſt lechery. The arms of war are generally ſmall javelins; but I was informed, that the inland people uſe the long-bow and arrow very dexterouſly.

Having completed my affairs here, I ſailed away on the 12th of May, for the iſland of St. Helena, according to the orders I had from the Honourable Eaſt-India Company. We had a ſtout ſouth-eaſt gale which run us the length of Penguin iſland and then fell calm. This iſland is ſmall, low and ſandy, lying at the entrance of the bay. The inhabitants are only Dutchmen, who, for offences not puniſhable with death, are baniſhed thither from the Cape for ninety-nine years. And as a farther addition to their misfortunes, they are denied the privilege of any women to live among them: their taſk is to gather baſkets full of ſhells every day, of which they make lime. Thoſe that are guilty of capital crimes, are puniſhed by racking, impaling on ſpit or ſtake, burning and hanging; for the Dutch governor and council have a power of life and death. This iſland takes its name from a bird ſo called, which, as I am informed, is an amphibious creature, walks upright like a man when on ſhore, and has ſhort wings, but cannot fly, his wings being only an aſſiſtance to him in running. It lives wholly on fiſh; there are many hereabout, though I ſaw but one at a diſtance wimming in the ſea.

We ſpent fourteen days in very tempeſtuous weather, which made our paſſage the longer; but on the ninth of June at five in the evening, we got ſight of the iſland of St. Helena, and about eleven the next day we anchored at Chappel-Valley.

The iſland of St. Helena is ſo called, becauſe it was firſt diſcovered by the Portugueſe on St. Helena's day, being the 20th of April. It lies in the latitude of ſixteen degrees ſouth, and longitude from London three hundred and fifty-three degrees forty-three minutes, being about twenty two miles in circumference. When it was firſt diſcovered, it had not only no inhabitants, but even not as much as a four-footed beaſt, fruit, or any eatable herb except wild purſlain, with which it abounds: but the Portugueſe ſtored it with goats, hogs, hens, &c, and alſo with fig, orange, and lemon trees, &c. which have throve there ever ſince very well.

The Spaniards took it from the Portugueſe, and afterwards it was alternately poſſeſſed by the Engliſh and Dutch; till at laſt the Cape of Good-Hope being quitted to the latter, the Engliſh remained ſole poſſeſſors of this iſland, though the Cape be preferable by far to it. But he that was chief of the Engliſh ſettlement at the Cape being, as I am informed, bribed by the Dutch, repreſented to the government of England, that the natives were cannibals, and moſt terrible cruel creatures, ſo that it was impoſſible to hold out againſt them, (which was utterly falſe) he had orders to quit it. Whereupon the Dutch ſettled themſelves there, and have kept it ever ſince in a moſt flouriſhing condition.

The air of this iſland is very wholeſome, and recovers very ſoon thoſe perſons that are ſet on ſhore there ſick, their diſtemper being generally either a fever, or the ſcurvy. The inhabitants are all Engliſh, except their ſlaves; whereof they have a great number. The women, even thoſe born there, (as moſt of them are,) have generally a very fair complexion, notwithſtanding the heat of the climate. They all have a great deſire to ſee England, which they call home, though many of them never ſaw it, nor can have any true idea thereof.

The iſland is ſo high, hilly, and of ſuch difficult aſcent, that it is a common ſaying, that a man may chuſe whether he will break his heart in going up, or his neck in coming down. It is very ſtrong by nature, becauſe of the ſteepneſs of the rocks, and the impoſſibility of landing, except in thoſe places which have of late been ſo fortified, that it is in a manner impregnable. We were formerly forced to aſcend by a rope ladder, which gave the place the name of ladder-hill; but now the aſcent is made much eaſier by the care of the preſent governor Pike, eſpecially that path where the ladder was. His whole ſtudy is employed for the advantage of the iſland, and the Company's intereſt; of which I could give ſeveral inſtances, which I omit, as being foreign to the preſent purpoſe.

The country is very pleaſant, and affords almoſt all things neceſſary for the uſe of man, as oxen, hogs, goats, and ſome ſheep lately tranſported thither, whereof the governor takes care to improve the breed; alſo hens, turkeys, ducks, partridges, pigeons, larks, moor-hens, and a ſort of long-legged birds like our wheat-ears, which eat very ſweet, but are not ſo fat as ours. Here is a great variety of ſea-fowl; and at certain ſeaſons you may fill your boat with their eggs, which you find on the rocks. They are ſo tame, that they will ſuffer you (when they lie on their eggs) to take them up with your hands. But more of this when I come to the iſland of Aſcenſion. The gardens abound with fruit, as pomegranates, figs, apples, &c. and the valleys with lemons and oranges. It is in vain they ſay, to ſow corn, for there is ſuch a multitude of rats, that they would devour the ſeed before it would have time to ſpring up. Here are alſo a vaſt number of cats, that went away from the

houſes, and became wild, living among the rocks, where they find good prog, feeding on young partridges; and will come ſometimes and make great deſtruction among the poultry, ſo that they are become as great a plague as the rats; but it is hoped, that by the great encouragement the governor gives, they may both be deſtroyed in time.

Here is plenty of milk, very good butter, kidney-beans, and yams, whereon the poorer ſort of people chiefly live. The yam is a large root that grows in the vallies, in moiſt ground, bearing a broad leaf; it is very hearty food, and well taſted when thoroughly boiled; but it is not to be eaten raw, for it fetches the ſkin off your mouth. They have abundance of cabbages, ſalleting, &c. but few carrots and turnips, through their own neglect. They have no trees of any ſize, only ſhrub-wood that bears a ſort of gum called benjamin, but in no great quantity: however, it is good ſweet firing; but very troubleſome to the ſailors that cut it, being obliged to aſcend one of the higheſt hills, where there is a very pleaſant wood of it; but the trouble of getting it down is ſtill greater. The greateſt conveniency of this iſland for ſhips is the plenty and goodneſs of the water.

The chief and only town ſtands in Chappel-Valley, conſiſting of about ſeventy or eighty houſes, which are inhabited by the planters, who come down when ſhips are here; otherwiſe they generally keep at their plantations up the country, which is more profitable and pleaſant to them. And upon a certain alarm given from a high hill when any ſhips appear, they repair down immediately to their reſpective poſts, to act, if occaſion be, for the defence of their country. Here is the only place where ſhips can ride. It is open to the ſea north-weſtward, but the wind blowing always one way, viz. ſouth-eaſt neareſt, and this being the lee-ſide of the iſland, you ride there very ſafely. The fort or caſtle is pretty well fortified. The governor generally reſides there, but ſometimes at a pleaſant houſe which he has in the country. They have one church in the town, which makes but a very indifferent figure without, but within is ſomewhat tolerable. They uſe great formality in going to church; for about nine o'clock in the morning, the council, the miniſter, and their wives, together with ſuch commanders of ſhips as have a mind to it, do wait on the governor in the caſtle. After which the bell being ordered to ring, a company of ſoldiers, with a ſerjeant, in good liveries, are drawn up in the caſtle, where they make a lane (reſting their arms) as a paſſage to the gate, where there is another ſerjeant and a company, which march with beat of drum before the governor to the church. After follow the gentlemen and ladies in their reſpective order. As ſoon as the ſoldiers get into the church-yard, they fall off to the right and left, making a lane to the church-door. The governor has a handſome large ſeat, with books, where he generally deſires the commanders of ſhips to ſit, the ladies being ſeated by themſelves.

During our ſtay here, ſome of thoſe reſtleſs villains, who doubtleſs had a hand in the aforementioned wicked deſign at Batavia, were by one of the inhabitants overheard, when drunk on ſhore, curſing and damning the ſhip and voyage, laying their heads together, as far as he could underſtand, for a deſign of farther miſchief; wherefore this perſon thought fit to acquaint the governor therewith, who, upon ſtrict enquiry, found that a knot of twenty-two of the under officers and ſailors had ſigned a paper in order to ſtand by one another. They cloked their villainy with a pretext of petitioning the governor for more victuals, which they pretended to be in want of; whereupon the governor and council, having taken the trouble of going on board, and examining the matter ſtrictly, they found no cauſe for ſuch a complaint, the allowance being ſeven pounds of good beef for five men a day, with as much rice as they pleaſed to eat.

This ſoon convinced them, that their deſign muſt be to get a greater ſtock of proviſions on board, and then to take the opportunity of my being aſhore, cut her adrift out of the road, and ſo go a pirating; which might have eaſily been accompliſhed.

Here we were a ſecond time time delivered from the helliſh deſign of thoſe reprobates. The governor and council, after having ſtrictly and impartially examined the whole matter, ordered the ringleaders to be ſeized and puniſhed, according to their deſert, by whipping at the flag-ſtaff, and then put on board another ſhip in irons, in order to be brought to England; they not being fit to be truſted among honeſt men. Many of my ſailors, being good, quiet, harmleſs fellows, were drawn in to ſign this paper innocently; for theſe fellows had perſuaded them that in ſo doing they ſhould have a larger allowance of arrack, &c. This, they confeſſed, was the only reaſon why they ſigned the paper; but what further deſign the ringleaders had in their heads they were ignorant of.

Theſe troubles detained me here much longer than I had deſigned; alſo the ſhip Hanover, Captain Oſborne commander, was detained ſeveral days on demorage by order of the governor and council to accompany me home, for fear there might be yet ſome hidden ſpark of villainy, that might blow up to a fatal conſequence, if I were at ſea alone: for mutiny is very epidemical on board the merchant ſhips, where the captain has ſcarce the power of giving the leaſt correction to his crew, though for never ſo great faults, without being plagued with ſuits of law, when he comes home: the ſailor's pretended cauſe being generally undertaken by ſome common barretor of Wapping, on the condition of no purchaſe no pay: in which caſe they never want witneſſes enough: for they never fail to take one another's part, and ſwear tightly, for one another; whereby the captains are often put to great trouble and charges, for want of witneſſes to juſtify his conduct, by a knot of forſworn rogues that hang all together. I cannot but think, that if all the employers of captains were pleaſed often, or ever, to look into the merits of thoſe matters, and, by diligent enquiry, learn whether ſuch puniſhment be deſervedly inflicted, or not; and if deſervedly, that they would take the captain's part, and ſtand by them, and not ſuffer them to be torn to pieces; this would contribute much to diſcourage theſe rogues, and to overſet their unjuſt deſigns; and would be a great encouragement to commanders, and other chief officers, to have a greater authority over their men on board; whereby they might prevent many evil conſequences that happen from the want thereof.

On the 7th of July 1715, I received my diſpatches from the governor, and ſailed away about ſeven in the evening, in company with the Hanover, and ſteered for England. On the third day following my ſhip ſprung a dangerous leak in the bow. So that we reſolved to put into the iſland of Aſcenſion, which lay in our way, within three or four days ſail; and accordingly on the fifteenth we anchored in Aſcenſion road, where we lay only twenty four hours; then having completely ſtopt, and ſecured the leak, we ſet ſail, making the beſt of our way towards England.

This iſland lies in the latitude of ſeven degrees fifteen minutes ſouth, and in the longitude of three hundred and forty-five degrees fifty-two minutes. It is a barren place, not inhabited, and ſeems as if it had been formerly on fire; a great part of the rocks being burnt to a pumice. Here are many wild goats, which are ſo unaccuſtomed to fear, that a great flock of them ſuffered our men to come very near; but having no arms they could not kill any. The iſland is ſomewhat larger than St. Helena; has more level ground, and ſeems more capable of being improved, but is not ſo well watered: ſome ſay that in the very dry ſeaſon there is no freſh water at all, which I can

can ſcarce believe. When our men landed, they were ſurprized to ſee the vaſt number of large ſea-fowl that ſat on the rocks; ſuch as boobees, nodees, men of war, tropick birds, &c. that ſuffered themſelves to be taken off from their eggs; they ſit only upon one egg, and that without any manner of neſt, only laid in a hollow part of a rock. The ſailors filled their caps and hats with them, while the birds fluttered about them, and followed them, being ready to ſettle on their heads; a great number of which they knocked down with their ſticks. We ſpent two or three hours in the pinnace near the rocks, where we caught a prodigious number of various fiſh; which were ſo plenty, that in one hour there were more caught than was ſufficient for forty men to eat in a day: but we were often plagued with young ſharks, that would run away with our hooks and lines. The water was ſo clear that we could ſee the fiſh take the bait; and when we ſaw a ſhark coming towards it, we made what haſte we could to pull up our lines; yet they were ſo quick that they would catch the bait ſometimes on the very ſurface of the water. Some of our men that were on the ſhore fiſhed among the rocks on the ſea-ſide, and caught a great number of large conger eels. Here is alſo great plenty of oyſters, limpets and other ſhell-fiſh. There is no place more ſtored with ſea-tortoiſe. The method of taking them is thus: ſeveral perſons go aſhore in the night, but they muſt not make the leaſt noiſe, nor any ſhew of fire, not ſo much as a lighted pipe of tobacco; they muſt watch the coming of the tortoiſe aſhore, which they do at certain ſeaſons of the year to lay their eggs in the ſand, that are hatched by the natural heat of the ſun: then they come, and with a boat-hook, or hand-pike, turn the tortoiſe on the back, which is no eaſy taſk; for if it be not at a pretty diſtance from the water, ſhe will often ſcramble away from them, being very ſtrong and heavy to be turned. I have been informed that ſome were taken here which weighed five or ſix hundred weight a piece, having a vaſt many eggs, which are very delicious food. Some of our ſhip's company went aſhore that night, for that purpoſe; but the great rain that fell prevented their diverſion. We often take a ſmaller ſort at ſea, which in calm weather we ſee ſleeping on the ſurface of the water; we row up gently in the boat, and take them ere they wake: we took ſeveral, which we kept alive on deck without any food for the ſpace of two months.

There is a large croſs fixed formerly by the Portugueſe on a high hill, which is ſeen from the road, and ſerves as a land-mark to know it, there being ſeveral other bays before you arrive at it, whereby you may be miſtaken; but if you bring the aforeſaid croſs to bear ſouth-eaſt, half-ſouth, and the higheſt peak on the iſland to bear eaſt-ſouth eaſt, then the north-eaſt point of the bay will bear north-north-eaſt half-eaſt and you will have ten fathoms water, being as good anchoring as any in the bay. I have been told that letters are often left at this croſs in bottles, to ſecure them from the weather: and that when the Portugueſe come, they go up thither, it being but a little way; and whatever letter they find, they forward it according to directions.

We kept on our way towards England, with fine pleaſant weather; and on the 11th of September, in the latitude of four degrees ſix minutes north, we met a ſhip called the Elizabeth of Briſtol, which informed us of mighty diſturbances in Great Britain, and of a probability of a war with France; that the late Duke of Ormond, and ſeveral others, had left the nation; that there was great preſſing of men, and preparations making for war. The maſter told us, that he departed from Cape Clear, on the ſouth-weſt coaſt of Ireland, about ten days before; and that it bore off from us weſt 213 leagues. Conſidering theſe matters, and the time of his departure, with the time we ſhould take to get into the Downs; fearing leſt a war might be declared with France before our arrival, we thought proper, for the better ſecurity of our ſhips and

cargoes, to make the coaſt of Ireland, where we might get further intelligence; and where, in caſe a war ſhould break out, we might lie for a convoy, or further orders from our maſters. Accordingly, on the 24th day we ſaw Cape Clear, and ſteered along the ſhore for Kinſale. There aroſe ſuddenly a violent ſtorm at ſouth-weſt, and ſouth-weſt by weſt, that increaſed ſo as to force us to bear away before the wind, our rigging and ſails being very bad and rotten; and at four in the afternoon we got ſafe into Kinſale harbour: the Hanover being a large ſhip, and much better fitted with ſails and rigging, kept the ſea, and did not put in with us. On the 29th of October following, we arrived ſafe in the Downs; having been two years and fifteen days in my voyage.

ACCOUNT OF JAVA AND BATAVIA.

*FROM THE VOYAGES OF STAVORINUS *.*

CHAP. I. — *Situation of Java. — Straits of Sunda. — Prince's Iſland. — Dwars in den Weg. — Bay of Anjer. — Claim of the Dutch Eaſt India Company to the Sovereignty of the Straits of Sunda. — Bay of Bantam. — Road of Batavia. — Kingdom of Bantam. — Tributary to the Company. — Speech made on the Appointment of a Succeſſor to the Throne. — Empire of Jaccatra. — Of Cheribon. — Of the Soeſoehoenam, or Emperor of Java. — Of the Sultan. — Principality of Madura. — Political Conduct of the Company towards the native Princes.*

THE iſland of Java, which is one of the largeſt of thoſe conſtituting the great oriental Archipelago, is ſituated between ſix degrees and nine degrees ſouth latitude, and extends from one hundred and twenty degrees to one hundred and thirty-one eaſt longitude from Teneriffe, being one hundred and ſixty-five Dutch miles in length. It lies nearly in the direction of eaſt and weſt. To the ſouth, and to the weſt, its ſhores are waſhed by the ſouthern Indian ocean; to the north-weſt of it lies the iſland of Sumatra; to the north, Borneo; to the north-eaſt, Celebes; and to the eaſt that of Bali: from which laſt it is ſeparated by a narrow paſſage, called the Straits of Bali. The arm of the ſea which runs between Java and Sumatra, is known by the appellation of the Straits of Sunda. The length of this channel is, on the Sumatra ſide, taken from the Flat Point, to Varkens, or Hog Point, fifteen German miles; and, on the Java ſide, from the firſt point, or Java Head, to the point of Bantam, full twenty. In the mouth of the Strait lies Prince's Iſland, about a league and a half from the coaſt of Java, and full ſix leagues from that of Sumatra.

Prince's Iſland is low, and only about four leagues in circumference. It has, however, two hills, one at its eaſt end, and the other a little more to the ſouth, which make it viſible at a moderate diſtance, eſpecially the hill which lies at the eaſt end, and which is accordingly called the high hill by navigators †.

There is a ſtone reef at its ſouth-weſt ſide, which, according to the charts, extends a league and a half out to ſea, and is dangerous for the ſhips which paſs through the paſſage between this iſland and Java. Prince's Iſland is covered with trees, and affords an agreeable proſpect to the paſſing ſeamen: it is inhabited by Javaneſe, who ſubſiſt by fiſhing.

* A Dutch admiral. Tranſlated by Mr. Wilcocks, who has added valuable notes from various Dutch authors; London, 1798, 3 vols. 8vo.

† The Engliſh call it the Pike: in Lieutenant Cook's voyage in the Endeavour, there is a more ample account of this iſland. TR.

By

By the ſituation of this iſland, at the entrance of the Straits of Sunda, are formed two paſſages; the one, running between Prince's Iſland and Java, has been called the Behouden, or Secured Paſſage, and is made uſe of, for the moſt part, by thoſe ſhips which have to paſs the Straits during the ſouth-eaſt monſoon, in order that, ſailing cloſe in with the ſhore of Java, they may ſoon get within anchoring-depth, and not be in danger of being driven out to ſea again by the currents, which at that time of the year ſet ſtrongly out of the Straits to the weſtward.

The other paſſage, which is called by ſeamen, Het Groote Gat, or the Great Channel, ſometimes ſerves alſo as an entrance to the Straits, during the ſouth-eaſt monſoon; but it is with the greateſt difficulty, and after a continued ſtruggling with the ſouth-eaſterly winds, and the currents, that this can be effected; and it is not an unfrequent circumſtance that five or ſix weeks are ſpent, in working up a diſtance, which, in the weſt monſoon, is often ſailed over, in twice as many hours.

The Eaſt India Company's ſhip, Luxemburg, Captain Roem, affords an inſtance hereof: ſhe ſailed on the 2d of June 1768, from the bay of Punto Gallo, and came in ſight of the Flat Point of Sumatra, at the entrance of the Straits, on the 4th of July, but could not get upon the anchoring-ground, under the ſhore of Java, till the 21ſt of November. It was, however, remarkable, that the ſhip Torenvliet, which ſailed in company with the Luxemburg from Punto Gallo, reached Batavia full three months before her; and hence appears how much ſometimes one ſhip is either a better ſailer or has better fortune than another, though ſeamanſhip and knowledge be upon an equal footing.

Notwithſtanding the difficulty of entering the ſtraits on this ſide, when theſe contrary winds and currents are in force, yet almoſt all the ſhips which fall to leeward, upon the weſt coaſt of Sumatra, as well as thoſe which come from Surat, Malabar, Ceylon, Coromandel, Bengal, or other places in the weſt of India, are obliged to paſs through this channel, as it is ſcarcely poſſible for them to reach the windward ſhore of Java, in the teeth of the ſouth-eaſt monſoon, and they therefore cannot avail of the other paſſage. That this, however, is not wholly impracticable, appeared by the ſhips the Young Lieven and the Aſia, who in the month of June 1770 effected it; yet ſuch caſes are extremely rare.

The entrance of the ſtraits, on this ſide, affords an uncommonly pleaſing proſpect, near the Sumatran ſhore. Firſt, the Flat Point, which is low, and covered with trees, and behind it the majeſtic mountains of Sumatra, riſing with a gradual aſcent, and reaching to the clouds; a little more forward, the Keizers, or Emperor's Iſland, lifts its high and ſpiry ſummit; farther on, the iſlands Kraketau, Slybzee, and Pulo Bicie, or the Iron Iſland, ſhew their mountains covered with ever-verdant woods. The oppoſite coaſt of Java is not inferior to this, and improves continually in appearance, as you paſs along it, affording at the ſame time good anchorage, which is not to be met with on the Sumatra ſide. The numerous groves of cocoa-nut-palms, and the rice-fields in the back ground, give the moſt pleaſing ideas of the fertility of the ſoil.

Twelve or thirteen leagues from Prince's Iſland, in the narroweſt part of the ſtrait, and oppoſite to Varkens, or Hog Point of Sumatra, lies an iſland that, on account of its ſituation, exactly in the middle of the channel, has, with great propriety, obtained the name of Dwars in den Weg, Thwart the Way, or Middle Iſle. It is low, and of little extent, with ſome ſmall reefs, which ſtretch out from it here and there. Like all the iſlands in theſe ſeas, it is covered with wood, and, as far as I know, it is uninhabited.

A ſtrong

A ſtrong current runs through the paſſages on either ſide of this iſland during the whole year, ſetting, with the prevailing eaſterly or weſterly winds, either to the north-eaſt or to the ſouth-weſt, although it ſometimes happens that the current runs contrary to the direction of the wind, for a ſhort time. Between Dwars in den Weg and the coaſt of Java, and farther on to the point of Bantam, there appears to be a ſettled current, independent of the wind; at leaſt I found when, in the month of June, coming from Bengal with the ſhip Cornelia Hillegonda, I lay at anchor, for a day and a half, in the bay of Anjer, over againſt Dwars in den Weg, that the current changed its courſe to a contrary direction, twice in four-and-twenty hours; that, however, which flowed towards the ſtraits was full as ſtrong again as that which ſet the oppoſite way! the ſouth-eaſt monſoon was then at its height. I experienced the ſame thing in the month of November of the ſame year, with the ſhip Huis ter Mye, though it was then in the latter end of the monſoon.

Ships paſſing out through the ſtraits of Sunda often anchor in the bay of Anjer, in order to take in their laſt ſupply of freſh water, from a rivulet which runs from the mountains into the ſea at this place, cloſe to a little grove of cocoa-nut trees. There is likewiſe a Javaneſe village, which is under the juriſdiction of the King of Bantam, and which has erroneouſly been reckoned by ſome travellers, among the large cities of Java, though it has nothing that can be conſtrued into a town.

Not far from this place there is an iſlet or rock, entirely overgrown with bruſhwood, which is called the Brabandſch-hoedje; and a little farther to the north a ſimilar one, called the Toppers-hoedje *; this laſt is ſteep and bold, having fifty fathoms depth cloſe to it.

The Dutch Eaſt India Company claim an abſolute ſovereignty over the ſtraits of Sunda, and this is acknowledged by all the other powers. The Company require the ſalute, and have the right of interdicting this paſſage to all other nations, though they do not put their right in force †. This right is maintained as proceeding from the circumſtance, that the land on both ſides of the ſtraits is tributary to the Company; viz. the kingdom of Bantam on the Java ſhore, and on the other ſide the land of Lampon, with that which lies farther weſtward, being conquered provinces belonging to Bantam. There is a reſolution on this ſubject of the council of India, and articles are included in the ſecret orders, which are given to the Company's ſhips bound to the weſt of India reſpecting the ſalute to be required of the ſhips of other nations; which order is not to be opened, unleſs they chance to meet with ſuch.

From Anjer to the point of Bantam the country appears in general with high mountains inland, and a foreland more level. From this point, which is the northermoſt extremity of Java, the land declines to the ſouth-eaſt, and makes a deep bay; and in the fartheſt part of the bight is ſituate the city of Bantam, of which I have already made ſome mention, and ſhall ſay more reſpecting it hereafter.

From the point of Pontang, which forms the eaſtern extremity of the bay of Bantam, as that which we have juſt mentioned does the weſtern, the land is every where very low; yet there are high mountains inland, among which the Blue Mountain towers above the reſt. Although this mountain lies at a great diſtance, towards the ſouth

* Theſe ſmall iſlands are called the Cap and Button, by the Engliſh navigators. Tr.

† This claim has never been openly made by the Dutch, except indeed their putting ſundry queſtions to all ſtrange ſhips who paſs the ſtraits, as circumſtantially related in Cook's voyage in the Endeavour, may be conſtrued into ſuch a claim; and it would probably not be allowed by the other nations who trade to India, if inſiſted upon. Tr.

ſide of the iſland, and ſouth-eaſt from Batavia, yet it is ſeen before Bantam. It was formerly, as is related, a volcano, but nothing of this kind is at preſent perceivable.

The navigation from this place to the road of Batavia, affords the moſt agreeable proſpects, by the numerous ſmall iſlands, covered with perpetual verdure, which are ſtrewed, as it were along the ſea. The anchoring-ground is every where very good, but there are many rocks, which are from ten to eighteen feet under water, and which ſometimes occaſion much damage to the veſſels that do not carefully avoid them. The government of Batavia, however, have cauſed buoys to be placed upon them, moored by heavy anchors; and upon ſome of them beacons are erected; but when theſe are waſhed away by the currents, the navigator muſt avoid the rocks, by taking the bearings of the ſeveral iſlands.

The road of Batavia is juſtly eſteemed one of the beſt in the world, as well with regard to the anchoring-ground, which conſiſts of a ſoft clay, as with regard to the ſafety it affords to the ſhips which anchor in it, and to the number which it can contain. Although the road is open from the north-weſt to eaſt-north-eaſt and eaſt, yet ſhips lie as ſecure and quiet as if they were landlocked, on account of the numerous iſlands which lie on that ſide, and break the force of the waves. Ships, therefore, are never obliged to moor ſtem and ſtern here; and the current which runs within the iſlands is not ſtrong, but without them it is very violent.

In the road, neareſt to the town, lies a guardſhip, commonly called the admiral-ſhip, with an enſign at the top, from which, both in the day and in the night, ſuch ſignals are made to the other ſhips in the road as the commanding officer ſhall think needful. For ſeveral years paſt it has been regulated, that one of the captains of the ſhips in the road, ſhould keep guard on board this ſhip, in order that, in caſe of accident by fire or otherwiſe, there may be always ſomebody at hand to give the neceſſary directions, as the other captains of the veſſels generally paſs the night in the city. On ſuch occaſions, a ſignal is made from the admiral-ſhip to give information, in order that the neceſſary aſſiſtance be immediately ſent from the ſhore.

Before I ſay any thing of Batavia, it will not be improper to relate how far the power of the Eaſt India Company extends over the whole iſland of Java. This is divided into four empires, or kingdoms, which are, either wholly or in part, ſubject to the dominions of the Company.

The firſt, to begin from the weſt, is the kingdom of Bantam; this is governed by its own Kings, with full power of life and death over their ſubjects, yet they are tributary to the Company, paying a yearly acknowledgment of a hundred bhars of pepper, or thirty-ſeven thouſand five hundred pounds weight. Beſide which there is a ſtrict engagement entered into by the King, not to ſell any pepper, or any thing elſe of the produce of his country to other nations. It muſt all be delivered to the Company, for a certain ſtipulated price. And this does not ſolely regard the pepper produced in his dominions in Java, but likewiſe all that is grown in his other territories, his conquered provinces, ſituated in the great iſland of Borneo, and in Sumatra, which likewiſe yield much pepper; and the Company have accordingly reſidencies eſtabliſhed, in the firſt at Banjermaſſing, and in the laſt at Lampon Toulabouwa, which ſerve in the ſame way as Fort Speelwyk does at Bantam, to enforce the fulfilment of the treaties, and to prevent a contraband trade.

The King of Bantam is alſo deprived of the power of appointing his own ſucceſſor, and the Company nominate one of the royal family to ſucceed him, as latterly took place in the year 1767.

The ſpeech made on that occaſion by Mr. Oſſenberg, ordinary counſellor of India, who

who was deputed thither from Batavia, to repreſent the united Dutch Eaſt India Company, as lord paramount, appeared to me, from its peculiarity, well worthy of being literally inſerted in this place, as tranſlated out of the Malay, which was the language in which it was delivered, as follows:

"His Excellency the Governor-general and the Honourable the Council of India, having thought fit and reſolved to appoint me as their commiſſary plenipotentiary to the court of Bantam, in order, at the requeſt of the King, to propoſe and appoint His Majeſty's eldeſt ſon Pangorang (Prince) Guſti, as hereditary Prince, and ſucceſſor to the empire of Bantam; and this deſirable period being now arrived, in conſequence I, the commiſſary aforeſaid, in the name and behalf of the general Eaſt India Company of the Netherlands, appoint the ſaid Pangorang to be Pangorang Ratoo, or hereditary Prince, and heir to the crown and the whole empire of Bantam, by the title of Abul Mofagir Mohamed Ali Joudeen.

"The commiſſary expects that the ſaid Pangorang Ratoo will, at all times, conſider this his important promotion as a peculiar favour, and a great benefit conferred upon him by the Honourable Company, being adopted from this moment as the grandſon of the Eaſt India Company of the Netherlands; and that he will henceforward, on all occaſions and in all times, behave with integrity and gratitude towards them, obeying the commands of the Honourable Company, and of the King his father, during his whole life."

After the appointment this harangue was again read, by order of the commiſſary, in the Malay language, in the preſence of the King his father, of all the grandees of his court, and a number of the Company's ſervants, who had come from Batavia, and belonged to the retinue of the commiſſary; and the ceremony concluded with the playing of gomgoms and other demonſtrations of joy.

The ſecond empire in Java is that of Jaccatra, which is bounded to the eaſt by that of Cheribon, and to the weſt by the kingdom of Bantam. Jaccatra was formerly governed by its own Kings, but the laſt of theſe, having been ſubdued by the arms of the Company in the year 1619, they have ever ſince poſſeſſed it, by the right of conqueſt, as ſovereigns. It is under the immediate government of the governor general and the council of India, and all the Javaneſe of Jaccatra are therefore born the Company's ſubjects. Before this revolution Jaccatra was the capital of the empire, but Batavia, which is built very near the former, is now the chief place.

The third empire is that of Cheribon. This is at preſent under the dominion of three different Princes, who are independent of the Company, and ſovereigns in their reſpective diſtricts. Yet they are their allies, and, in the ſame manner as the King of Bantam, they are bound, by treaty, to ſell all the produce of their territories excluſively to the Company, and not to permit any other nation than the Dutch to enter their dominions; for the due maintenance of which conditions the Company likewiſe take care to guard and garriſon their ſea-ports.

Theſe Princes would be the only ones in Java who poſſeſſed not only nominal, but alſo real ſovereignty, were it not for the ſituation of their dominions, which lie between Jaccatra and the empire of the Soeſoehoenam, or Emperor of Java, who is alſo a dependent on the Company, of whom they muſt of courſe ſtand in awe, and whoſe wiſhes they muſt in every reſpect obſerve; for if they do not, the Company make no ſcruple of dethroning one Prince, and eſtabliſhing another in his ſtead.

The Company exerciſed their power in this reſpect, in the commencement of the year 1769. One of theſe Cheribon Princes, not treating his ſubjects well, was put under arreſt, by orders from the council of India, and baniſhed to the caſtle Victoria in the iſland of Amboyna; while another Prince of the Blood was elevated to the vacant

dignity, upon the condition, however, of his furniſhing a certain annual ſum of money for the ſupport of his impriſoned predeceſſor.

The fourth empire is that of the Soeſoehoenam, or Emperor of Java, which is often called Soeſoehoenam Mataram, from the place of his reſidence. This empire comprehended of old the greateſt part of the iſland: that of Cheribon once formed part of it, and it was then very powerful, but, ſince our nation has been eſtabliſhed here, it has loſt much of its luſtre and importance. Yet it remained undivided till about the middle of the preſent century, when the Emperor, found himſelf ſo much embarraſſed, in conſequence of the rebellion of Manko Boeni, a Prince of the Blood, that he made a ceſſion of his territories to the Company, who, in return, granted him the half back again as their vaſſal, and promiſed him their protection, engaging at the ſame time never to make any one Emperor of Java who was not a Prince of the Imperial family.

The empire being thus ſplit into two parts, the other half was, in the ſame manner, given to Manko Boeni, as the Company's vaſſal, under the title of Sultan, with the like promiſe of protection, and the like engagement, never to nominate any other than Princes of his family, as ſucceſſors to his dignity. This other half, therefore, conſtitutes the fifth empire of Java.

To theſe may be added a ſixth, though it does not properly belong to Java, being a ſeparate iſland, but cloſe to it. I mean the iſland and principality of Madura, which is divided from Java by a narrow ſtrait. It is under the government of a Prince, who is equally a vaſſal of the Company, who, on this account, alſo diſpoſe reſpecting the ſucceſſion.

All theſe Princes are under engagements (as has already been noticed with reſpect to Bantam and to Cheribon) to deliver the produce of their reſpective countries to the Company alone, and not to ſell any of it to any other nation; likewiſe, not to enter into any connections or treaties with other powers; and great care is taken to enforce theſe conditions by the Company, whoſe numerous forts and garriſons along the whole north coaſt of Java, render the contravention of them extremely difficult, if not wholly impoſſible, to the native Princes.

Were they, however, all to unite againſt the Company, the latter would be in a very diſagreeable predicament; but their mutual and unceaſing jealouſies and animoſities are ſafeguards againſt this. Though the Company's government do not perhaps foment, yet they do not extinguiſh the flames of diſcord; which being always kept ſmouldering, make one native Prince prevent whatever another may deſign againſt the Company, by giving them immediate advice thereof.

It was likewiſe for very ſolid political reaſons, that the empire of Java was allowed, or rather contrived, to be divided into two ſtates; for ſuch an extent of territory as it formerly comprehended, would always have made whoever was its ſole maſter a dangerous neighbour to the Company, whereas being now under the dominion of two different men, who are likewiſe irreconcileable enemies, it is eaſily kept in entire ſubjection.

CHAP. II. — *Situation of Java.* — *Climate.* — *Land and Sea Winds.* — *Monſoons.* — *Thunderſtorms.* — *Rivers.* — *Productions.* — *Pepper.* — *Rice.* — *Sugar.* — *Coffee.* — *Cotton Yarn.* — *Salt.* — *Indigo.* — *Timber.* — *Fruits.* — *Vaſt Variety of them.* — *The Natives.* — *Their Character.* — *Dreſs.* — *Cuſtoms.* — *Dwellings.* — *Food.* — *Diverſions.* — *Religion.* — *Phyſicians.* — *Agriculture.*

JAVA is ſituated, as we have before obſerved, to the ſouth of the equator, in a climate, which was thought uninhabitable by the ancients, on account of the ſcorching

heat, which they believed rendered the land there ſo arid and barren as to be unable to produce any thing for the ſubſiſtence of man. This opinion originated from their total ignorance reſpecting the interior parts of Africa which lie between the tropics, as well as reſpecting the Indies, and the great peninſula beyond the Ganges. The improvements of navigation, in modern times, have exploded this error, and proved that the lands near the equinoctial, far from being infertile and uninhabited, on the contrary, yield the palm in nothing to leſs torrid regions, and are able to feed full as many inhabitants as the moſt fertile country in the temperate climates, provided the land be but properly cultivated.

The idea that the heat muſt be utterly inſupportable in theſe parts is not ſo abſurd, for the ſun is twice a year vertically over them, and its rays ſhoot almoſt always in a perpendicular line; ſo that it would for certain be nearly as bad as was ſuppoſed, if nature herſelf did not come to their aſſiſtance, by the refreſhing land and ſea-breezes which blow here alternately throughout the year, and ſo far moderate the heat as to make it bearable by moſt men. As the riſing and ſetting of the ſun is likewiſe always nearly at the ſame hour, and ſcarcely differing more than a few minutes, the long nights conſequently cool the air ſo much, that in the morning for an hour or two before day-break, it may be rather ſaid to be cold than warm, eſpecially for ſuch people as have reſided here for ſome time.

From the month of July to November, which was the time of my laſt ſtay at Batavia, the thermometer of Fahrenheit was always, in the hotteſt part of the day, between eighty-four and ninety degrees, excepting only one day when it roſe to ninety-two degrees; and in the greateſt degree of coolneſs in the morning, it was ſeldom lower than ſeventy-ſix degrees. This thermometer was placed in the open air, in the city, ſhaded both from the rays of the ſun, and from their reflection.

The barometer undergoes little or no variation, and ſtands for a whole year at twenty-nine inches ten lines, as I was informed by the Rev. Mr. Mohr, who made daily annotations thereof.

The warmth of the air decreaſes greatly, on approaching the mountains, which lie towards the ſouthern parts of the iſland. Credible people have aſſured me, that at the country ſeat of the governor general, which is called Buitenzorg, (rural care), and is ſituated full ſixteen Dutch miles ſouth from Batavia, at the foot of the Blue Mountains, the cold is ſo great in the morning, that not only thick clothes are requiſite, but it is difficult to become warm even with them *.

The land and ſea-winds, of which mention has already been made, blow here every day, without exception. The ſea-breeze, which in the eaſt monſoon is generally confined between eaſt-north-eaſt and north, but in the weſt monſoon runs as far as north-weſt, and farther, begins to blow about eleven or twelve o'clock in the forenoon. It increaſes in the afternoon by degrees, till the evening, and then dies gradually away, till about eight or nine o'clock it is perfectly calm. The land wind then begins at midnight, or juſt before, and continues till an hour or two after ſunriſe, when it generally again falls calm, till the ſea-breeze comes on at its accuſtomed hour.

* Dr. Thunberg, who viſited both Buitenzorg and the Blue Mountains, ſays, that the climate there was very healthy and refreſhing, and the air, eſpecially in the morning and evening, not only cool, but abſolutely cold, inſomuch that, not having brought a great coat with him, he was "chilled, and perfectly ſhivered with the cold evening air, in a country that lies almoſt directly under the equator." TR.

The

The year is divided into two ſeaſons, one of which is called the eaſt monſoon *, or dry ſeaſon, and the other the weſt monſoon, or rainy ſeaſon.

The eaſt, or good monſoon (goede mouſſon), commences in the months of April and May, and ends in the latter end of September, or the beginning of October. The tradewinds then blow, about four or five leagues off ſhore, and through the whole of the Indian ſeas, to the ſouth of the line, from the ſouth-eaſt and eaſt-ſouth-eaſt, at times, however, running as far as ſouth-ſouth-eaſt, with fine dry weather, and a clear ſky.

The weſt, or bad monſoon (kwaade mouſſon), generally begins in the latter end of November, or the beginning of December. The wind then often blows with great violence, and is accompanied by heavy torrents of rain, which render this ſeaſon very unhealthy, and a time of the greateſt mortality. The ſame winds are likewiſe found to prevail every where to the ſouth of the line. They continue to the latter end of February, or the beginning of March, and then are very variable, till April; in which month, as I was informed, the eaſterly winds begin to blow: hence theſe months, as likewiſe October and part of November, are called the ſhifting months; and theſe times of the breaking up of the monſoons, are eſteemed at Batavia, the moſt unhealthy of all.

It is very remarkable, that when the weſterly winds blow as far as nine or ten degrees to the ſouth of the line, the contrary takes place, at the ſame time, and to the ſame diſtance, to the north of it; and *vice verſa*, when the weſterly winds prevail to the north, the eaſterly winds blow to the ſouth of the line; which alternation is greatly helpful to the navigation weſtward of Java.

For ſome years paſt, it has been obſerved at Batavia, that the commencement of the monſoons begins to be very uncertain, ſo that, neither their beginning, nor their end, can be depended upon, with ſo much certainty as formerly; the cauſe of which has not hitherto been diſcovered.

Thunder-ſtorms are very frequent at Batavia, eſpecially towards the concluſion of the monſoons, when they occur almoſt every evening. They however, moſtly paſs away without doing any damage. I have noticed in my journal the only two times, during my reſidence there, that they did any; the one in the month of Auguſt, 1769, when I was at the iſland Onruſt, where the lightning fell upon the powder-magazine, wholly deſtroying the tiled roof, while it fortunately happened, that there was no powder, at that time, in the magazine; the other, when it ſtruck the ſhip, the Admiral de Ruiter, in October, 1770; both which accidents were however unaccompanied by the deſtruction of any perſon.

To the beſt of my knowledge, there are no large rivers in Java, navigable by veſſels of even a moderate burden, but there are many ſmall ones, which flowing down from the mountains, in a northerly direction, run into the ſea, all along the north coaſt; they are however, moſtly choaked up at the mouth, by ſands, or mud-banks, which render their entrances, at low water, very difficult to the ſmalleſt veſſels.

On the bank, or bar, before Batavia, the flood riſes about ſix feet, though at ſpring-tides, as every where, it is more. High and low water, likewiſe, only occur once in four-and-twenty hours.

* The word monſoon, (in Dutch, mouſſon), is derived from mouſſim, which, in the Malay language, ſignifies ſeaſon. See Valentyn, Beſchryving van Ooſt-Indie, vol. ii. p. 136.

Mr Marſden, in his hiſtory of Sumatra, page 13, ſays, that the word mooſſeem, of which the term monſoon appears to be a corruption, ſignifies a year, both in Arabic, and in Malay. Tr.

The productions which the iſland yields, are conſiderable, and of great importance to the company: more particularly for the laſt thirty years, in which period the cultivation of coffee, and other articles, has been aſſiduouſly proſecuted and encouraged.

The chief produce is pepper, which is moſtly grown in the weſtern part of the iſland. This ſpice is produced from a plant * of the vine kind, which twines its tendrils round poles, or trees, like ivy or hops. The pepper corns grow in bunches, cloſe to each other. They are firſt green, but afterwards turn black. When dried, they are firſt ſeparated from the duſt, and partly from the outward membranous coat, by means of a kind of winnow, called a harp, and then laid up in warehouſes. This winnow or harp is an oblong frame, with a bottom of iron wire cloſely twiſted, ſo that the pepper-corns cannot paſs through it; this is ſet ſloping, and the ungarbled pepper rolling along it frees itſelf from moſt of its impurities.

The empire of Bantam, with its dependencies at Lampon, yields annually to the Company more than ſix millions of pounds of this ſpice. This pepper is eſteemed the next beſt to that which comes from the coaſt of Malabar. That from Palembang, of which likewiſe a very conſiderable quantity is delivered to the Company, as well as that of Borneo, is of a much inferior quality †.

The price for which the King of Bantam is obliged to ſell all the pepper, produced in his dominions, is fixed at ſix rix-dollars, or fourteen gilders and eight ſtivers per picol, of one hundred and twenty-five pounds ‡.

It has been the opinion of many, that the white pepper is the fruit of a plant, diſtinct from that which produces the black; this, however, is not the caſe; they are both the ſame production; but the white is manufactured, by being laid in lime, which takes off its outer coat, and renders it whitiſh. This is done before the pepper is perfectly dry.

Rice § is the ſecond product of Java, and is collected in large quantities, eſpecially in the empire of Java Proper. It grows chiefly in low, fenny ground. After it has been ſown, and has ſhot up about two or three hand breadths, above the ground, it is tranſplanted by little bundles, of ſix or more plants, in rows; then by the damming up of the many rivulets, which abound in this country, the rice is inundated, in the rainy ſeaſon, and kept under water, till the ſtalks have attained ſufficient ſtrength; when the land is drained, by opening the dams, and it is ſoon dried by the great heat of the ſun.

At the time of the rice harveſt the fields have much the ſame appearance as our wheat and barley-fields, and afford an equally rich ſcene of golden uniformity.

The ſickle is not uſed in reaping the rice, but inſtead of it a ſmall knife, with which the ſtalk it cut, about a foot under the ear; this is done, one by one, and they are then bound into ſheaves, the tenth of which is the reward of the mower.

The paddee, which is the name given to the rice, whilſt in the huſk ‖, does not grow, like wheat and barley, in compact ears, but like oats, in looſe ſpikes. It is not

* Piper nigrum.

† See the exact quantities of the imports of pepper at Batavia, for one year, from all theſe places, in book iv, chap. 1. of Mr. Stavorinus's ſecond voyage. Tr.

‡ Equal to about twenty-two ſhillings ſterling per hundred weight Engliſh, or nearly twopence half-penny per pound. Tr.

§ Oryza ſativa.

‖ The following, beſides many others, are names applied to rice, in its different ſtages of growth and preparation; paddee, orginal name of the ſeed: ooſſay, grain of laſt ſeaſon; bunnee, the rice plants before tranſplantation; braſs, or bray, rice ſtripped of its huſk; charroop, rice cleaned for boiling; naſſee, boiled rice. &c. Tr.

threſhed,

threſhed, to ſeparate it from the huſk, but ſtamped in large wooden blocks, hollowed out; and the more it is ſtamped the whiter it becomes when boiled. The native Indians, throughout the eaſt, uſe this grain as bread, and as their principal food.

Java has been called the granary of the eaſt, on account of the immenſe quantity of rice which it produces. The other iſlands in this neighbourhood, yield little or none, except Celebes, where enough is grown to provide likewiſe Amboyna with this ſtaff of life.

In the year 1767, the quantity of ſeven thouſand laſts, or thirty-one millions of pounds of rice * was required, and furniſhed, for the conſumption of Batavia, Ceylon, and Banda, from the iſland of Java.

Sugar is likewiſe an article, which is produced in large quantities in Java, and brought to Batavia. The quantity of thirteen millions of pounds, manufactured in the year 1768 in the province of Jaccatra alone, is ſufficient to ſhew with what luxuriance the ſugar-cane † flouriſhes here. Much of it is exported to the weſt of India, to Surat and the coaſt of Malabar, and the reſt to Europe. Moſt of the ſugar-mills are kept and worked by Chineſe.

A fourth production of the iſland is coffee. The plantations of it are, however, peculiarly confined to the provinces of Cheribon and Jaccatra. The tree ‡ which produces this berry was firſt introduced into Java in 1722, or 1723, under the government of the governor general Zwaardekroon, who greatly encouraged the cultivation of it among the Javaneſe. It is at preſent ſo much multiplied, that in the year 1768, Jaccatra furniſhed four millions four hundred and ſixty-five thouſand five hundred pounds weight to the Company, who paid no more, according to the beſt of my knowledge, than three rix-dollars and a half, or eight gilders eight ſtivers per picol, of a hundred and twenty-five pounds §.

Cotton-yarn is likewiſe an important object of trade, which Java furniſhes to the Company. It is ſpun by the Javaneſe, from the cotton which is produced in great plenty in the interior parts. The province of Jaccatra yielded, in 1768, no more than one hundred and thirty-three picols, or ſixteen thouſand two hundred and twenty-five pounds, which was one thouſand eight hundred and ſeventy-five pounds leſs than ought to have been delivered by the Indians, according to the quota impoſed upon them; but this deficiency was occaſioned by a ſeaſon of uncommon drought, by which the cotton-crop had been materially injured.

Salt, much of which is brought from Rembang to Batavia, is equally an article of trade for the Company, who diſpoſe of it for a handſome profit at Sumatra's weſt coaſt.

Another product of the country is indigo, which is moſtly ſhipped to Europe. The culture of the plant which produces this dye ‖ is proſecuted with vigour in the province of Jaccatra. In the year 1768, the natives were aſſeſſed at ſix thouſand one hundred and twenty-five pounds, though they only furniſhed two thouſand eight hundred and ſeventy-five pounds.

* Fourteen thouſand tons, or two hundred and eighty thouſand cwt. TR.

† Saccharum officinarum. ‡ Coffea.

§ Mr. Stavorinus corrects this ſtatement, with reſpect to the price, in his ſecond voyage, where he informs us, that the rate at which the Company paid for the coffee was four rix-dollars per picol, being equal to about fourteen ſhillings and five pence ſterling per cwt; but other accounts make this article ſtand them in the ſame proportion as the pepper, two pence halfpenny per pound, or about one pound two ſhillings per cwt. the firſt is probably what is paid to the cultivator's and the laſt the invoice-value, being with the addition of the charges. TR.

‖ Indigofera tinctoria.

Large

Large quantities of heavy timber are alſo brought from the north-eaſt coaſt of Java, to Batavia. This is not, in reality, a branch of trade for the company; but it is of great importance for ſhip building, and other purpoſes *.

From all this, the great importance of this iſland to the company, is very apparent. It produces ſome of their moſt conſiderable articles of commerce, and provides the greateſt part of their Indian poſſeſſions with food, not to ſay any thing of the laſt mentioned advantage, of furniſhing materials for ſhip building.

The iſland is extremely abundant in fruit-bearing trees. In the firſt place, there is the cocoa-nut-palm †, which is well known. The ſuri-tree, which yields the palm-wine, or toddy. China-oranges ‡, of which there are two ſorts, one of a large, and the other of a ſmaller ſize. The tamarind-tree §, whoſe fruit conſiſts in pods, containing the tamarind, a ſpungy ſubſtance, in which the beans or ſtones are incloſed. The pompelmoes, or ſhaddock ‖, the fruit of which is one of the moſt wholeſome, on account of its refreſhing quality and taſte.

Next the durioon, or drioon-tree ¶, the fruit of which is incloſed in a hard ſhell, of the ſize of a man's head, and ſometimes larger; it has a moſt diſagreeable ſmell, which is extremely offenſive to thoſe who have never eat of it; when once, however, the fruit is taſted, the loathing which its odour is apt to excite, is quickly overcome, and uſe makes it, in the end, ſo familiar, that it is generally preferred beyond all other fruits. It is a ſtrong ſtimulative, and is therefore much prized by the Chineſe. The ſurſak-tree **, has a fruit of a ſimilar kind with the durioon, but it is not accompanied by ſuch a fetid ſmell.

The mango-tree ††, deſerves equally to be noticed; its fruit, when ripe, has a thin, oblong ſhape, and is about the ſize of a gooſe's egg. Its coat is not thick, of a yellow colour, and ſoft. When peeled, it has a fleſhy ſubſtance. Within, it is of an orange colour, like a melon, with which its flavour has likewiſe ſome analogy; but if the mango be a good one, it is much more delicious. In the centre, is a large kernel. When green, it is made into attjar ‡‡; for this, the kernel is taken out, and the ſpace filled

* See the more ample account given of the articles of trade of Java, in book iv. chap. 1. of Mr. Staverrinus's ſecond voyage. TR.

† Cocos nucifera. ‡ Citrus aurantium. § Tamarindus indica.

‖ Citrus decumanus; the ſhaddock is a large lemon, of the ſize of a child's head; the juice is moderately acid, and quenches thirſt; it is cooling, antiſeptic and antiſcorbutic. TR.

¶ The botanical rank of the durioon though it is particularly noticed in Cook's voyage in the Endeavour, as well as by Dr. Thunburg, ſeems not to have been yet aſcertained; the following account of the tree which produces it, from Marſden, may perhaps be helpful to the botaniſt: "The tree is large and lofty; the leaves are ſmall in proportion, but in themſelves long and pointed. The bloſoms grow in cluſters, on the ſtem and larger branches. The petals are five, of a yellowiſh white, ſurrounding five bunches of ſtamina, each bunch containing about twelve, and each ſtamen having four antheræ. The pointal is knobbed at top. When the ſtamina and petals fall the empalement reſembles a fungus, and is near the ſhape of a Scotch-bonnet. The fruit is not unlike the bread fruit, but larger and rougher on the outſide." It has by ſome been confounded with the bread fruit. Dr. Thunburg ſays, it is conſidered as diuretic, aud ſudorific, and ſerviceable in expelling wind. TR.

** This ſeems to be the nanca, or jakes of Cooke, and the boa nanca (radermachia) of Thunburg; or what is commonly called the jack, by the Engliſh; at Batavia, it is generally of the ſize of a large melon: its ſmell ſomewhat reſembles that of mellow apples, mixed with garlic: the outer coat is covered with angular prickles, and contains a number of ſeeds, or kernels (which, when roaſted, eat like cheſnuts) incloſed in a fleſhy ſubſtance, of a rich, but to ſtrangers, too ſtrong a flavour, but which gains upon the taſte. TR.

†† Mangifera indica.

‡‡ Articles preſerved in vinegar, with pepper and other ſpices, are called attjar; beſides mangoes, the rind of melons, cucumbers, and in particular the aromatic roots of the bamboo tree, with various other roots, fruits and vegetables, are made into attjar. TR.

up with ginger, pimento, and other ſpicy ingredients, after which it is pickled in vinegar, and is ſent to all parts, as preſents, or otherwiſe.

The mango-tanges, or mangoſteen *, is eſteemed the moſt delicious fruit that is produced in the Indies. It is generally of the ſize of an apple, and reſembles a pomegranate in appearance, only it is larger and thicker, and its coat is not ſo tough. The fruit, when ſtripped of the outward rind, appears like a little apple of a ſnow-white hue, compoſed of ſix or ſeven lobes, of the ſize of a joint of a finger, having a black ſtone in the inſide; they are very ſoft and juicy, and their flavour is ſo delightfully refreſhing that it is indeſcribable. The taſte ſeemed to me to approach the neareſt to that of the peach, but it is rather more mellow to the taſte. The tree which produces it is about the ſize of a common plum-tree. I met with people who aſſured me, they had been cured of a dyſentery of long ſtanding, by eating large quantities of this fruit; though others were of opinion that it produced a contrary effect. The rind has a ſtrong aſtringent power, and might perhaps be uſed as a dye, for a fine deep red colour †.

Lemon ‡ and lime-trees are here likewiſe in great plenty. There is alſo a certain fruit called katappa §, which is like our walnuts, but better taſted. It grows upon a high tree, which affords an agreeable ſhade, and is incloſed in a green huſk in which it lies in rolls, and is as white as milk.

Pineapples ‖ are produced in large quantities, and are therefore little eſteemed at Batavia; they are generally ſold for the value of a ſtiver (penny) a piece, and ſometimes for leſs.

Beſides theſe, there are many other kinds of fruit produced upon the iſland, which are too numerous for me to mention here ¶.

The

* Garcinia manganoſta. † The Chineſe uſe the rind of the mangoſteen for dying black. TR.
‡ Citrus medica. § Terminalia catappa. ‖ Bromelia ananas.
¶ The fruits moſt worthy of remark, beſides the above, are the following: the piſang, or bananas (muſa paradiſiaca) of which there are ſeveral ſorts, the beſt, piſang radja, is a delicious and wholeſome fruit, with a thin coat, and an inner pulpy part, which is ſweetiſh, and ſomewhat mealy; it is eaten both raw, and dreſſed in various ways. The jamboo (eugenia malaccenſis), which is of a deep red colour, and oval ſhape; the largeſt are not bigger than a ſmall apple; it is pleaſant and cooling, though it has not much flavour. The jamboo eyer-mauer (eugenia jambos), which both ſmells and taſtes like conſerve of roſes. The papaya (carica papaya), which is as large as a ſmall melon, and the yellow pulp within, has nearly the ſame taſte. The ſweetſop (annona ſquamoſa), which conſiſts of a maſs of large kernels, from which the ſurrounding pulp, which is very ſweet, and of a mealy nature, is ſucked. The cuſtard-apple (annona reticulata), which derives its Engliſh name from the likeneſs which its white and rich pulp bears to a cuſtard. The rambutan (nephelium leppaceum), which grows in large cluſters, and very much reſembles a cheſnut, with the huſk on; the eatable part is ſmall in quantity, but its acid is rich and pleaſant, and perhaps more agreeable than any other in the whole vegetable kingdom. The bilimbing (averrhoa belimb), the bilimbing beſſe (averrhoa carambola), and the cherimelle (averrhoa acida), which are three ſpecies of one genus, and though they differ in ſhape, are nearly the ſame in taſte; the firſt is oblong, of the thickneſs of a finger, and ſo ſour, that it cannot be eaten alone; the bilimbing beſſe, is an egg-like pentagonal fruit, about the ſize of a pear, and is the leaſt acid of the three; the laſt is extremely acid, and of a ſmall roundiſh, irregular ſhape, growing in cluſters cloſe to the branch, and containing each a ſingle ſeed; they all make excellent pickles, and ſour ſauce. The guava (pſidium) which is well known in the Weſt Indies. The boa bidarra (rhamnus jujuba) which is a round yellow fruit, about the ſize of a gooſeberry; its flavour is like that of an apple, but it has the aſtringency of a crab. The nam-nam (cynometra caulifiora), which in ſhape ſomewhat reſembles a kidney; it is about three inches long, and the outſide is very rough; it is ſeldom eaten raw. The ſuntul (trichilia) which, within a thick ſkin, contains kernels like thoſe of the mangoſteen, but which are both acid and aſtringent. The madja (limoni) which contains, under a hard brittle ſhell, a lightly acid pulp, which cannot be eaten without ſugar. The ſalac (calamus rotang zalacca), which is the fruit of a prickly buſh, and has a ſingular appearance, being covered with ſcales, like thoſe of a lizard; it is nutritious and well taſted, in flavour ſomewhat reſembling a ſtrawberry.

The

The native inhabitants are all commonly called Javaneſe, whether they belong to the kingdom of Bantam, or to any other part of Java; thoſe of Madura bear the name of their iſland. They are of a middling ſize, and in general well-proportioned, of a light brown colour, with a broad forehead, and a flattiſh noſe, which has a ſmall curve downwards at the tip. Their hair is black, and is always kept ſmooth and ſhining with cocoa-nut-oil. They are in general proud and lazy, as well as cowardly. Their principal weapon is a kris, which is a kind of dagger, like a ſmall ſized *couteau de chaſſe*, and which they always carry with them. The handle or hilt is made of different materials more or leſs valuable, according to the wealth or dignity of the wearer. The blade is of well-hardened ſteel, of a ſerpentine ſhape, and thus capable of making a large and wide wound. It is often poiſoned, and in that caſe cauſes immediate death. Arrogant towards their inferiors, they are no leſs cringing with reſpect to their ſuperiors, or whoever from whom they have any favour to expect.

Their dreſs conſiſts in a piece of cotton, which they wrap round the waiſt, and drawing it between the legs faſten it behind. They are otherwiſe naked, except that they wear a ſmall cap on the head. This is the dreſs of the common people. Thoſe of more conſideration wear a wide Mooriſh coat of flowered cotton, or other ſtuff, and in general turbands, inſtead of the little caps. They ſuffer no hair but that of the head to grow, and eradicate it carefully wherever it appears elſewhere.

The dreſs of the women is little better than that of the men; it conſiſts in a piece of cotton-cloth, which they call ſaron, and which wrapping round the body, juſt covers the boſom under which it is faſtened, and hangs down to the knees, and ſometimes to the ancles; the ſhoulders and part of the back remain uncovered. The hair of the head, which they wear very long, is turned up and twiſted round the head like a fillet, faſtened with long bodkins of different ſorts of wood, tortoiſeſhell, ſilver, or gold, according to the rank or wealth of the lady. This head-dreſs is called a condé, and is alſo in vogue among the Batavian ladies. It is often likewiſe adorned with a variety of flowers.

Both men and women are very fond of bathing, eſpecially in the morning. The children of both ſexes go entirely naked, till about eight or nine years of age. Twelve or thirteen is their age of puberty.

The Javaneſe are polygamiſts; they marry as many wives as they can maintain, and take their female ſlaves beſides for concubines. This, however, of courſe does not take place with the common people, who muſt be content with one wife, becauſe they cannot afford to keep more. The women are proportionally more comely than the men, and they are very fond of white men. They are jealous in the extreme, and know how to make an European, with whom they have had a love affair, and who proves inconſtant, dearly repent both his incontinence and his ficklenes by adminiſtering certain drugs to him, by which he is diſqualified from the repetition of either. People of the utmoſt credibility at Batavia, have related to me too many examples of this refinement of female revenge to render the circumſtance at all doubtful.

The fokke fokkes (ſolanum melongena), which is of a purple blue colour, in ſhape like a pear, and of various ſizes; it has an agreeable taſte when boiled. Watermelons (arbuſes), which are in great plenty, and very good. Grapes, melons, pumpkins, pomegranates, and figs, appear to be the only European fruits to be met with at Batavia; though ſtrawberries, and ſome others are ſaid to thrive in the interior parts of the country. Tr.

Their dwellings may with greater propriety be called huts than houſes. They are conſtructed of ſplit bamboos, interlaced or matted, plaiſtered with clay and covered with attap, or the leaves of the cocoa-nut tree. The entrance is low, and is without a door or ſhutter. The whole houſe uſually conſiſts of but one apartment, in which, huſband, wife, children, and ſometimes their poultry, of which they keep a great many, pig together on the ground. They always chooſe a ſhady place to build in, or plant trees all round. Such as poſſeſs more property, are provided with a little more comfort and convenience; but it is always in a wretched paltry manner.

Their chief food is boiled rice with a little fiſh, and their drink water. They do not, however, reject a little arrack, when they can obtain it. They are almoſt continually chewing betel, or pinang, and likewiſe a ſort of tobacco produced here, and therefore denominated Java tobacco, which they alſo ſmoke through pipes made of reed; they ſometimes put opium into their pipes with the tobacco, in order to invigorate their ſpirits, but the continual uſe of it rather deadens them; I ſaw ſome who had been too immoderate in this indulgence, who ſat like ſtatues with open fixed eyes, and ſpeechleſs.

They have no tables or chairs; but ſit upon the ground, or upon mats, with their legs croſſed under them. They do not either make uſe of any knives, forks, or ſpoons, but eat with their fingers.

They have a certain kind of muſical inſtruments, called gomgoms, conſiſting in hollow iron bowls, of various ſizes and tones, upon which a man ſtrikes with an iron, or wooden ſtick, which do not make a diſagreeable harmony, and are not unlike a ſet of bells.

They are very fond of cock-fighting, for which they keep a peculiar breed. Though they may be ever ſo poor, they will ſooner diſpoſe of every other part of their property, than ſell their game-cocks. They are, beſides, obliged to pay a tax to the company for theſe fowls; and this duty is yearly farmed at Batavia, and forms part of the revenues of the province of Jaccatra. In the year 1770, it amounted to four hundred and twenty gilders per month *; it is, however, only in that province that they are liable to it.

A kind of tennis-play is alſo a favourite diverſion among them, and they are very handy and dexterous at it. They ſtrike the ball with their feet, knees, or elbows, whither they chuſe, and receive it back, thus keeping it for ſome time in continual motion, without its touching the ground: the ball is generally of the ſize of a man's head, hollow, and made of matted reeds.

Their manner of ſalutation conſiſts in touching the forehead with the right hand, accompanied by a ſlight inclination of the body.

The Mahometan religion is predominant over the whole iſland. It is ſaid, that far inland, over the mountains, towards the ſouth ſide of the iſland, there are ſtill ſome of the aboriginal idolatrous natives to be met with. Moſques, or places of prayer of the Mahomedans, are erected all over the iſland; there is a very famous one near Cheribon, but I did not ſee it. They are very particular and nice about the tombs of their ſaints, and will ſuffer nothing unbecoming to be done upon or near them; an inſtance of which has been already related.

They have both male and female phyſicians, who have been known to effect very ſurpriſing cures, by means of their knowledge of the medicinal and vulnerary herbs,

* About 35l. 10s. or 42l. per annum. Tr.

produced

produced in their country. They have ſometimes greater practice among the Europeans at Batavia, than thoſe phyſicians who have been regularly bred and come over from Europe; yet they have no knowledge whatever of anatomy. Much friction of the affected parts is one of their chief means of cure. This is done with two fingers of the right hand, which are preſſed down by the left, and paſſed continually downwards, after having firſt anointed the part with water mixed with fine ground wood, or with oil.

For the purpoſes of agriculture, they uſe buffaloes inſtead of horſes, though there are enough of the laſt, but of a diminutive ſize. Theſe buffaloes are very large animals, bigger and heavier than our largeſt oxen, furniſhed with great ears, and horns which project ſtraight forward, and are bent inwards. A hole is bored through the cartilage of the noſe, and theſe huge animals are guided by a cord which is paſſed through it. They are generally of an aſh-grey colour, and have little eyes. They are ſo accuſtomed to be conducted three times a-day into the water to cool themſelves, that without it they cannot be brought to work. The female gives milk, but it is little valued by the Europeans, on account of its acrimonious nature.

CHAP. III. — *Batavia. — The River of Jaccatra. — The Water-fort. — The Bar at the Mouth of the River. — The Caſtle. — Buildings in and near it. — Walls of the City. — Gates. — Admiralty-wharf. — Quarter for the Workmen. — Churches. — Houſes. — Chineſe Houſes. — Maſſacre of the Chineſe, in 1740. — Aſſeſſment on Rents. — Bank of Batavia. — Suburbs. — The Chineſe Campon. — Character of the Chineſe. — Their Appearance. — Dreſs. — Religion. — Temples. — Divination. — Tombs. — Environs of Batavia. — Roads. — Streets.*

THE city of Batavia, ſtyled by our own and foreign travellers, who have formerly viſited it, the queen of the eaſt, on account of the beauty of its buildings, and the immenſe trade which it carries on, is ſituated very near the ſea, in a fertile plain, in the kindom of Jaccatra, upon the river of that name, which running through the middle of the town divides it into two parts. To the north of the city is the ſea-ſhore; behind it to the ſouth, the land riſes with a gentle and ſcarcely perceptible acclivity up to the mountains, which lie fifteen or ſixteen Dutch miles, or leagues inland; one of theſe, which is very high, bears the name of the Blue Mountain.

The ſingular circumſtances, which gave riſe to the building of this city, are too well known in hiſtory, and too circumſtantially related by Valentyn, that I ſhould repeat them here *. I ſhall only make mention of ſuch changes, as have taken place in the city, ſince the time his work was written (1726); at leaſt, in ſo far as I had occaſion to obſerve them.

* The beſt account in the Engliſh language of the foundation and riſe of Batavia, is to be found in the Modern Univerſal Hiſtory, vol. x. page 304, &c. This is compiled from Valentyn's great work, entitled Oud en Nieuw Ooſt-Indie, and from other Dutch writers. It was in 1619, that the governor general John Pieterſen Coen, took the town of Jaccatra, which he in a great meaſure deſtroyed, and founded another city, not exactly on the ſame ſpot, but very near it, to which he gave the name of Batavia, though it is ſaid, that he much wiſhed to have called it New Horn, from the place of his nativity, Horn in North Holland. Although then an inconſiderable place in point of ſtrength and beauty, he declared it the capital of the Dutch ſettlements in India; his choice of the ſituation was ſo juſt, his plan ſo well contrived, and every thing throve ſo faſt under his care, that Batavia roſe with unparalleled rapidity to that magnificence and importance which have rendered it both the admiration and the dread of all the more eaſtern nations of the Indies; and which ſtill dazzle and overawe them, although the city has for theſe laſt fifty years greatly declined both as to opulence and population. TR.

The

The city is an oblong ſquare, the ſhorteſt ſides facing the north and ſouth, and the longeſt the eaſt and weſt.

Through the middle of the city, from ſouth to north, runs as before ſaid the river of Jaccatra, over which there are three bridges, one at the upper end of the town, another at the lower part near the caſtle, and the third about the middle, being thence called the Middlepoint bridge. Two of theſe are built of ſtone. Cloſe by the middlemoſt there is a large ſquare redoubt, provided with ſome pieces of cannon, which com- the river, both up and downwards.

breadth of the river within the city, is about one hundred and ſixty or one ed and eighty feet. It runs into the ſea, paſt the caſtle and the admiralty-wharf. On both ſides of the mouth are long piers of wood and brick-work, about three thouſand eight hundred feet in length, taken from the moat of the city. The eaſtern pier, which was repaired and in a great meaſure rebuilt a few years ago, coſt the Company thirty-ſix thouſand two hundred and eighteen rix-dollars in timber, and thirty-ſix thouſand three hundred and twenty rix-dollars in maſonry, making at forty-eight ſtivers, *f.* 174,091,4. *; which is, in fact, a large ſum, when it be conſidered that the timber coſts the Company but little money, as it is produced in abundance in Java.

The veſſels belonging to the free merchants are laid up and repaired between theſe piers, on the weſt ſide; but along the eaſt ſide, the paſſage remains open for the lighters which go in and out of the city, with the cargoes of the ſhips.

At the outward point of the eaſtern pier there is a ſhed which ſerves for a ſtable for the horſes, which draw the ſmall veſſels and boats up and down the river.

Oppoſite to this is a horn-work commonly called the Water-fort, which was built during the government of the governor general Van Imhoff, at an immenſe expence to the Company; for ſeveral large ſhips were obliged to be ſunk on account of the depth of water on the ſpot, in order to lay a good foundation for building the fort. It is conſtructed of a kind of coral-rock, and defended by ſeveral heavy cannon †. It has barracks within it for the garriſon; and there is no other approach to it than along the weſtern pier. It is at preſent very much out of repair, and the walls begin to ſink and fall down in many places.

The objects for which this fort was erected, ſeem to have been the defence of the road, and of the entrance of the river; yet, in both theſe reſpects, it is now of little advantage, for the anchoring-place is now ſo far removed from this fortification, by the encreaſe of the mudbank which lies before the river, that, although its guns might reach the ſhips in the road, little damage could be done on either ſide, at ſuch a diſtance ‡; and as to what regards the defence of the river's mouth, that is of very trifling importance; for the daily and continual increaſe of the bar renders the water much too ſhallow for large veſſels, and an enemy would never ſeek to effect a landing there, but would always prefer an eaſy firm ſea-beach, ſuch as is to be met with beyond Ansjol §.

The

* About 16,000l. ſterling. TR.

† In 1793, when Lord Macartney viſited Batavia, this fort had mounted and diſmounted fourteen guns and two howitzers. TR.

‡ Ary Huyſers, who wrote an account of the Dutch ſettlements in India in 1789, and had been at Batavia a few years before, ſays that, in his time, a trial had been made of the heavy artillery at the mouth of the harbour, and that it was found ſufficient to command and protect the whole extent of the road. TR.

§ At Ansjol, and at Tanjongpoura, to the eaſtward of the city on the ſea-coaſt, there are ſtrong forts, and to the weſtward at Ankay, Tangorang, and the Kwal. On the landſide Batavia is further

The above-mentioned bank, or bar, lies directly before the mouth of the river, and extends a great way to the weſt, and but a little to the eaſt, for which reaſons ſuch veſſels as are deeply laden muſt go round by the eaſt ſide, cloſe along the eaſtern pier, in order to get within the bar. It is continually increaſing towards the road, by which the place where the ſhips lie is more and more removed from the city. To the weſtward it is dry in ſome places.

Right before the mouth of the river, from which the ſhalloweſt part of the bank is diſtant about ſix hundred or ſix hundred and fifty feet, there is at low water no more than one, or one and a half foot; ſo that a common ſhip's boat cannot get over it, but muſt alſo go round its eaſt end. When the ſea-breeze blows freſh, it makes a troubleſome and cockling ſea; and a weſt or bad monſoon ſeldom paſſes without the loſs of ſome veſſels upon it.

This ſhoalneſs of the water is ſaid to be the conſequence of a violent earthquake, which took place in Java in the latter end of the laſt century, and by which the river of Jaccatra was partly ſtopped up. Yet the greateſt increaſe of the bank has been ſince the year 1730; and it is to be apprehended, that the river will in time become wholly unnavigable and uſeleſs by it.

The caſtle or citadel of Batavia, which forms the north boundary of the eaſtern diviſion of the city is a regular ſquare fortreſs, with four baſtions, which are connected by high curtains, except on the ſouth ſide, where the curtain was broken down during the government of Baron Van Imhof. The walls and ramparts are built of coral-rock, and are about twenty feet in height. It is ſurrounded by a wet ditch, over which, on the ſouth ſide, lies a drawbridge. Between the moat and the buildings within the fort, on this ſide there is a large area or eſplanade. In the centre of the buildings that look towards the city is a great gate, and then a broad paſſage, with warehouſes on each ſide, leading to another eſplanade on the north ſide, encloſed between the ramparts and the buildings, all of which is appropriated to the uſe of the Company *.

The government-houſe, which forms the left wing of the buildings looking to the ſouth, is provided with numerous and convenient apartments, but is at preſent uninhabited. In it is a large hall, in which the council of India generally aſſemble twice a week; this is adorned with the portraits of all the governors general, who have ruled in India, ſince the eſtabliſhment of the Company.

Cloſe by is a little church, or chapel, uſually called the Caſtle-church, and a little more forwards is a corps-de-garde, where a party of dragoons always mount guard.

Over the caſtle-bridge there is a great plain, or ſquare, planted with tamarind-trees, which afford a very agreeable ſhade. The entrance to it from the city is over a bridge, and through a large and ſtately gate. This is mounted by a bold cupola, from which an octagon turret riſes, containing a large clock, which is the only public one

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covered by the forts at Jaccatra, the watering-place, Ryſwick, &c.; though theſe are merely defences againſt the natives, and are moſt of them little better than fortified houſes. Tr.

* Captain Pariſh's account of this fortreſs in Macartney's Embaſſy to China, 1793, is as follows:—"A little above was the caſtle; a regular ſquare fort, but without ravelins or other out works. It had two guns mounted on each flank, and two or ſometimes three on each face; they were not *en barbette*, nor properly *en embraſure*, but in a ſituation between both, having both their diſadvantages, without the advantages of either. The wall was of maſonry, about twenty-four feet high. It had no ditch, but a canal ſurrounded it at ſome diſtance. It had no cordon. The length of the exterior ſide of the work was about ſeven hundred feet." Some further particulars, both of the town and of the caſtle, are given in Mr. Stavorinus's ſecond voyage. Tr.

to

to be met with at Batavia. It was built under the government of Baron Van Imhof, as appears by an inſcription over the gateway, and forms no trifling embelliſhment of the city.

On the left ſide of the gate is a large building, which ſerves as a corps-de-garde, having in front a long gallery, reſting upon a row of pillars. A captain's guard of grenadiers are generally poſted here.

On the weſt ſide of the ſquare ſtand the Company's artillery-houſe, and the diſpenſatory, or proviſion-magazine, both of which reach behind to the river ſide, ſo that the goods may be taken in and out of the lighters with the greateſt eaſe. This is an advantage which is poſſeſſed by almoſt all the Company's warehouſes and repoſitories in Batavia.

On the oppoſite ſide is the iron magazine, and what is termed the graſs plat, being the place of execution for criminals: this is an artificial ſquare eminence, upon which there is a gallows and ſome poſts, behind it is a ſmall building with windows, looking towards the place of execution, whence the counſellors of juſtice behold the completion of their ſentences *.

There a number of pieces of artillery, both iron and braſs, and of all ſorts and ſizes, together with other warlike implements, ranged upon the plain. Any one may ride through the gate we have juſt mentioned as far as the drawbridge of the caſtle, but not over it, unleſs he have the rank of ſenior merchant, or higher.

The city is encircled by a wall of coral rock †, defended by twenty-two baſtions, or bulwarks, all provided with artillery, and ſurrounded by a broad moat, in which there is ſeldom any want of water, that being conveyed into it out of the river.

Batavia has five gates; one at the eaſt ſide, which is called the Rotterdam gate; two to the ſouth, the New gate, and the Dieſt gate; one to the weſt, the Utrecht gate; aud one on the north ſide, to the weſt of the river, called the Square gate.

Near to the laſt-mentioned gate, and oppoſite to the caſtle, is the admiralty wharf; and not far off, the warehouſes for naval ſtores, as likewiſe the workſhops of the carpenters, coopers, ſail-makers, and ſmiths, with other offices that relate to the ſhipping. Here are alſo the houſes of the commandants, and comptrollers of equipment, who were formerly obliged to reſide upon the wharf; but for ſome years paſt this regulation has not been obſerved, and they now live in other and more pleaſant parts of the town.

In the ſouth-eaſt corner of the city, cloſe to the ramparts, lies what is called the Ambagtſkwartier, or the workmen's quarter, in which all the mechanics and labourers who are employed by the Company in their buildings, have their abode. The journeymen work here under maſters of their reſpective trades, carpenters, ſmiths, plumbers, braziers, maſons, and others, who are all accountable to the chief of the quarter, who is called fabriek, or head workman, and has generally the rank of merchant. Beſides a great number of Europeans who are employed here there are full a thouſand ſlaves who belong to this quarter, by which the Company incurs an enormous expence, with little benefit from their labour, which generally turns to the advantage of individual members of the government.

* It is cuſtomary throughout Holland, and its dependencies, for the magiſtrates, or judges, who have paſſed ſentence upon criminals, to preſide at the execution of it. This is in Europe generally done upon ſome open place before their town-halls, from the windows of which the magiſtrates, dreſſed in their robes of ceremony, behold the execution. Tr.

† Sir George Staunton ſays, that part of the town-wall is conſtructed of lava, which is of a dark blue colour, of a very hard, denſe texture, emits a metallic ſound, and reſembles very much ſome of the lava of Veſuvius. Tr.

There are three churches for the reformed religion within the city, in which ſervice is performed in the Dutch, Portugueſe, and Malay languages, and one without the gates, which is called the outer Portugueſe church. Beſides theſe, there is a Lutheran church, which was built during the government of Baron Van Imhof, not far from the caſtle; this laſt is provided with a fine organ, and a very handſome pulpit.

The town-hall and other public buildings are circumſtantially deſcribed by Valentyn, and I ſhall not, therefore, make further mention of them.

The houſes at Batavia are moſtly of brick, run up in a light and airy manner, and ſtuccoed on the outſide, with ſaſh windows. Within they are almoſt all built upon a ſimilar plan, the fronts being in general narrow, though there are a few that are more extended.

On entering the door there is a narrow paſſage, and on one ſide a parlour; then you come into a large and long room, that receives its light from an inner court, which trenches upon this apartment, and renders its form irregular. This is called the gallery, and is the place where the family uſually live and dine. The floors are of large, ſquare, dark red ſtones. No hangings are to be ſeen, but the walls are neatly ſtuccoed and whitened. The furniture conſiſts in ſome arm-chairs, two or three ſofas, and a great many looking-glaſſes, which the Europeans in theſe regions are very fond of. Several chandeliers and lamps are hung in a row, along the length of the gallery, which are lit up in the evening. The ſtairs leading to the upper rooms are generally at the end of this apartment. Six or ſeven ſteps up there is one which ſtands over the ſtore-room, or cellar, in which the ſtock of wine, beer, butter, &c. is kept. Up ſtairs the houſes are diſtributed almoſt ſimilarly as below. They are, in general, but poorly provided with furniture, and the ſetting out of rooms in order is not ſo much in vogue here as in Holland: nothing is added that is ſuperfluous, or more than is wanted for uſe. Behind the gallery are the lodgings for the ſlaves, the kitchen, &c. There are but few houſes which have gardens, contrary to what Salmon erroneouſly aſſerts in his "Preſent State of all Nations;" and there are not even the leaſt veſtiges left of there having ever been gardens behind the houſes. In ſeveral the windows are cloſed with a lattice-work of rattans, in the room of being glazed, for the ſake of air.

The above relates only to the houſes of Europeans, which are the greateſt in number. The few Chineſe who live at preſent within the city have very wretched houſes, the inſide of which is very irregularly diſtributed. Moſt of them dwell in the ſouthern and weſtern ſuburbs, which are called the Chineſe Campon. Before the revolt of the year 1740, they had the beſt quarter of the city allotted to them, to the weſt of the great river; but when, in that commotion, all their houſes were burnt to the ground*, the

* Several relations have been given to the public, at different times, of the horrid tranſaction here alluded to; of which the moſt circumſtantial is in the Modern Univerſal Hiſtory, b. xiv. chap. 7. No two, however, agree; and the following account, extracted from a very recent and intelligent Dutch writer, Ary Huyſers, who was long reſident at Batavia, may therefore not be unacceptable. It is to be found in his Life of Reinier de Klerk, 1788.—"A little before the perpetration of this maſſacre, ſeveral thouſand Chineſe adventurers and fortune hunters had reſorted to Batavia, allured by the proſperity of their countrymen already ſettled there. The great number of theſe new coloniſts, together with the robberies and murders which were committed by them, excited no little degree of juſt apprehenſion. The famous Van Imhof, who was at that time a member of the council, propoſed, in order to get rid of theſe uſeleſs and dangerous new-comers that every Chineſe who could not prove that he had an honeſt livelihood ſhould be ſeized and tranſported to Ceylon, there to be employed in mining, or other labour for the ſervice of the Company. This advice was approved of, and immediately followed. A great number of Chineſe were ſeized, and put in irons; but imprudently ſeveral Chineſe of property were ſecured by the under-officers,

the whole quarter was made into a paſſar, or market, where, at preſent, all kinds of proviſions are every day expoſed to ſale.

The poundage, or aſſeſſment, which is paid annually by every houſe, conſiſts in half a month's rent. This money is expended in dragging and cleanſing the canals, and in repairing the townhall, and other buildings belonging to the city. Permiſſion muſt be requeſted every year, of the Company's government to levy this aſſeſſment, in behalf of the city, which is ſeldom refuſed.

Houſes are not let by the year, but by the month; the rents run from five to dollars per month. A good houſe, in an agreeable ſituation, may be hired for [illegible] y or twenty-five rix-dollars *.

The churches are repaired out of the duties levied upon funerals.

A bank of circulation, has been eſtabliſhed here for ſome years, which is united with the lombard, or bank for lending money on pledges. It is under the adminiſtration of a director, who is generally a counſellor of India, two commiſſaries, a caſhier, and a book-keeper.

A fee of five rix-dollars is given at the opening of an account, and ſtamped bank-bills, ſigned by the director and commiſſaries, are delivered for the money placed in

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charged with the execution of the order, and were only liberated on paying large ſums of money. This occaſioned great murmurings, and led the reſt of the nation to credit a report which was ſpread abroad, that thoſe who were unable to pay would be drowned or otherwiſe put to death. They in conſequence retired by thouſands from the city, towards the interior parts, and ſtrengthened themſelves ſo much, as to render the fate of Batavia itſelf precarious. In this dilemma, the council firſt offered an amneſty to the diſcontented Chineſe, but this they rejected with ſcorn: and purpoſing to exterminate the whole Chriſtian ſettlement, began by ravaging the country in the wildeſt manner, burning the ſugar-works, and marching down to the gates of the city. Here, however, they met with a ſevere rebuff. The civil and military inhabitants united in repelling them, and drove the rebels back again into the country. During theſe commotions the Chineſe who reſided within the town kept themſelves perfectly quiet; and in order that theſe innocent people might not be expoſed to inſult, the government iſſued an order, prohibiting them from leaving their houſes after ſix o'clock in the evening, and ordering them to keep their doors ſhut. This prudent precaution was not, however, ſufficient to protect them from the fury of the irritated ſoldiery and ſailors who were in the city, and had witneſſed the devaſtations of the Chineſe without the gates. On a ſudden, and unexpectedly, an inſtantaneous cry of murder and horror reſounded through the town, and the moſt diſmal ſcene of barbarity and rapine preſented itſelf on all ſides. All the Chineſe, without diſtinction, men, women, and children, were put to the ſword. Neither pregnant women, nor ſucking infants, were ſpared by the relentleſs aſſaſſins. The priſoners in chains, about a hundred in number, were at the ſame time ſlaughtered like ſheep. European citizens, to whom ſome of the wealthy Chineſe had fled for ſafety, violating every principle of humanity and morality, delivered them up to their ſanguinary purſuers, and embezzled the property confided to them. In ſhort, all the Chineſe, guilty and innocent, were exterminated. And whence did the barbarous order, by which they ſuffered, emanate? Here a veil has induſtriouſly been drawn, and the truth will probably never be known with certainty. The governor-general Valkenier, and his brother-in-law Helvetius, were accuſed by the public voice of directing the maſſacre, but it was never proved upon them." It is remarkable, that when Valkenier was afterwards condemned to impriſonment for life, at Batavia, among the numerous charges brought againſt him for maladminiſtration during his government, no notice was taken of his preſumed inſtrumentality in this dreadful maſſacre. Much apprehenſion was entertained that this occurrence would excite the indignation of the Emperor of China, and deputies were ſent to him the following year to apologize for the meaſure. The letter written to the emperor on the occaſion, is given at length by Huyſers: the only remarkable circumſtance in which it differs from the above relation is the allegation, that ſome Chineſe within the city had ſet fire to it in different places, and were preparing to riſe upon the Europeans; but the extermination of the innocent with the guilty is acknowledged, and attempted to be excuſed on the plea of neceſſity. Theſe deputies were agreeably ſurpriſed on finding that the emperor calmly anſwered, that "he was little ſolicitous for the fate of unworthy ſubjects, who, in the purſuit of lucre, had quitted their country, and abandoned the tombs of their anceſtors." Tr.

* A rixdollar at Batavia is worth forty-eight ſtivers, or about four ſhillings and fourpence ſterling. Tr.

the bank. Its capital is computed to amount to between two and three millions of rix-dollars *.

The ſuburbs of Batavia are remarkable, on account of their conſiderable extent, uncommon pleaſantneſs, and great population. They are inhabited by Indians of various nations, and by ſome Europeans. The Chineſe quarter is the moſt populous of all, and ſeems itſelf a city, with numerous ſtreets; yet their houſes are mean, and little. It is crowed with ſhops, containing all kinds of goods, as well thoſe of their own manufacture, and ſuch as they receive annually from China, as what they buy up of thoſe imported from Europe. The number of the Chineſe, who live both within and without the walls of the city, cannot be determined with preciſion; but it muſt be very conſiderable, as the Company receive a poll-tax from them of more than forty thouſand rix-dollars.

Every Chineſe, who has a profeſſion, is obliged to pay a monthly poll-tax of half a ducatoon †; women, children, and thoſe who have no trade, are exempted from the tax; ſo that their number can only be gueſſed at. They are under a chief of their own nation, who is known by the appellation of Chineſe Captain; he lives within the walls, and has ſix lieutenants under him, in different diſtricts. A flag is hoiſted at his door, on the firſt or ſecond day in every month, and the Chineſe liable to the tax are then obliged to come to him to pay it.

Like the Jews in Europe, they very are cunning in trade, both in the largeſt dealings and in the moſt trifling pedlery. They are ſo deſirous of money, that a Chineſe will run three times from one end of the city to the other, if he have but the proſpect of gaining one penny. In doing any buſineſs with them, the greateſt care muſt be taken to avoid being cheated.

Their ſtature is rather ſhort than tall, and they are in general tolerably ſquare. They are not ſo brown as the Javaneſe. They ſhave their heads all round, leaving a bunch of hair on the middle of the crown, which is twiſted with a ribbon, and hangs down the back. Their dreſs conſiſts in a long robe of nankeen, or thin ſilk, with wide ſleeves, and under it they wear drawers of the ſame which cover their legs.

In every houſe, there is a niche or place, where the image is hung up, of one of their jooſtjes, or idols, painted on Chineſe paper. Before it they keep one or more lamps always burning, as alſo a kind of incenſe, which is made into little thin tapers. This idol is generally depicted as an old man, with a ſquare cap upon his head, and a female, deſigned for his wife, next to him. About an hour's walk out of the city, juſt beyond Fort Ansjol, they have a temple, ſtanding in a grove of cocoa-nut-trees, by the ſide of a rivulet, and in the midſt of a moſt pleaſant ſcenery. The building is about twenty feet in length, and twelve or thirteen in breadth. The entrance is through a railing, into a ſmall area, and then into a hall, behind which is the ſanctuary. In the middle, juſt within the door is a large altar, on which tapers, made of red wax, are kept burning, night and day. There is alſo an image of a lion richly gilt. In a niche behind the altar, are repreſentations of an old man and woman, both with crowns upon their heads, and about two feet in height, which are their idols; and as they look upon their jooſtje to be an evil ſpirit, they continually ſupplicate him not to do them any harm. In their adorations, they proſtrate themſelves before him, and endeavour to expreſs the awe and reverence they entertain, by ſtriking their head continually againſt the ground.

* Or between four hundred and thirty-five thouſand and ſix hundred and fifty thouſand pounds ſterling. TR.

† A ducatoon is ſixty-ſix ſtivers, or ſix ſhillings ſterling. TR.

They likewiſe conſult their idol when they are about any important undertaking. This divination is done by means of two ſmall longitudinal pieces of wood, flat on one ſide, and round on the other. They hold theſe with the flat ſides towards each other, and then letting them fall on the ground, augur of the effect of their prayers, and the good or bad reſult of their purpoſed enterprize, by the manner in which they lie, with the round or flat ſides upwards. If the preſage be favourable, they offer a wax-candle to their god, which the prieſt, or bonze, who attends at the temple, [illegible] turns into ready money.

[illegible]mple, I ſaw a Chineſe, who let theſe little ſticks fall, above twenty times before [illegible] promiſed him ſucceſs: he ſeemed to be but very little pleaſed with theſe repeated evil prognoſtications, and ſhaking his head at every time, with a moſt diſcontented look, he threw himſelf upon the ground, and thumped his head againſt it, till at laſt, the omen proved agreeable to his wiſhes; and he then joyfully lighted a thick wax-candle, and placed it upon the altar of his jooſtje.

Beſides this temple, the Chineſe have ſeveral others, which are tolerated by the government; but it is worthy of obſervation, that whilſt the practice of the moſt abominable idolatry is allowed, the exerciſe of the Roman Catholic religion is obſtinately prohibited.

The Chineſe are of a very luſtful temper. They are accuſed of the moſt deteſtable violations of the laws of nature; and it is even ſaid, that they keep ſwine in their houſes, for purpoſes the moſt ſhameful and repugnant.

Their tombs, on which they expend a great deal of money, are partly built above, and partly under ground. They are arched over. The entrance, which is made like a doorway, is cloſed with a large ſtone, covered with engraved Chineſe letters. They are to be ſeen in great numbers, about half an hour's walk from Batavia, on the road to Jaccatra.

They viſit the graves of their anceſtors and relations, from time to time: they ſtrew them with odoriferous flowers; and when they depart, they leave a few ſmall pieces of ſilk or linen before the entrance, and ſometimes boiled rice, or other victuals; which is ſpeedily made away with at night.

The environs at Batavia are very pleaſant, and are almoſt every where interſected with rivulets, by which the circumjacent rice plantations are inundated, and fertilized in the proper ſeaſon.

There are five principal roads, which lead from the city towards the country, and which are all planted with high and ſhady trees.

That which runs to the eaſtward, to Ansjol and the ſeacoaſt, is laid along the ſide of a rivulet, the ſtream of which running down an imperceptible ſlope is very ſlow, which makes it reſemble the canals for inland navigation in Holland. Both ſides of it are adorned with gardens; but they are beginning to be neglected, ſave one or two belonging to the director general.

At no great diſtance from the ſea-ſhore, whither this road finally leads, there is an oyſter-bed; and on the beach ſtands a houſe of entertainment, which is reſorted to by the Europeans for the purpoſe of eating this ſhell-fiſh.

The ſecond road has the appellation of the mango-doa, from its having been formerly planted with a double row of mango-trees. This runs more ſouth than the former one, and farther inland. Along this road there are likewiſe many gardens, but they are none of them ſo ſplendid and pleaſant as thoſe which border and embelliſh the road to Jaccatra: for there the fineſt picture that can be conceived preſents itſelf to the delighted eye, both with reſpect to the grandeur of the buildings and the

the elegance of the grounds. Moſt of the houſes belonging to them, have their fronts towards the road, and from the back rooms they have a proſpect of the river of Jaccatra.

This road is nearly two hundred feet broad, and is cloſely planted with trees. I do not know that I ever beheld a more delightful avenue. It terminates at a ſmall fort, which is called Jaccatra, ſituated about half a Dutch mile from Batavia, and though the road is continued thence to Weltevreeden, the country-ſeat of the governor general, and beyond it farther into the country, it aſſumes, on the other ſide of Jaccatra, the name of Goenong Sari.

The fourth is called the Molenvliet, or mill-drain, becauſe part of the water of the great or Jaccatra river is diverted through a channel, along this road, for the purpoſe of turning a powder-mill, which ſtands ſcarcely ten minutes walk from the city. The road leads along the canal for full half a Dutch mile up the country, and is equally adorned on both ſides with handſome houſes and pleaſant gardens. It then proceeds to Tanabang, where a large market is held every Saturday, for all kinds of proviſions, which are brought thither from the interior parts.

The fifth road leads through the Chineſe Campon, alſo along a river, to Fort Ankay, and is, in like manner, bordered on both ſides with gardens.

None of theſe roads nor any of the ſtreets in the city are paved; the ground conſiſts of a hard clay, which is made very ſmooth and plain; only in the city, along the ſides of the ſtreets, by the houſes are ſtone footpaths of about three or four feet in breadth *.

CHAP. IV.—*Government of Batavia—Council of India—Governor-General—Director-General—Counſellors of India—Council of Juſtice — Board of Scheepens — Puniſhments — Impalement — Mucks — Orphan Chamber — Society for the Opium Trade — Chief of the Marine — Commandant and Upper Comptroller of Equipment — Vice Commandant — Military — Militia — Of Ranks and Precedency — Sumptuary Laws — Clergymen — Coins — Weights — Meaſures.*

THE chief government of Batavia, and of all the poſſeſſions of the Dutch Eaſt India Company in Aſia, is veſted in the council of India, with the governor-general at their head.

This council conſiſted, when I was there, beſides the director-general, of five ordinary counſellors, including the governor of the Cape of Good Hope, nine extraordinary counſellors, and two ſecretaries.

Five of the extraordinary counſellors were governors of the out-factories of Java's north-eaſt coaſt, Coromandel, Amboyna, Ceylon, and Macaſſer.

This council determines affairs of every kind, thoſe which relate to the adminiſtration of juſtice alone excepted. Yet in civil matters, an appeal may be made from the ſentence of the council of juſtice to the council of India.

All appointments and promotions to offices are effected by the council of India, not excepting that of the governor-general; but this muſt be confirmed by the aſſembly of ſeventeen, in the Netherlands †.

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* The ſtreets and canals at Batavia are planted on each ſide with large trees; generally the onophyllum calophyllom and calaba, the canarium commune, and ſome others ſtill ſcarcer. TR.

† Eccleſiaſtical preferments, and the appointment of the miniſters of juſtice, proceed immediately from the direction in Holland. In the council of India, the governor and director general, and the five ordinary counſello r

The authority of the governor-general is almoſt unbounded; and although he is obliged to give cognizance to the council, and conſult them on ſome matters, he poſſeſſes a moſt arbitrary and independent power in all: for there are few or no members of the council who do not ſtand in need of his good offices in ſome inſtance or other; for example, in order to obtain lucrative employments for their relations or favourites*; and if this be not ſufficient to make them obey the nod of the governor, he is not deſtitute of the means of tormenting them, in every way, under various pretences: nay, of ſending them priſoners to Europe; as was done, with reſpect to MM. Van Imhof, de Haaze, and Van Schinnen, in the year 1740, by the governor-general Valkenier†. As, therefore, thoſe who are immediately next to him in rank, depend upon and ſtand in awe of him, it follows, that the ſervants of the Company who are in inferior ſtations feel ſtill deeper reverence, and tremble before him, as in the preſence of one from whoſe arbitrary will and power their happineſs or miſery wholly depends: the ſlaviſh ſubmiſſion with which his commands are received and executed is, in conſequence, ſcarcely credible; for how is it poſſible that freeborn Hollanders ſhould bow themſelves ſo low, beneath the ignominious yoke!

His excellency the governor-general, at preſent, uſually reſides at his country ſeat, called Weltevreeden, about an hour and a quarter's walk from Batavia, and which is a ſuperb manſion.

He gives public audience here every Monday and Thurſday; and on Tueſdays and Fridays at another ſeat, ſituated nearer to the city, on the Jacatra road. On the other days of the week, he is inacceſſible to every body, and cannot be ſpoken to unleſs on affairs of the greateſt importance and urgency. Nobody goes thither without having ſome buſineſs to call him; for it would be taken extremely ill if any one was to pay a viſit of mere ceremony. The time of audience is from ſix o'clock in the morning till eight. Every one waits in the open air, in the court before the houſe, till he is called in by one of the body guards.

When the governor rides out, he is always accompanied by ſome of his horſe-guards. An officer and two trumpeters precede his approach, and every perſon who

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counſellors alone conclude upon moſt matters that are brought before them; the other nine members are properly only aſſeſſors, who may give their advice, but have no votes, except in the queſtion of war or peace with the Indians, in the pardoning of criminals condemned to death, in the election of a governor general, and in a few other important points. The power and influence of this body in the Indies are unbounded. It is the repreſentative of the ſtate and of the Company, and millions of Indians are ſubject to its ſway. Kings and princes are crowned and dethroned by its mandates. "I have been witneſs," ſays Ary Huyſers, a writer to whom we have before had occaſion to refer, "to the depoſition of two powerful kings of the Moluccas, and the hereditary prince of Tidore. One of theſe died miſerably in a little village near the place of my reſidence. I ſaw the venerable old man before his death: he was ſeventy-two years of age. When I expreſſed my commiſeration at the deep humiliation he had undergone, he anſwered, with a ſigh, in the Malay language, pointing to heaven, 'It is the will of God." Other inſtances of the tyranny of the Dutch Company over the natives princes, are related in the preſent work. Tr.

* By the ſecond article of the oath taken by the governor general, as likewiſe by the counſellors of India, on their appointment, they engage "never to receive any gifts or preſents, directly or indirectly, from any one under their authority; neither in reſpect, or in the hope or expectation thereof, nor of any advantage, favour, or other private conſideration, either of relationſhip, friendſhip, or otherwiſe, to appoint, or cauſe to be appointed, any other individual to an office, place, or ſtation, than ſuch as they believe and find to poſſeſs the moſt experience, the moſt integrity, the moſt fidelity, and the moſt ability for the ſame." So much do men regard oaths! Tr.

† Valkenier, who was the perſonal enemy of the above gentlemen, tyrannically abuſed his authority, in ſo far, that when the council of India refuſed to ſanction this arbitrary meaſure, he ſurrounded the council table with a body of armed men, and thus conſtrained them to aſſent to his wiſhes. Tr.

meets

meets him, and happens to be in a carriage, muſt ſtop, and ſtep out of it, till he has rode by*.

A company of dragoons always mount guard at Weltevreeden. He has beſides ſome halberdiers, who are employed in carrying meſſages and commands, and who always are attendant on the governor's perſon, wherever he goes. They are dreſſed in ſhort coats of ſcarlet cloth, richly laced with gold, and follow in rank upon the junior enſign in the Company's ſervice.

When his excellency enters the church, all perſons, both men and women, the counſellors of India not excepted, ſtand up, in token of reſpect†. His lady receives the ſame honours, and is equally eſcorted by a party of horſe-guards, when ſhe rides out.

The governor-general, who was in office at that time, was Mr. Peter Albert Van der Parra, a native of Colombo, the chief ſettlement of the Dutch in Ceylon. He was a man inimical to all pomp, and in this reſpect very different from moſt of his predeceſſors. He was remarkably temperate, generally drinking pure water, and ſeldom taking any wine or beer. He was commonly occupied the whole day; and when he did not aſſiſt at the council-table, he was cloſeted with his ſecretary and clerks.

The director-general, who is the eldeſt counſellor of India, is the next in rank. The direction and controul over the trade of the Company, throughout all India and to Europe, together with every thing that relates to it, is excluſively entruſted to him. The governor-general does not in the leaſt meddle in theſe matters, if the director have but the needful ability.

Next in order follow the ordinary and extraordinary counſellors of India. Thoſe who reſide at Batavia are alſo uſually preſidents of different boards or courts. Every counſellor of India has likewiſe the correſpondence with one of the out-factories allotted to him; the general himſelf has that of one or two ſettlements, and no one is excuſed, in this reſpect, but the director, on account of his multifarious other avocations.

Although every member of the council lies under this obligation, there are but few of them who take the trouble of the charge upon themſelves; moſt of them cauſe it to be effected by perſons of a lower rank; and the beſt inſtitutions are thus perverted by ſelfiſhneſs and ſloth.

When a counſellor of India, or his lady, enters a church, all the men ſtand up, in the ſame manner as for the governor general, but the women remain ſitting. On

* This humiliating homage, as well as that paid to the Edele heeren, or counſellors of India, as will be preſently noticed, are equally required from foreigners. Theſe ceremonies are generally complied with by the captains of Indiamen, and other trading ſhips; "but," ſays Captain Carteret, who was at Batavia, in 1768, "having the honour to bear His Majeſty's commiſſion, I did not think myſelf at liberty to pay to a Dutch governor any homage which is not paid to my own Sovereign: it is, however, conſtantly required of the King's officers; and two or three days after my arrival, the landlord of the hotel where I lodged told me, he had been ordered by the ſhebandar to let me know that my carriage, as well as others, muſt ſtop if I ſhould meet the governor, or any of the council; but I deſired him to acquaint the ſhebandar that I could not conſent to perform any ſuch ceremony; and upon his intimating ſomething about the black men with ſticks, who precede the approach of theſe great men, I told him that if any inſult ſhould be offered me, I knew how to defend myſelf, and would take care to be upon my guard; at the ſame time, pointing to my piſtols, which happened to lie upon the table: upon this he went away and about three hours afterwards returned, and told me he had orders from the governor to acquaint me that I might do as I pleaſed." Since that time, the Engliſh officers have never been required to comply with this degrading cuſtom; yet when they have been in an hired carriage, nothing has deterred the coachman from ſtopping and alighting in honour of the Dutch grandee, but the moſt peremptory menace of immediate death. TR.

† This etiquette was aboliſhed upon the acceſſion of R. de Klerk to the government in 1777, as appears in the ſequel. TR.

meeting

meeting one of them in a carriage, every body muſt ſtop, riſe up, and bow to them, and ſtay till they are gone by. When they go out they have two ſlaves, who run before them with ſticks, while other people are allowed but one.

There are always two ſecretaries of the government, who take down in writing all the propoſitions or reſolutions which have been diſcuſſed in the council, and lay them before the governor-general, when the aſſembly is broke up. He examines them, and gives directions what is to be made into decrees, and what is only to be inſerted in the journals for notification. The reſolutions being then drawn up in writing, by the firſt ſecretary, they are again preſented to the governor, who makes ſuch alterations in them as he thinks fit; and at the enſuing ſeſſion of the council, they are read over, and approved.

The ſalary of a counſellor of India is a thouſand rix-dollars per annum; beſides which he has ſix hundred rixdollars for houſe-rent, ſeven hundred for his trouble in ſigning diſpatches, three hundred towards providing his table, together with a conſiderable allowance of proviſions from the Company's warehouſes. Taking every thing together, he can reckon upon a yearly income of four thouſand rix-dollars, or nine thouſand ſix hundred gilders*. Beſides the above, the firſt ſecretary has the emoluments attending the making out of the commiſſions, which do not amount to a trifle, eſpecially when many appointments of governors, directors, or commandants occur, who pay liberally for their commiſſions; ſometimes giving fees to the amount of a thouſand rix-dollars. Yet none of them can ſave any thing from this income, which they amply want for their houſehold expences, for which reaſon they are generally favoured with the government or directorſhip of an out-ſettlement, after they have been three or four years in the council.

The private ſecretary of the governor-general is uſually promoted to be ſecretary to the council, upon a vacancy.

Thirty-ſix or forty clerks are daily employed in the ſecretary's office, which is next to the government-houſe, in the caſtle. They have, for the moſt part, the rank of junior merchants; nevertheleſs, they are not able to earn more than a bare ſufficiency to ſubſiſt on.

Juſtice is adminiſtered to the ſervants of the Company by an aſſembly having the appellation of council of juſtice. This body is, by its conſtitution, independent of the council of India; but, as the members of which it conſiſts have equally many wants and wiſhes to be fulfilled, they likewiſe endeavour to be near the fountain head of promotion and advantage; and, as well as all others, follow the inclinations of their ſovereign ruler, in all caſes that are brought before them. This council conſiſts of a preſident who ranks next to the junior counſellor of India, eight ordinary members, and two adjutors, taken from the Company's ſervants. Their ſalary is, as I was informed, no more than two thouſand two hundred rix-dollars; which is ſcarcely ſufficient for the ſupport of their eſtabliſhments: they are, beſides, obliged to ſerve the office of counſellor of juſtice for the ſpace of ten years before they may be candidates for any other office. There are two fiſcals belonging to this council, one of which bears the title of advocate-fiſcal, or attorney-general, but whoſe office relates only to the perſons in the Company's ſervice both by ſea and by land. The other is ſtyled the water-fiſcal, and through whom all indictments relative to navigation are made. This was formerly one of the moſt lucrative employments of all India, and it is ſtill very advantageous, though not ſo much ſo as before, becauſe the private trade is nothing like ſo flouriſhing as it was in former times. The methods by which fortunes were

* About eight hundred and ſeventy-five pounds ſterling. TR.

made in this office, will eaſily be conceived by ſeafaring people. The ſecretary of the council of juſtice has the rank of merchant.

The citizens and free merchants of Batavia, who are not in the Company's ſervice, are amenable to a ſeparate municipal court of juſtice, being what is called the board of ſcheepens, or aldermen, who are eight in number, with a preſident, who is a member of the council of India.

To this court belong a ſheriff for the matters which relate to the city, and a conſtable of the territory of Batavia; both of which are very lucrative offices, and are never beſtowed but on great favourites.

The puniſhments inflicted at Batavia are exceſſively ſevere, eſpecially ſuch as fall upon the Indians. Impalement is the chief and moſt terrible.

In the year 1769, I ſaw an execution of this kind, of a Macaſſer ſlave, who had murdered his maſter; which was done in the following manner. The criminal was led in the morning to the place of execution, being the graſs-plat, which I have before taken notice of, and laid upon his belly, being held by four men. The executioner then made a tranſverſe inciſion at the lower part of the body, as far as the os ſacrum; he then introduced the ſharp point of the ſpike, which was about ſix feet long, and made of poliſhed iron, into the wound, ſo that it paſſed between the backbone and the ſkin. Two men drove it forcibly up, along the ſpine, while the executioner held the end, and gave it a proper direction, till it came out between the neck and ſhoulders. The lower end was then put into a wooden poſt, and rivetted faſt; and the ſufferer was lifted up thus impaled, and the poſt ſtuck in the ground. At the top of the poſt, about ten feet from the ground, there was a kind of little bench, upon which the body reſted.

The inſenſibility, or fortitude, of the miſerable ſufferer was incredible. He did not utter the leaſt complaint, except when the ſpike was rivetted into the pillar; the hammering and ſhaking occaſioned by it, ſeemed to be intolerable to him, and he then bellowed out for pain; and likewiſe once again, when he was lifted up and ſet in the ground. He ſat in this dreadful ſituation, till death put an end to his torments, which fortunately happened the next day, about three o'clock in the afternoon. He owed this ſpeedy termination of his miſery to a light ſhower of rain, which continued for about an hour; and he gave up the ghoſt half an hour afterwards.

There have been inſtances at Batavia of criminals who have been impaled in the dry ſeaſon, and have remained alive for eight or more days, without any food or drink, which is prevented to be given them, by a guard who is ſtationed at the place of execution, for that purpoſe. One of the ſurgeons of the city aſſured me, that none of the parts immediately neceſſary to life are injured by impalement, which makes the puniſhment the more cruel and intolerable; but that as ſoon as any water gets into the wound, it mortifies and occaſions a gangrene, which directly attacks the more noble parts, and brings on death almoſt immediately.

This miſerable ſufferer continually complained of unſufferable thirſt, which is peculiarly incident to this terrible puniſhment. The criminals are expoſed, during the whole day, to the burning rays of the ſun, and are unceaſingly tormented by numerous ſtinging inſects.

I went to ſee him again, about three hours before he died, and found him converſing with the by-ſtanders. He related to them the manner in which he had murdered his good maſter, and expreſſed his repentance and abhorrence of the crime he had committed. This he did with great compoſure; yet an inſtant afterwards, he

burſt out in the bittereſt complaints of unquenchable thirſt, and raved for drink, while no one was allowed to alleviate, by a ſingle drop of water, the excruciating torments he underwent.

This kind of puniſhment, notwithſtanding its great cruelty, is aſſerted by many to be of the higheſt neceſſity, in a country where a treacherous race of men, unreſtrained by any moral principles from the perpetration of the greateſt crimes, perform the daily menial and houſehold ſervices of the Europeans. The ſlaves that come from the iſland of Celebes, and eſpecially the Bougineſe, are guilty of the moſt horrid murders: moſt of thoſe who run mucks belong to that nation.

Theſe acts of indiſcriminate murder, are called by us mucks, becauſe the perpetrators of them, during their frenzy, continually cry out, "amok, amok," which ſignifies, kill, kill. When, by the ſwallowing of much opium or by other means, they are raiſed to a pitch of deſperate fury, they ſally out with a knife, or other weapon in their hand, and kill, without diſtinction of ſex, rank, or age, whoever they meet in the ſtreets of Batavia; and proceed in this way, till they are either ſhot dead, or taken priſoners. Their intoxication continues till death; they run in upon the arms oppoſed to them, and often kill their opponents, even after they are themſelves mortally wounded.

In order, if poſſible, to take them alive, the officers of juſtice are provided with a pole, ten or twelve feet in length, at the end of which there is a kind of fork made of two pieces of wood, three feet long, which are furniſhed within with ſharp iron ſpikes; this is held before the wretched object of purſuit, who, in his frenzy, runs into it, and is thus taken priſoner.

If he happen to be mortally wounded, he is immediately broken alive upon the wheel, without any form of trial, in the preſence of two or three of the counſellors of juſtice.

Many inſtances of mucks occurred, during my reſidence at Batavia; they were moſtly done in the evening *.

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* It is remarkable, that at Batavia, where the aſſaſſins juſt now deſcribed, when taken alive, are broken on the wheel, with every aggravation of puniſhment that the moſt rigorous juſtice can inflict, the mucks yet happen in great frequency; whilſt at Bencoolen, where they are executed in the moſt ſimple and expeditious manner, the offence is extremely rare. Exceſſes of ſeverity in puniſhment may deter men from deliberate and intereſted acts of villainy, but they only exaſperate ſtill further the atrocious enthuſiaſm of deſperadoes. The Indian who runs a muck is always firſt driven to deſperation by ſome outrage, and always firſt revenges himſelf upon thoſe who have done him wrong: they are generally ſlaves, who indeed are moſt ſubject to inſults, and leaſt able to obtain legal redreſs. It has been uſual to attribute mucks to the conſequences of the uſe of opium; but the words of Mr. Stavorinus, who ſays that they are occaſioned "by the ſwallowing of opium, or by other means," ſeem to confirm the opinion entertained by Marſden, that this ſhould probably rank with the many errors that mankind have been led into by travellers addicted to the marvellous. That theſe furious quarrels and ſanguinary attacks do actually and frequently take place in ſome parts of the eaſt, cannot be controverted; but it is not equally evident that they proceed from any intoxication except that of their unruly paſſions; and many mucks might upon ſcrutiny be found to be of the nature of one which Mr. Marſden particularizes, of a ſlave, who probably never indulged in the uſe of opium in his life, a man of ſtrong feelings, driven by exceſs of injury to domeſtic rebellion; or of that related in Lieutenant Cook's voyage in the Endeavour, of a free inhabitant of Batavia, whoſe brain was fired more by the maddening fury of jealouſy, than by any adventitious intoxication. It is true that the Malays, when bent upon any daring enterprize, fortify themſelves with a little opium, in order to become inſenſible to danger; as the people of another nation are ſaid to take a dram; but it muſt be obſerved, that the reſolution for the act precedes and is not the effect of the intoxication. They take the ſame precaution, previous to being led to public execution; but on theſe occaſions, ſhew greater ſigns of ſtupidity than of frenzy. Upon the whole it may reaſonably be concluded, that the ſanguinary achievements for which the Malays have been famous, or infamous rather, are more juſtly derived from

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The orphan-chamber at Batavia ſerves at the ſame time for the whole of the Dutch poſſeſſions in India. Every out-factory has, it is true, its own orphan-chamber, but they muſt render account of their adminiſtration, to that of the capital, and remit the effects which are not claimed, or the heirs to which do not reſide on the ſpot. That of Batavia correſponds with the orphan-chambers of the different cities where the chambers of the Eaſt India Company are eſtabliſhed *.

The board conſiſts of a preſident, who is a counſellor of India, and ſix weeſmeeſters, or regents, who are appointed by the council of India; with a ſecretary, and a ſworn clerk. The capital ſtock, remaining in the hands of the orphan-chambers amounted in the year 1766 to *f.* 2,393,566 †.

There are ſeveral other courts, or boards, as the commiſſioners of dikes and ſluices, thoſe of bankruptcies, a court of common pleas, a board of controul over marriages, and others.

A ſociety was eſtabliſhed at Batavia, during the government of Baron Van Imhof, for the opium-trade, which is ſtill in exiſtence.

The ſtock of the ſociety is divided into ſhares of two thouſand rix-dollars each, on which the half has hitherto only been furniſhed, but the remainder may be required at any time.

The dividends are unequal, yet very large, and the ſhares are ſold at a high premium; they are generally in the hands of the counſellors of India.

The management of this trade is entruſted to a director, who is a counſellor of India, two acting proprietors, a caſhier, and a book-keeper.

Every cheſt of opium ſtands the Company in two hundred and fifty, and ſometimes in three hundred rix-dollars, and is delivered to the ſociety for five hundred, and ſometimes more. On the other hand, the Company is bound to ſell this drug to no other. The retail of it produces large profits, as the ſociety make eight or nine hundred rix-dollars, and more, of every cheſt. The gain would be more conſiderable, if this monopoly could be ſtrictly enforced, for the whole quantity of opium, conſumed in the eaſtern parts of India; but, notwithſtanding the Company have interdicted this trade to their ſervants, and eſpecially to the ſeamen, upon pain of death, and have prohibited the importation into any of their poſſeſſions, by foreign nations, upon pain of confiſcation of ſhip and cargo, yet very great violations of theſe laws are daily practiſed in ſecret on account of the important profit which this branch of trade affords; by which the ſociety is much injured, although on their part they do all they can, on the arrival of ſhips from the Ganges, to diſcover if any contraband opium be on board: but thoſe who engage in this illicit trade take too many precautions to run any danger of detection. The ſmuggling trade which the Engliſh carry on in this article, in the eaſtern iſlands and by way of Malacca, is alſo extremely detrimental to the ſociety.

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the natural ferocity of their diſpoſition, than from the qualities of any drug whatever. At Batavia, if an officer take one of theſe amoks, or mohawks as they have been called by an eaſy corruption, alive his reward is very conſiderable, but if he kill them nothing is added to his uſual pay; yet ſuch is the fury of their deſperation, that three out of four are of neceſſity deſtroyed in the attempt to ſecure them. Tr.

* Weeſkamers, or orphan-chambers, are eſtabliſhments which are diſperſed throughout the United Provinces, for the adminiſtration of the eſtates of all who die inteſtate, and the apportionment of them among the heirs. Tr.

† About two hundred and twenty thouſand pounds ſterling. Tr.

When any ſhips arrive in the road of Batavia, from ſuch places whence contraband goods can be brought, two of the members of the council of juſtice, with the water-fiſcal, and the provoſt-marſhal, are diſpatched the next day, in order to examine whether any prohibited wares are on board; the examination however is only perſonally done by the laſt-named officer, who reports the reſult to the others.

A chief of the marine, or port admiral, has been eſtabliſhed at Batavia ſince the year 1762. This office was filled by Mr. N. Houtingh, vice-admiral of Holland, of the northern diviſion. He is in rank equal to a counſellor of India, but takes place after the junior counſellor. He has the ſame privileges; has equally the ſtyle of Edele heer, and may be preſent at their aſſemblies, but may not deliver his ſentiments, except in matters relative to his department.

His chief occupation conſiſts in ſuperintending the reparation of ſhips; in examining the ſhips' journals; in ſigning the ſailing orders, and the warrants for delivery of ſtores to the ſhips; and further, in keeping all that relates to maritime affairs in due order.

Upon this officer follows the commandant and upper comptroller of equipment, to whom the management of the ſtores is confided. He has likewiſe the ſuperintendance over the diſcharging and loading of the ſhips, the manning of them, and the furniſhing them with proviſions. This is alſo one of the moſt lucrative, but at the ſame time one of the moſt troubleſome, employments at Batavia. Since he has a head placed over him; however, the former quality has greatly decreaſed, while the latter has remained in full force. He is aſſiſted by a vice-commandant and under-comptroller of equipment, to whom he generally delegates the ſuperintendance of the loading and unloading of the ſhips, and who ſupplies his place in caſes of ſickneſs or abſence. This gentleman has the rank of poſt-captain.

The Company have granted to theſe three officers, as an emolument, the privilege of ſhipping ſome tons of goods (contraband wares excepted) by every ſhip that ſails to India, according to the ſize of the veſſels; and if a ſhip's captain do not buy up theſe goods of them, at a very high rate, he is ſure to find very ſcanty opportunities of diſpoſing of his own.

The commanders of veſſels, with their lieutenants and mates, follow next in order; the firſt rank equal with merchants: when I was at Batavia, in 1770, there were thirty-nine of them who reſided there or commanded country ſhips.

The whole of the land-forces of the Dutch in India are under the command of one head, who was formerly ſtyled captain-major, but has now the title of brigadier. In rank he follows upon the chief of the marine. He has two lieutenant-colonels under him; one of whom has the command of the military at Batavia, and the other at Ceylon; there are beſides ſix majors, two of whom reſide at Ceylon, one on the Malabar coaſt, one at the Cape of Good Hope, and two at Batavia; one of theſe laſt is, at the ſame time, chief of the artillery.

There is a regiment of dragoons, which ſerve as a body guard to the governor general. The infantry are divided into two battalions; and are quartered within and without the city.

Beſides theſe regular troops, two companies called penniſts are embodied, conſiſting in merchants, junior merchants, book-keepers, and aſſiſtants. One company are called penniſts of the caſtle, and the other penniſts of the city. The former are commanded by the firſt ſecretary of the government, and the latter by one of the ſenior merchants of the caſtle. They are reviewed once a year by the governor general and the council; and each company have a diſtinct uniform.

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The other Company's ſervants are alſo formed into two companies, one conſiſting in the marines and others belonging to the admiralty wharf, with the commandant and upper comptroller of equipment at their head; the other of the workmen of the ambagts kwartier, with the fabriek as their captain.

Independently of theſe, all the free inhabitants, or citizens, are likewiſe enrolled in two companies of horſe and of foot, which are commanded by a counſellor of India, as colonel, and mount guard every night at the town-hall.

All the practitioners of ſurgery are ſubordinate to a chief, who has the controul over all the ſurgeons, and ſurgeon's mates, as well on board of the ſhips as in the hoſpitals; and who has the rank of ſenior merchant.

It will not be unſuitable in this place, to make ſome mention of the diſtinctions of precedency and rank, which are ſo minutely attended to in all the Company's poſſeſſions in India, and which may, on no account, be neglected; more eſpecially in all public companies and aſſemblies. Every individual is as ſtiff and formal, and is as feelingly alive to every infraction of his privileges, in this reſpect, as if his happineſs or miſery depended wholly upon the due obſervance of them. Nothing is more particularly attended to, at entertainments and in companies, by the maſter of the houſe, than the ſeating of every gueſt, and drinking their healths in the exact order of precedency. The ladies are peculiarly prone to inſiſt upon every prerogative attached to the ſtation of their huſbands; ſome of them, if they conceive themſelves placed a jot lower than they are entitled to, will ſit in ſullen and proud ſilence for the whole time the entertainment laſts. It does not unfrequently happen, that two ladies of equal rank, meeting each other in their carriages, one will not give way to the other, though they may be forced to remain for hours in the ſtreet. Not long before I left Batavia, this happened between two clergymen's wives, who chancing to meet in their carriages in a narrow place, neither would give way, but ſtopped the paſſage for full a quarter of an hour, during which time, they abuſed each other in the moſt virulent manner, making uſe of the moſt reproachful epithets, and whore and ſlave's brat were bandied about without mercy: the mother of one of theſe ladies, it ſeems, had been a ſlave, and the other, as I was told, was not a little ſuſpected of richly deſerving the firſt appellation: they, at laſt, rode by one another, continuing their railing till they were out of ſight; but this occurrence was the occaſion of an action, which was brought before the council, and carried on with the greateſt virulence and perſeverance.

To provide againſt theſe diſputes on the ſubject of precedency, the reſpective ranks of all the Company's ſervants were aſcertained by a reſolution of government, which was renewed in 1764; and a regulation reſpecting the pomp of funeral proceſſions, was at the ſame time added to it, which is ſtill in force.

Regulations were likewiſe introduced with reſpect to dreſs, during the government of the governor-general Moſſel; by which perſons of a certain condition were alone allowed to wear embroidered or laced clothes; but this is but little attended to at preſent, for almoſt every one who chooſes now goes dreſſed in this forbidden finery, and ſumptuary laws ſoon grow into diſuſe here as well as in other places. Velvet coats are, however, not common, and they are abſolutely prohibited to be worn by any one under the rank of ſenior merchant *.

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* The act by which theſe regulations were eſtabliſhed, is compoſed, together with a ſupplement, of a hundred and thirty-one articles, and relates to all the Dutch ſettlements in India. It enters into the moſt minute detail reſpecting the carriages, horſes, chairs, ſervants, dreſs, &c. of the Company's ſervants, and exhibits a ſtrange picture of meanneſs and illiberality in the midſt of affected grandeur. By the 8th article, little

When their number is complete, there are twelve clergymen of the reformed religion at Batavia, ſix of whom preach in the Dutch, four in the Portugueſe, and two in the Malay languages; there are likewiſe three Lutheran miniſters, who preach in Dutch.

Service is performed every Sunday in the above three languages; in Dutch, at two churches in the morning, but only at one in the afternoon. An examination of catechumens takes place every Wedneſday evening. So that upon the whole theſe reverend gentlemen need not complain, when their number is complete, of too ſevere labour in the vineyard of the Lord. The morning ſervice commences at half paſt eight o'clock, and is generally over by ten, when the greateſt heat of the day begins to come on.

Eccleſiaſtical diſputes are never heard of here. The Company's government, who are extremely anxious to avoid every thing that could interrupt the public tranquillity, would ſoon terminate the quarrel, by the ſummary argument of force; an example whereof is to be met with in Valentyn.

It is much to be wiſhed, that upright and learned clergymen were alone ſent hither. Yet that this is not always the caſe, appears from a reſolution taken by the government there in the year 1768, earneſtly to requeſt that the aſſembly of ſeventeen would diſpatch ſome miniſters of the goſpel, poſſeſſed of virtue and learning, to Batavia, with an augmentation of ſalaries and emoluments. Their ſalary was then one thouſand eight hundred gilders per annum, but with their allowances for houſe-rent, board, &c. they could reckon upon three thouſand *, which is certainly not enough to live upon at Batavia, with a family, and on an equal footing with the ſenior merchants.

Once in every year, or ſometimes only once in two years, one of the clergymen of Batavia, goes upon a viſitation to the Company's poſſeſſions on Sumatra's weſt coaſt.

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little chaiſes for children, drawn by the hand, muſt not be gilt, or painted, but in the exact proportion of the rank of the parents. By the 31ſt, it is ordained, that no one lower in rank than a merchant ſhall make uſe of a paraſol, or umbrella, in the neighbourhood of the caſtle, except when it rains. Ladies, whoſe huſbands are below the rank of counſellors of India, may not wear at one time jewels of more in value than ſix thouſand rix-dollars; wives of ſenior merchants are limited to four thouſand, others to three thouſand, and a thouſand. Article 49th, permits ladies of the higher ranks to go abroad with three female attendants, who may wear "ear rings of ſingle middle-ſized diamonds, gold hair-pins, petticoats of cloth of gold, or ſilver, or of ſilk, jackets of gold or ſilver gauze, chains of gold, or of beads, and girdles of gold, but neither pearls, nor diamonds, nor any other kind of jewels in the hair." Wives of ſenior merchants may have two, and ladies in an inferior ſtation one maid, who may wear "ear-rings of ſmall diamonds, gold hair-pins, a jacket of fine linen, and a chintz petticoat, but no gold or ſilver ſtuffs or ſilks, or any jewels, true or falſe pearls, or any other ornaments of gold." By article 65, none but perſons of the higheſt rank are allowed to have any trumpets, clarions, or drums among the muſic, with which it is cuſtomary to entertain gueſts during dinner. There is a wiſe recommendation in the 83d article, to the officers of the Company in Bengal, not to ſurpaſs their predeceſſors in pomp of dreſs or appearance, and eſpecially not the governors or chiefs of the other European ſettlements. Perhaps the 110th article is the moſt curious of all. It allows to the director at Surat when he goes out in ſtate, among other things, four fans, made according to the faſhion of the country, with the feathers of birds of paradiſe, and cow-hair, with golden caſes and handles. It is in this ſame act of the council that the orders before noticed, reſpecting the homage to be paid by every one on meeting the members of the government in their carriages, or when they enter the churches are inſerted. It likewiſe fixes the duties to be paid upon all carriages, horſes, &c. It is worthy of obſervation, that thoſe upon carriages increaſe downwards, from the higher to the lower ranks; members of the government pay fifty rix-dollars per annum, captains of the military, merchants, &c. 100, junior merchants, &c. 125, book-keepers, &c. 180, citizens of no ſpecial rank, and native inhabitants of conſideration 200, and the common natives 300 rixdollars, for keeping of carriages. Larger or ſmaller fines are the penalties attached to the infraction of almoſt all theſe ſumptuary regulations. Where wealth and pride unite, they are therefore of little avail to reſtrain an exceſs of luxury. TR.

* About 275l. ſterling. TR.

Some

Some of them well know how to avail of ſuch occaſions, to the advantage of their pockets, by taking with them as much merchandize for ſale as they can find room for in the ſhip, by which they take their paſſage.

The coins current at Batavia are the following: the milled Dutch gold ducat, which is worth ſix gilders and twelve ſtivers: the Japan gold coupangs, of which the old go for twenty-four gilders, and the new for fourteen gilders and eight ſtivers: the Spaniſh dollar, or piaſter, riſes and falls according to the quantity in circulation, or the degree of demand; its value is generally between ſixty-three and ſixty-ſix ſtivers: the milled ſilver ducatoon, which is the current coin of the Company, throughout their poſſeſſions, except on the continent of India; its proportionate value according to the other coins is ſixty-ſix ſtivers; but in Indian money it goes for eighty, at which rate it is current at Batavia; at the Cape of Good Hope it is worth ſeventy-two, and at Cochin ſeventy-five ſtivers: the unmilled ducatoon is two ſtivers leſs at Batavia: the milled Batavia rupee called the ſilver derham d'Java, which was formerly coined at Batavia, is made good in the Company's books at twenty-four ſtivers, and in circulation it is taken at thirty; it is the only rupee that goes for ſo much at Batavia, and is current at Amboyna, Banda, Ternate, Macaſſar, and Malacca, at the ſame rate, but on the coaſt of Malabar, it is eight per cent. leſs in value than the Surat rupee; all other rupees generally go for twenty-ſeven ſtivers; the Perſian rupees are the moſt current; there are alſo half and quarter rupees in circulation: the ſmaller coins are ſkillings, dubbeltjes, or two-penny-pieces, and doits; there are two ſorts of ſkillings, the old, which are the ſame as are current in Holland, go for ſix ſtivers, but the new, which are here called ſhip-ſkillings, are worth ſeven and a half: two-penny-pieces, which are old and worn, go for two ſtivers, but the new for two ſtivers and a half; no other doits are taken in change than thoſe that are ſtamped with the mark of the Eaſt India Company, and theſe are equal to a farthing in value: the rix-dollar, which is the money uſed for accounts in private trade, is a coin, which is worth forty-eight ſtivers, thus three new or milled ducatoons are equal to five rix-dollars *.

Moſt merchants' goods are calculated at Batavia by picols of one hundred and twenty-five pounds, Amſterdam weight †, and theſe are ſubdivided into a hundred cattis, each weighing one pound and a quarter.

Rice and other grain is meaſured by coyangs, which differ in weight. On the receipt of the rice by the Company at Java, they muſt weigh three thouſand five hundred pounds. They are ſhipped to Batavia for three thouſand four hundred, and landed there for three thouſand three hundred. The warehouſe-keepers diſpatch them for the out-factories for three thouſand two hundred, where they are unloaden for three

* The following is a table of the value in ſterling money of the above coins, at the par exchange of *f.*11 per pound; viz.

					£.	s.	d.
The old Japan gold coupang		*f.* 24	0	or	2	3	7¾
The new ditto		14	8		1	6	2¾
The milled Dutch ducat		6	12		0	12	0
The ſilver milled ducatoon		4	0		0	7	3¾
The unmilled ditto		3	18		0	7	1
The Spaniſh dollar from		3	3		0	5	8¾
to		3	6		0	6	0
The rix-dollar		2	8		0	4	4¾
The Batavia rupee		1	10		0	2	8¾
Other rupees, about		1	7		0	2	5½

† Ricaud, in his *Traité de Commerce*, makes the picol, at Batavia, equal to 118⅓lb. Amſterdam weight. Tr.

thouſand

thouſand one hundred, and, finally, they are delivered for conſumption for three thouſand pounds at the out-factories, namely, thoſe that receive their rice from Batavia, as Malacca, the Cape of Good Hope, Ceylon, Sumatra's weſt coaſt, &c. thus every coyang loſes five hundred pounds in weight *.

Sugar is taken by canaſſers of three picols, or three hundred and ſeventy-five pounds, neat, each: the groſs weight is about four hundred or four hundred and five pounds.

The ganting is a ſmall rice meaſure, of thirteen pounds and a half in weight.

Every bag of coffee, which is ſhipped from Batavia to Holland, weighs two hundred and fifty-two, and a bale of cinnamon, eighty pounds.

CHAP. V. — *Mode of Living of the Europeans at Batavia. — Women. — Their early Marriages. — Complexion. — Temper. — Manner of Life. — Education of Children. — Bathing. — Exceſſive Jealouſy of the Indian Ladies. — Cruelty to their Female Slaves. — Short Widowhoods. — Their Dreſs. — Diverſions. — Carriages. — Norimons. — Carts drawn by Buffaloes. — Further Particulars of the Management of the Company's Trade. — Senior Merchants of the Caſtle. — Adminiſtrators, or Warehouſe-keepers. — Commiſſaries at the Warehouſes. — Exportation of Gold and Silver to India.*

EUROPEANS, whether Dutch or of any other nation, and in whatever ſtation they are, live at Batavia nearly in the ſame manner. In the morning at five o'clock, or earlier, when the day breaks, they get up. Many of them then go and ſit at their doors; but others ſtay in the houſe, with nothing but a light gown, in which they ſleep, thrown over their naked limbs; they then breakfaſt upon coffee or tea; afterwards they dreſs, and go out to attend to the buſineſs they may have. Almoſt all, who have any place or employment, muſt be at their proper ſtation at or before eight o'clock, and they remain at work till eleven, or half paſt. At twelve o'clock they dine; take an afternoon's nap till four, and attend to their buſineſs again till ſix, or take a tour out of the city in a carriage. At ſix o'clock they aſſemble in companies, and play or converſe till nine, when they return home; whoever chooſes to ſtay to ſupper is welcome; and eleven o'clock is the uſual hour of retiring to reſt. Convivial gaiety ſeems to reign among them, and yet it is linked with a kind of ſuſpicious reſerve, which pervades all ſtations and all companies, and is the conſequence of an arbitrary and jealous government. The leaſt word, that may be wreſted to an evil meaning, may bring on very ſerious conſequences, if it reach the ears of the perſon who is aggrieved either in fact or imagination. I have heard many people aſſert, that they would not confide in their own brothers, in this country.

No women are preſent at theſe aſſemblies, they have their own ſeparate companies.

Married men neither give themſelves much concern about their wives, nor ſhew them much regard. They ſeldom converſe with them, at leaſt not on uſeful ſubjects, or ſuch as concern ſociety. After having been married for years, the ladies

* This deficiency is an allowance which is made to the Company's ſervants who reſpectively have the management of the rice, for inſtance, for every 3,300 received at Batavia, the warehouſe-keepers are only bound to deliver 3,200, &c. Out of this difference they muſt make good all loſs by duſt, &c. and what they can keep over is a perquiſite to themſelves. Similar allowances are made on moſt of the goods in which the Company trade, and they are all very particularly fixed by a reſolution of the council. They form a very material part of the income of the Company's ſervants; who, however, are bound to ſell again to the Company what they have gained in this way of all ſpices, coffee, ſaltpetre, japan copper, and tin; the other articles they are allowed to diſpoſe of as they pleaſe. TR.

are often therefore as ignorant of the world and of manners, as upon their wedding-day. It is not that they have no capacity to learn, but the men have no inclination to teach.

The men generally go dreſſed in the Dutch faſhion, and often wear black.

As ſoon as you enter a houſe, where you intend to ſtop for an hour or more, you are deſired by the maſter to make yourſelf comfortable by taking off ſome of your clothes, &c. This is done by laying aſide the ſword, pulling off the coat and wig (for moſt men wear wigs here), and ſubſtituting in the room of the laſt, a little white night-cap, which is generally carried in the pocket for that purpoſe.

When they go out on foot they are attended by a ſlave, who carries a ſunſhade (called here ſambreel, or payang) over their heads; but whoever is lower in rank than a junior merchant may not have a ſlave behind him, but muſt carry a ſmall ſunſhade himſelf.

Moſt of the white women, who are ſeen at Batavia, are born in the Indies. Thoſe who come from Europe at a marriageable age, are very few in number. I ſhall therefore confine my obſervations to the former.

Theſe are either the offſpring of European mothers, or of oriental female ſlaves, who having firſt been miſtreſſes to Europeans, have afterwards been married to them, and have been converted to Chriſtianity, or at leaſt have aſſumed the name of Chriſtians.

The children produced by theſe marriages, may be known to the third and fourth generation, eſpecially by the eyes, which are much ſmaller than in the unmixed progeny of Europeans.

There are likewiſe children who are the offſpring of Portugueſe, but theſe never become entirely white.

Children born in the Indies, are nick-named Liplaps by the Europeans, although both parents may have come from Europe.

Girls are commonly marriageable at twelve or thirteen years of age, and ſometimes younger. It ſeldom happens, if they are but tolerably handſome, have any money, or any to expect, or are related to people in power, that they are unmarried after that age.

As they marry while they are yet children, it may eaſily be conceived, that they do not poſſeſs thoſe requiſites which enable a woman to manage a family with propriety. There are many of them who can neither read nor write, nor poſſeſs any ideas of religion, of morality, or of ſocial intercourſe.

Being married ſo young, they ſeldom get many children, and are old women at thirty years of age. Women of fifty in Europe look younger and freſher, than thoſe of thirty at Batavia. They are, in general, of a very delicate make, and of an extreme fair complexion; but the tints of vermillion which embelliſh our northern ladies are wholly abſent from their cheeks; the ſkin of the face and hands is of the moſt deadly pale white. Beauties muſt not be ſought amongſt them; the handſomeſt whom I ſaw would ſcarcely be thought middling pretty in Europe.

They have very ſupple joints, and can turn their fingers, hands, and arms, in almoſt every direction; but this they have in common with the women in the Weſt Indies, and in other tropical climates.

They are commonly of a liſtleſs and lazy temper; but this ought chiefly to be aſcribed to their education, and the number of ſlaves, of both ſexes, that they always have to wait upon them.

They riſe about half paſt ſeven, or eight o'clock, in the morning. They ſpend the

forenoon in playing and toying with their female ſlaves, whom they are never without, and in laughing and talking with them, while a few moments afterwards they will have the poor creatures whipped moſt unmercifully for the mereſt trifle. They loll, in a looſe and airy dreſs, upon a ſofa, or ſit upon a low ſtool, or upon the ground, with their legs croſſed under them. In the mean time, they do not omit the chewing of pinang, or betel, with which cuſtom all the Indian women are infatuated: they likewiſe maſticate the Java tobacco; this makes their ſpittle of a crimſon colour, and when they have done it long they get a black border along their lips, their teeth become black, and their mouths are very diſagreeable, though it is pretended that this uſe purifies the mouth, and preſerves from the tooth-ache.

As the Indian women are really not deficient in powers of underſtanding, they would become very uſeful members of ſociety, endearing wives, and good mothers, if they were but kept from familiarity with the ſlaves in their infancy, and educated under the immediate eye of their parents, who ſhould be aſſiduous to inculcate, in their tender minds, the principles of true morality, and poliſhed manners. But alas! the parents are far from taking ſuch a burthenſome taſk upon themſelves. As ſoon as the child is born; they abandon it to the care of a female ſlave, who generally ſuckles it, and by whom it is reared till it attains the age of nine or ten years. Theſe nurſes are often but one remove above a brute, in point of intellect; and the little innocents imbibe with their milk all the prejudices and ſuperſtitious notions which diſgrace the minds of their attendants, and which are never eradicated during the remainder of their lives, but ſeem to ſtamp them, rather with the character of the progeny of deſpicable ſlaves, than of a civilized race of beings.

They are remarkably fond of bathing and ablutions, and they make uſe of a large tub for this purpoſe, which holds three hogſheads of water, and in which they immerge their whole body, at leaſt twice a week. Some of them do this, in the morning, in one of the running ſtreams out of the city.

In common with moſt of the women in India they cheriſh a moſt exceſſive jealouſy of their huſbands, and of their female ſlaves. If they diſcover the ſmalleſt familiarity between them, they ſet no bounds to their thirſt of revenge againſt theſe poor bondſ-women, who in moſt caſes have not dared to reſiſt the will of their maſters, for fear of ill-treatment.

They torture them in various ways; they have them whipped with rods, and beat with rattans, till they ſink down before them, nearly exhauſted: among other methods of tormenting them, they make the poor girls ſit before them in ſuch a poſture that they can pinch them with their toes in a certain ſenſible part, which is the peculiar object of their vengeance, with ſuch cruel ingenuity, that they faint away by the exceſs of pain.

I ſhall refrain from the recital of inſtances, which I have heard of the moſt refined cruelty practiſed upon theſe wretched victims of jealouſy, by Indian women, and which have been related to me by witneſſes worthy of belief; they are too repugnant to every feeling of humanity, and ſurpaſs the uſual bounds of credibility.

Having thus ſatiated their anger upon their ſlaves, their next object is to take equal revenge upon their huſbands, which they do in a manner leſs cruel, and more pleaſant to themſelves.

The warmth of the climate, which influences ſtrongly upon their conſtitutions, together with the diſſolute lives of the men before marriage, are the cauſes of much wantonneſs and diſſipation among the women.

Marriages are always made at Batavia on Sundays, yet the bride never appears abroad before the following Wedneſday evening, when ſhe attends divine ſervice; to be ſooner ſeen in public would be a violation of the rules of decorum.

As ſoon as a woman becomes a widow, and the body of her huſband is interred, which is generally done the day after his deceaſe, if ſhe be but rich ſhe has immediately a number of ſuitors. A certain lady, who loſt her huſband while I was at Batavia, had in the fourth week of her widowhood a fourth lover, and at the end of three months ſhe married again, and would have done it ſooner if the laws had allowed of it.

Their dreſs is very light and airy; they have a piece of cotton cloth wrapped round the body, and faſtened under the arms, next to the ſkin; over it they wear a ſhift, a jacket, and a chintz petticoat; which is all covered by a long gown, or kabay, as it is called, which hangs looſe; the ſleeves come down to the wriſts, where they are faſtened cloſe with ſix or ſeven little gold or diamond buttons. When they go out in ſtate, or to a company where they expect the preſence of a lady of a counſellor of India, they put on a very fine muſlin kabay, which is made like the other, but hangs down to the feet, while the firſt only reaches to the knees. When they invite each other, it is always with the condition of coming with the long or the ſhort kabay. They all go with their heads uncovered; the hair, which is perfectly black, is worn in a wreath, faſtened with gold and diamond hair-pins, which they call a condé*: in the front and on the ſides of the head, it is ſtroked ſmooth, and rendered ſhining by being anointed with cocoa-nut oil. They are particularly ſet upon this head-dreſs, and the girl who can dreſs their hair the moſt to their liking, is their chief favourite among their ſlaves. On Sundays they ſometimes dreſs in the European ſtyle, with ſtays and other faſhionable incumbrances, which however they do not like at all, being accuſtomed to a dreſs ſo much looſer, and more pleaſant, in this torrid clime.

When a lady goes out, ſhe has uſually four or more female ſlaves attending her, one of whom bears her betel-box. They are ſumptuouſly adorned with gold and ſilver, and this oſtentatious luxury the Indian ladies carry to a very great exceſs†.

They ſeldom mix in company with the men, except at marriage-feaſts.

The title of My Lady is given excluſively to the wives of counſellors of India.

The ladies are very fond of riding through the ſtreets of the town in their carriages, in the evening. Formerly, when Batavia was in a more flouriſhing condition, they were accompanied by muſicians: but this is little cuſtomary at preſent, no more than rowing through the canals that interſect the town in little pleaſure boats; and the going upon theſe parties, which were equally enlightened by muſic, was called orang-bayen.

When I came to Batavia, there was a theatre there; but it was given up before my departure.

The coaches uſed at Batavia are ſmall and light. No one is reſtrained from keeping a carriage, but all are limited with reſpect to its decoration and painting. Theſe are ſcrupulouſly regulated according to the reſpective ranks. Glaſs windows to coaches

* The Engliſh travellers, who have viſited Batavia, have all admired the taſte of this head-dreſs, which they have thought inexpreſſibly elegant. When the ladies pay their evening viſits to each other, the wreath of hair is ſurrounded by a chaplet of flowers, in which the grateful fragrance of the nyctanthes ſambac, or Arabian jeſſamine, unites with the modeſt ſweetneſs of the polianthes tuberoſa, and is beautifully intermixed with the golden ſtars of the mimuſops elengi. Tr.

† See the note in the foregoing chapter relative to the ſumptuary regulations introduced at Batavia, of which this ſeems to be a notorious infraction. Tr.

are alone allowed to the members of the government, who have alſo the privilege of painting or gilding their carriages agreeable to their own taſte.

It is ordained that a ſlave ſhall run before every wheel-carriage, with a ſtick in his hand, in order to give notice of its nearneſs, and prevent all accidents; for the ſtreets not being paved, the approach of the carriage cannot be otherwiſe eaſily perceived.

A yearly tax is paid to the Company for keeping a carriage; but moſt people hire one, at the rate of ſixty rix-dollars a month, of the licenſed ſtable-keepers, by whom the duty is paid *. Counſellors of India, and a few others of the Company's upper ſervants are exempted from it.

Sedan chairs are not in uſe here. The ladies, however, ſometimes employ a conveyance that is ſomewhat like them, and is called a norimon. This is a kind of box, narrower at the top than the bottom, and carried by a thick bamboo pole faſtened over the top. They ſit in it, with their legs croſſed under them, and have then juſt room enough to ſit upright without being ſeen.

The carts drawn by buffaloes, which ſerve to convey goods inland, are of a very ſimple and no leſs clumſy conſtruction. A long pole which ſerves for a beam, goes through an axle-tree, which turns two wheels, or rather round blocks like quoits, which are ſawn out of the trunk of a thick tree, being about four feet in diameter, and having a round hole in the center through which the end of the axle-tree is inſerted. At the farther end of the beam there is a croſs piece of wood, of four or five feet in length, with four ſtout pegs, which is laid upon the ſhoulders of two buffaloes, in the manner of a yoke, ſo that their necks fit between the pegs, and this ſerves both to bear the weight of the cart and to drag it along. The carts themſelves are ſmall, and cannot carry a great weight; they have a covering made of leaves to preſerve the load from the rain.

The trade of the Company, as we have before ſaid, is managed by the director-general. The burthenſome duty of his office, is greatly alleviated by two aſſiſtants, who are ſenior merchants of the caſtle. Their buſineſs conſiſts chiefly in ſuperintending the houſing in the Company's warehouſes of all goods which are brought to Batavia by their ſhips, and the delivery of them again; all returns on this ſcore are firſt made to them. The ſenior of them has the ſuperintendance over all the goods that arrive, and the other over thoſe that are diſpatched. Deliveries are made on warrants ſigned by one of them. All papers relative to trade, which are received from the out-factories, are examined by them, and they report their contents to the director. They are both likewiſe adminiſtrators of the great treaſury, but derive little emolument from it. Their office is one of the moſt troubleſome of any in the Company's civil ſervice at Batavia, and is not equally lucrative in compariſon with others, to which leſs labour is attached, and whence much greater profits accrue; yet it is an office of much conſideration, as it gives the precedency before all other ſenior merchants.

All merchandize is houſed in the Company's repoſitories, which are ſituated partly in the city of Batavia, and partly on the iſland of Onruſt, under the direction of adminiſtrators, or warehouſe-keepers, who muſt render account of the ſame.

This branch of buſineſs is divided into ſeveral departments, each of which has two adminiſtrators, two commiſſaries, and a book-keeper. Some of theſe adminiſtratorſhips are very lucrative employments, eſpecially that of the iſland Onruſt, on account of the large quantities of goods which are laid up there. A certain per centage is allowed to

* The annual tax paid by the ſtable keepers, is eighty rix-dollars if living within, and fifty if without, the city. On a former occaſion, the different rates of the duty on carriages paid by different perſons have been noticed. TR.

all the adminiſtrators, upon the whole of the goods which they deliver for waſte, loſs in weight, and damage, when the delivery is effected within a twelvemonth after the receipt; but when the goods have lain more than a year in the warehouſes, the allowance is greater.

The occupation of the commiſſaries at the warehouſes is, to take care that the Company ſuffer no prejudice at the receipt or delivery of goods. They are obliged to be preſent at the weighing of every thing, and to be attentive to the accuracy of the weight; an oath of fidelity in the diſcharge of their duty is adminiſtered to them annually by the council of juſtice.

The quantity of goods ſent from Europe to India is inconſiderable, in compariſon with thoſe which are conveyed from one part of the Indies to another, or to Europe. The chief article of exportation to India is gold and ſilver, both bullion and coined *.

CHAP. VI. — *A ſhort Account of the Out-factories. — Amboyna. — Banda. — Ternate. — Macaſſer. — Timor. — Benjermaſſing. — Malacca. — The north-eaſt Coaſt of Java. — Coaſt of Coromandel. — Ceylon. — Bengal. — Surat. — Coaſt of Malabar. — Weſt Coaſt of Sumatra. — Bantam. — Palembang. — Cheribon. — Trade to Japan. — To China. — Abandonment of ſeveral Factories, and Trading-places. — Decay of the Company's Trade in the Weſt of India, chiefly owing to the Preponderance of the Engliſh. — Premiums to the Ship's Crews that return from India. — Decay of Batavia, by the Decreaſe of private Trade. — Unhealthineſs of the Place. — Adminiſtration of the Province of Jaccatra. — Imports at Batavia. — The Iſland of Onruſt. — De Kuiper. — Purmerend. — Edam.*

THE Company's poſſeſſions in India, are diſtinguiſhed into thoſe ſituated to the eaſtward, and thoſe to the weſtward of Batavia. To the eaſtward, the government or province of Amboyna holds the firſt rank; to it belong the neighbouring iſlands, and part of the iſland of Ceram. The Company's ſervants appertaining to Amboyna, are in number about eight or nine hundred.

The only article of trade produced here is cloves; theſe are grown in ſuch quantities, that the government at Batavia ſometimes order a large number of clove-trees to be extirpated, and that no more than a certain fixed number ſhall be planted.

Thus, by a reſolution of the year 1768, they ordered that the propagation of the clove-trees ſhould ceaſe till their number was reduced to five hundred and fifty thouſand; the number of trees both young and fruit-bearing was then ſeven hundred and fifty-nine thouſand and forty. In the year 1770, an extraordinary fine crop produced upwards of two million two hundred thouſand pounds of cloves; each pound ſcarcely ſtands the Company in more than five ſtivers †.

Banda is the ſecond government to the eaſtward. It conſiſts of ſeveral ſmall iſlands ‡. The number of Europeans in garriſon or otherwiſe in the ſervice of the Company there does not much differ from that at Amboyna.

It

* The annual exportation of the precious metals to India, by the Dutch Eaſt India Company, has been calculated at *f.* 6,000,000, or nearly 550,000l. Tr.

† On Mr. Stavorinus's ſecond voyage he viſited Amboyna, and has there, in book ii. given a very copious account of it. We refrain, therefore, from making any additions to his ſhort notice of it in this chapter; and ſhall only enlarge on thoſe ſettlements which he did not himſelf touch at, and of which he gives no further, or a very ſlight account. Tr.

‡ The province of Banda is about three or four weeks ſail from Batavia; it conſiſts of ſix ſmall iſlands, which lie cloſe to each other; upon Neira, which is ſituate in four degrees thirty minutes ſouth latitude, ſtands the chief ſettlement of the province: it has a ſpacious and commodious harbour but very difficult to be entered; ſhips anchor under the cannon of two forts, called Belgica and Naſſau; the firſt ſtands upon

It has little to fear from enemies, being as it were fortified by nature, and almoſt every where inacceſſible, on account of its ſteep ſhores. The violent currents and narrow paſſages likewiſe make the navigation very dangerous *. The Company's ſhips are obliged to be warped in with the aſſiſtance of many boats.

The produce conſiſts in nutmegs and mace; the former ſtand the Company in about one and a quarter ſtiver per pound, and the latter in about nine ſtivers †. The

upon an eminence, and commands the whole extent of the iſland and of the harbour, as well as fort Naſſau; it would however at leaſt require a garriſon of four hundred men to be capable of defence, and the whole number of military in all the iſlands ſcarcely ever exceeds three hundred; the next iſland is that of Lonthoir, or Banda Proper. The reſidencies of Wayer and Oerien are on this iſland, and it has a fort and two or three redoubts: the third and fourth in importance are Puloway and Pulo-run, upon the firſt of which there is a ſmall fort, and upon the other a redoubt, and theſe four iſlands are the only places where the cultivation of the nutmeg-tree is allowed by the Company; the other two are Rozingin, on which there is a redoubt, and to this iſland the Company often baniſh their ſtate-priſoners; and Gunung-api, which has a volcano, conſtantly emitting ſmoke and often flames. To this government likewiſe belong ſeveral other iſlands in the neighbourhood, known by the appellations of the ſouth-eaſtern and ſouth-weſtern iſles. Their inhabitants are in alliance with the Company, and furniſh a conſiderable quantity of proviſions, conſiſting of wild boars, ſtags, ſea-cows, and other articles of food, which they barter at Neira for piece-goods and other neceſſaries. Their trade, however trifling, is of much benefit to the inhabitants of Banda; and it is ſuppoſed that the province would reap greater advantage from it, if the Company would allow Neira to become a more commercial place; but the ſuſpicious policy of the government has always been directed to prevent the frequency of communication with the ſpice iſlands, that as little opening might be left as poſſible for the proſecution of a clandeſtine trade, or for the knowledge of the ſituation, and ſtate of defence of theſe poſſeſſions. Tr.

* The eſtabliſhment at the iſles of Banda conſiſted, in 1776 and 1777, of 55 perſons in civil employments, 3 clergymen, 16 ſurgeons and aſſiſtants, 35 belonging to the artillery, 82 ſeamen and marines employed on ſhore, 283 ſoldiers, and 40 mechanics; in all 514 Europeans, beſides 21 of the natives in the Company's ſervice; yet the orders of the Company require that the garriſon here ſhould amount to 700 men. Beſides the uſual ſalaries, the Company allow their ſervants at Banda 5 per cent. on the ſale of goods imported, and 7 per cent. ſurplus weight on the nutmegs collected; $\frac{2}{3}\frac{1}{5}$ of which emoluments belong to the governor, $\frac{7}{35}$ to the ſecond in command, and the reſt is diſtributed by fixed portions among the other Company's ſervants; 6 per cent. is likewiſe allowed on the nutmegs, and 12 per cent. on the mace ſhipped off, for loſs in weight by drying, crumbling, &c.; the profit accruing by which is divided equally between the governor and the warehouſe-keepers; the governor has likewiſe an allowance of *f.*240, or about 22*l.* per month, for table money. When the Engliſh Admiral Rainier took poſſeſſion of the iſlands of Amboyna and Banda, in February and March 1796, the firſt, and indeed the only article of the capitulation was, that "the ſenior and junior officers of the civil eſtabliſhment, the clergy, the military, and the marines ſhould continue to receive their uſual pay." Notwithſtanding the natural means of defence of theſe iſlands, they fell an eaſy prey to the Engliſh; no reſiſtance was made, either here or at Amboyna, nor was there a ſhot fired, or a man killed on either ſide. Tr.

† This is nearly conformable to the prices ſtated by Abbé Raynal, who ſays that the Company paid nine ſtivers per pound for the mace, and one and an eighth for nutmegs; but the fact is, that the planters were formerly obliged to furniſh all their ſpice to the Company upon pain of death for ſelling to any other, at 14 pennings, or $\frac{7}{8}$ of a ſtiver for the ſound nutmegs; half as much for thoſe which were worm-eaten; 8 ſtivers $5\frac{1}{2}$ pennings for the mace, and half as much for the duſt of mace; but in the year 1778 a violent hurricane having ruined moſt of the plantations, the price was advanced to $3\frac{1}{2}$ ſtivers for the nutmegs, and 10 ſtivers for the mace; the charges of ſhipping both articles are about one gilder per cwt.; and taking into calculation the per centages allowed on the weight, as before mentioned, the invoice value of each would be as follows:

1coolb.	nutmegs, delivered by the planters.	
70lb.	for 7 per cent. allowed upon the collection	
930lb.	paid to the planters, at $3\frac{1}{2}$ ſt. per lb.	*f.*162. 15
56lb.	for 6 per cent. allowed upon the ſhipment.	
874lb.	neat. Charges of ſhipping, *f.*1. per cwt.	8. 15
874lb.	nutmegs, therefore, ſtood the Company in	*f.*171. 10

or 15*l.*

The third government is that of Ternate, to which the iſland of Tidore is ſubordinate. The garriſon is computed to amount altogether to ſeven hundred men. Ternate is not a ſubject of ſo much ſolicitude as the iſlands juſt mentioned, for all the ſpice-trees which it poſſeſſed, are extirpated, and no others may be planted in their ſtead *.

This

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or 15l. 11s. 10d. ſterling, being about $4\frac{3}{11}$d. per pound.		
1000lb. mace, paid to the planters, at 10 ſt. per lb.	-	f.500. 0
120lb. for 12 per cent. allowed upon the ſhipment.		
880lb. neat. Charges of ſhipping, f.1. per cwt.		8. 16
880lb. mace, therefore, ſtood the Company in		f.508. 16

or 46l. 5s. ſterling, being about $12\frac{7}{11}$d. per pound.

The real quantity of theſe precious ſpices, produced in the Banda iſles, has never been exactly known. The largeſt quantity of nutmegs ſold by the Eaſt India Company in Holland, at one time, was 280,964lb. in the year 1737; in 1756 was ſold 241,427lb.; and in 1778, 264,189lb.; the average has been taken at 250,000lb. annually, ſold in Europe, at 75 ſtivers per pound, beſides about 100,000lb. diſpoſed of in the Indies, at no leſs a rate. Of mace, the average ſold in Europe has been 90,000lb. annually, at f.6 per pound, and 10,000lb. in the Indies. Againſt, however, the amazing profits accruing upon theſe articles muſt be conſidered, the important expences of the eſtabliſhment at Banda. Three large ſhips are diſpatched thither every year from Java with rice and other neceſſaries. In the year 1779 the charges amounted to f.146,170, and the revenues proceeding from the duties on imports, &c. to f.9350, leaving a ſurplus in the charges of f.136,820, or about 12,440l. ſterling; although the able and intelligent governor General Moſſel, in his plan of reform of the Company's affairs in India, calculates that the revenues of Banda could be increaſed to f.90,000, taking, at the ſame time, the charges of the eſtabliſhment at f.155,000, by which the ultimate expence would be reduced by one half. Theſe iſlands, however, can never be expected to yield any advantage beſides that derived from the ſpice-trade. Entirely cut off from all the other parts of India, and deprived of all commerce, ſave the trifling bartering trade we have noticed with the indigent natives of the ſouth-eaſtern and ſouth-weſtern iſlands, they are even deſtitute of the means of ſubſiſtence for their own inhabitants, and muſt be ſupplied with every neceſſary from without. Nature, who has laviſhly beſtowed upon them articles of luxury and ſuperfluity, has denied them thoſe of indiſpenſable neceſſity. Banda is likewiſe accounted a moſt unhealthy place, eſpecially at the chief ſettlement of Neira. Some attribute this circumſtance to the neighbourhood of the volcano, in the iſland of Gunung Api, and others to a deleterious quality in the water.

When Admiral Rainier took poſſeſſion of Banda, he found in the treaſury 66,675 rixdollars, and in ſtore 84,777lb. nutmegs, and 19,587lb. mace. The Engliſh Eaſt India Company ſold 30,000lb. nutmegs, and 25,000lb. mace at their laſt ſpring ſale, which was the firſt public ſale in England of theſe valuable articles. Tr.

* The province of Ternate includes the iſlands of Ternate, Tidore, Motir, Machian, and Bachian; which are what are properly the Moluccas; they are the original places of growth of the finer ſpices, and larger nutmegs are ſtill found in the woods of Ternate, than any that are produced at Banda. On the iſland of Ternate, in one degree north latitude, is ſituate Fort Orange, which is the reſidence of the governor. The Spaniards had a footing in the Moluccas as late as the year 1663, at which period they abandoned their eſtabliſhment at Gammalamma, which was formerly the reſidence of the Kings of Ternate; and the Dutch Eaſt India Company proving the ſtrongeſt in their wars in 1680, with the confederated Kings of the Moluccas, the King of Ternate became tributary to them, and the Kings of the other iſlands were ſo far rendered dependent upon them, that, in the year 1778, upon ſuſpicion of their having ſet ſome machinations on foot againſt the Company, the two powerful Kings of Tidore and Bachian were depoſed, and ſent in exile to Batavia, and their thrones given to other Princes, upon condition of their becoming the vaſſals of the Company. Some places, ſituated in the eaſtern part of the iſland Celebes, belong likewiſe to this government; the chief of them are Gorontalo and Manado; and the object of the Company in ſettling there, is principally to furniſh proviſions for Ternate, that part of Celebes being very fruitful in rice and other neceſſaries. They alſo yield a conſiderable quantity of gold, about 24,000 taels, of a dollar and a half in weight,

This province coſts more to the Company than any profits that accrue from it. It is, however, of great importance, to defend the ſpice-iſlands, to which together with five or ſix other ſmall iſlands it ſerves as a key. Theſe are properly the Molucca iſlands.

A few years ago the Engliſh eſtabliſhed themſelves at a ſmall iſland, not far diſtant from Ternate, which is called Sullock, but they abandoned it again in 1766.

The charges which the Company incur at Ternate amount to about one hundred and forty thouſand gilders per annum, and the profits on the goods which are conſumed among the natives, to ſixty or ſeventy thouſand *.

This iſland ſuffered greatly in the month of Auguſt 1770 by earthquakes. More than ſixty violent ſhocks were felt in the ſpace of four-and-twenty hours, and the fortifications were much injured.

Macaſſer is the fourth government; it is ſituated on the iſland of Celebes, part of which is under the dominion of the Company, while they are in alliance with moſt of the native ſovereigns of the remainder. The eſtabliſhment here is equal to thoſe of the before-mentioned governments. There are fortreſſes, which are diſperſed over the iſland, to keep the natives in awe; but the chief power of the Company conſiſts in the policy of fomenting the mutual jealouſy of the Indian Princes, their allies, by which they are prevented from uniting, and are, in conſequence, unable to undertake any thing againſt the Dutch.

The profits of the Company amounted in the year 1755 to eighty thouſand, and their charges to one hundred and fifty-five thouſand gilders.

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weight, yearly, amounting, at 5l. per tael, to 120,000l. and eſculent birds' neſts, which are eſteemed a great delicacy by the orientals, and eſpecially by the Chineſe, in exchange for which the inhabitants take opium, Indoſtan piece-goods, chiefly blue cloth, fine Bengal coſſaes and hummums, together with ſome cutlery. Ternate does not, in general, require any ſupply of proviſions from Java as the iſles of Banda do. Some have given as a reaſon for this difference, that from the commencement of the dominion of the Dutch in the Molucca iſlands, the lives of the inhabitants have been ſpared; whereas in Banda they were all exterminated under the pretence that they were a perfidious nation upon whoſe engagements no dependance could be placed; and now that the cultivation of the ſoil there has fallen into the hands of a mixture of Europeans and Indians, either as proprietors or leſſees of the ſpice plantations, they have not been able to attend to the propagation of rice or other articles of food. In 1776-1777 the eſtabliſhment of Ternate conſiſted of 59 perſons in civil employments, 3 in eccleſiaſtical ſituations, 10 ſurgeons and aſſiſtants, 38 belonging to the artillery, 214 ſeamen and marines employed on ſhore, 456 ſoldiers, and 67 mechanics, in all 847. In addition to his ſalary the governor has a yearly allowance of *f.*2,400, or about 220l. ſterling, for the expence of entertaining the native princes; the governor and the ſecond in command have 5 per cent. divided equally between them on the ſale of all goods imported; and 1 per cent. is allowed on the collection of gold, to be divided between the governor and the collector. Tr.

* The Company pay a yearly ſum of *f.*32,250, or nearly 3000l. ſterling to the Kings of the Moluccas, in conſideration of which they engage to deſtroy all the ſpice-trees, which are diſperſed through the woods of their extenſive iſlands, and detachments of Europeans are ſent out from time to time to ſee that this extirpation be duly executed. The Company do not retain poſſeſſion of the Moluccas on account of their intrinſic value, but for political reaſons, in order to keep other nations from the neighbourhood of Amboyna and Banda, to the ſecurity of which the poſſeſſion of Ternate was ſuppoſed greatly to contribute. The expences of government at the Moluccas, were calculated by the governor General Moſſel at *f.*144,500 per annum, and the revenues at *f.*90,000; but in 1779, after the revolution mentioned in a preceding note, the former were found to amount to *f.*229,406, and the latter to *f.*114,997, leaving a deficit of *f.*114,409, or about 10,400l. ſterling, which is a large ſum, when we conſider that the mother-country derives no advantage from this ſettlement; for the profits on the gold and birds' neſts beforementioned are conſumed in India, and ſcarcely ſuffice to make good the charge of ſending a ſhip thither, as is done every year from Batavia, with ſtores and neceſſaries for the government. Tr.

Slaves

Slaves and rice are the chief objects of traffic here; but the eſtabliſhment is likewiſe conſidered of great importance, for the ſecurity of the Moluccas and the ſpice-iſlands *.

Upon the iſland of Timor, part of which belongs to the Portugueſe, and part to the Dutch, the Company have a ſmall ſettlement, the profits and expences of which are nearly equal †.

At Banjermaſſing, ſituated on the ſouth ſide of the great iſland of Borneo, the charges and revenues are equally nearly upon a par. Its chief product is pepper ‡.

Malacca

* See the further ample account of the ſettlement at Macaſſer, in Mr. Stavorinus's Second Voyage. Tr.

† Timor is an iſland lying in the direction of north-eaſt between eight degrees forty minutes and ten degrees thirty minutes, ſouth latitude; the Dutch ſettlement is at a fort called Coupang at the ſouth-weſt part of it, in latitude ten degrees twelve minutes ſouth, and in longitude, according to the Dutch charts, one hundred and twenty-one degrees fifty-one minutes eaſt, but according to Captain Bligh, in one hundred and twenty-four degrees forty-one minutes eaſt. The chief of the ſettlement has the rank of merchant, with an additional ſalary of *f.*2000, and the eſtabliſhment conſiſted in 1776 1777 of ten perſons in civil, and two in eccleſiaſtical employments, two ſurgeons, five belonging to the artillery, eight marines, forty ſoldiers, and three mechanics, in all ſeventy Europeans. The north-eaſt and ſouth ſides of the iſland belong to the Dutch, whoſe governor has equally the controul over the neighbouring ſmall iſlands of Rotti, Savu, and ſome others, which are governed by their own native Princes, but who are dependent of the Company, and pay yearly acknowledgments of ſmall value, conſiſting principally in wax, which is the chief article produced in their domains. The Portugueſe have a ſmall factory, called Liffau, on the north ſide of Timor. The charges of the Dutch eſtabliſhment here amounted in 1779 to *f.*11,712, and the receipts to *f* 13,619. And upon the whole, they have been computed to be nearly upon a par. Timor furniſhes a number of ſlaves for private uſe, who are of a pliant diſpoſition and temper, and are much employed at Banda in the cultivation and preparation of nutmegs and mace. The Company likewiſe receive from Timor a conſiderable quantity of ſandal-wood, and bees-wax (though the former article is now ſcarce), in exchange for piece-goods, on the ſale of which five per cent. is allowed, in equal proportions, to the two firſt officers; the profits on this little trade are more than adequate to make good the charges of the ſhip, which is annually diſpatched from Batavia, for the purpoſes of fetching them, and of carrying a cargo of neceſſaries to the government. Tr.

‡ The factory at Banjermaſſing lies in three degrees ſouth latitude. There is a ſmall fort, where a junior merchant as reſident, with about twenty-five or thirty ſoldiers are ſtationed. The object of this eſtabliſhment is chiefly the collection or purchaſe of the pepper and rough diamonds produced in the country. Five per cent. on the pepper collected is allowed to the reſident. The contract entered into with the King obliges him to deliver 600,000 pounds, at three ſtivers per pound; and this is the only article which induces the Company to retain this poſſeſſion, for the profits on the rough diamonds, gold, wax, canes, and ſago, would not be ſufficient to make good the charges. The reſpective qualities of theſe latter articles are alſo ſo inferior that the trade of the Company in them is confined to a mere trifle. The circumjacent Indian nations, and the Chineſe, carry on a great trade with Borneo. The Engliſh have ſome eſtabliſhments on the north coaſt of Borneo, but their ſettlement at Balambangan was deſtroyed in 1775, by the Soloos, and we know not whether it has been re-eſtabliſhed. They have endeavoured to rear the nutmeg at theſe places. They ſucceeded tolerably in the beginning, but either their plants have degenerated, or they had not originally the genuine kind, for the nutmegs they now produce are much leſs in value than thoſe which are grown at Banda, and are, in fact, what are called wild nutmegs, being of an oblong ſhape, and a leſs ſpicy nature than the true ones. Banjermaſſing is of no importance to the Company as a ſource of revenue, for they do not poſſeſs a foot of land without their fort, and are obliged to be conſtantly on their guard againſt the inſidious attacks of the natives; though in 1769 an order, which was made in 1754, for all captains of veſſels going thither, "not to land all the caſh they had on board for the factory at one time," was withdrawn; the fort being then thought ſufficiently ſtrong to withſtand any aſſault of the Indians. The charges of this eſtabliſhment were, in 1779, *f.*12,091, about 1100l ſterling, which, together with thoſe of conveying the pepper to Batavia, are ſcarcely covered by the profits accruing on this ſcanty trade.

Landak and Succadana are poſſeſſions which the Dutch Company have obtained in Borneo, by grant from the King of Bantam, to whoſe crown they were appendages, being provinces formerly conquered by the Bantameſe; in the year 1778 he ceded the entire property of them to the Company, who immediately ſent a ſhip from Batavia, with an adequate force to take poſſeſſion of them and enter into a treaty with the Sultan of the country. Both theſe objects having ſucceeded, the Company ſettled themſelves

Malacca is the fifth government, and a place of great importance, for it commands the paſſage through the ſtraits of that name to the eaſtern parts of Aſia, as all ſhips going to China, Tonquin, Siam, the Molucca, and Sunda iſlands, muſt either paſs by here, or elſe through the ſtraits of Sunda; both which paſſages can be blocked up, by means of the Company's poſſeſſions. The whole eſtabliſhment at Malacca is computed to amount to five hundred men *. The revenues and charges of the government are each about one hundred thouſand gilders †.

The ſixth government in order is that of the North-eaſt Coaſt of Java; the head of which generally reſides at Samarang. The Company draw almoſt all their rice and timber from this province. All the ſea-ports along this coaſt, as far as Cheribon, where chiefs or reſidents are ſtationed by the Company, belong to it. This is ſaid to be at preſent the moſt lucrative of all the governments in India ‡.

The ſeventh is that of the coaſt of Coromandel. Beſides the head ſettlement, Negapatnam ||, all the Company's other factories along this coaſt belong to it. Theſe are Sadraſpatnam,

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ſelves in a ſmall fort, called Puntiana, ſituated on a river of the name of Lava. The eſtabliſhment, as may be conceived, is not large, it remaining yet to be proved whether the commerce that may be carried on here, will anſwer the expence. Between thirty and forty men are garriſoned here; and in 1779 the charges amounted to *f.*9726, about 884*l.* and the profits which had then been made upon the ſale of piece-goods, and other trifles, were no more than *f.*1764, about 160*l.* but hopes have been entertained that theſe places will in future be of great advantage to the Company, grounded upon the various articles of trade which Borneo is known to produce, namely rough diamonds, camphor, benzoin, canes, iron, copper, bezoar, ſago, wax, bird's neſts, gold, &c. Yet, taking into conſideration the propenſity of the Borneans to theft, and to illicit trade, as well as that ſeveral of the above productions are not to be met with within twenty days' journey up the country, it may well be doubted whether any benefit can be ſpeedily or ultimately derived from theſe ſettlements. Tr.

* In 1776-1777 the eſtabliſhment at Malacca conſiſted of 39 perſons in civil, and 3 in eccleſiaſtical employments, 7 ſurgeons and aſſiſtants, 16 belonging to the artillery, 129 ſeamen and marines, 262 ſoldiers, and 43 mechanics, in all 499 Europeans. This city is ſituated in three degrees ten minutes north latitude, and was taken from the Portugueſe by the Dutch in 1640, after a moſt obſtinate defence. It is repreſented as a ſtrong place. It was taken poſſeſſion of by the Engliſh in Auguſt 1795.

† Governor Moſſel ſtated the charges of this ſettlement in his time at *f.*102,000, and the revenues at *f.*89,000 per annum; in 1779, however, the former amounted to *f.*113,235, and the latter to *f.*162,520, leaving a balance in favour of the colony of *f.*49,285, or about 4480*l.* ſterling. This revenue proceeds from the duties laid on imports and exports, a great trade being carried on here by the Indians, and free European merchants of all nations, and from the profits on the goods vended by the Company. Of the export-duty of 6 per cent. one fourth is allowed, as a perquiſite, to the Company's ſervants, of which the governor has 40 per cent., the ſecond in command 15, and the reſt is diſtributed, in different proportions, to the inferior officers. The governor has alſo an allowance of one gilder, about 1*s.* 9*d.* per picol, on all the tin collected. A large quantity of this article, three or four hundred thouſand pounds weight, is purchaſed here every year, at about *f.*30 per hundred pound, equal to about 56*s.* ſterling per hundred weight, which is generally diſpoſed of in Aſia. In 1778, however, one hundred thouſand pounds was ſold in Holland at *f.*40 per hundred pounds. This ſettlement likewiſe yields ſome gold, areca, brimſtone, and roſin, together with very good maſts, for the ſmall veſſels which are built at Rembang and at the iſland Onruſt. Upon all theſe the profits are not inconſiderable, as the whole of theſe articles are in great requeſt throughout the Indies. The commiſſioners for the trade on both ſides of the ſtrait have five per cent. on all purchaſes and ſales, and one per cent. on the gold they collect, out of which they muſt defray their own travelling expences. The territorial extent of this government is not very great; it is confined to the city of Malacca, and the neighbouring ſmall province of Pera, where the Company have a fort for protecting the collection of the tin, which is dug there. In 1783 Rio, or Riow, ſituated near Malacca, which was the reſort of a notorious neſt of ſmugglers, was ſubdued by Commodore Van Braam, and has ſince been added to the juriſdiction of Malacca. Tr.

‡ We refer the reader to the ſecond voyage of Mr. Stavorinus, for particulars reſpecting the Dutch ſettlements along the north-eaſt coaſt of Java. Tr.

|| Negapatnam is a ſtrong fortreſs and walled town in the kingdom of Tanjore, and eleven degrees north latitude. It was formerly the chief ſettlement of the Dutch on this coaſt, and coſt them much money in maintaining

Sadraſpatnam, Palicol, Jagernakpouram, and Bemelipatnam *. The articles of trade which it furniſhes, are all ſorts of cotton piece-goods.

Ceylon is the eighth government, to which likewiſe belongs Madura, ſituate on the oppoſite ſhore †.

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maintaining the garriſon and fortifications. In the war of 1780, it was however taken by the Engliſh, and ceded to them by the treaty of peace in 1783. The ſtatements adduced below, both of the eſtabliſhment on the coaſt, and of the revenues and expences, are taken from dates preceding this event; none ſubſequent to it have been attainable; nor has it been poſſible to aſcertain the ſpecific proportion of Negapatnam in either: ſo that greater uncertainty muſt prevail on this ſubject than in any of our other additions. Tr.

* Our author here omits the ſettlement of Palliacatta, where the Dutch eſtabliſhed themſelves as early as 1609, when they built a ſquare fort, called Geldria, and whither, ſince the loſs of Negapatnam, the chief government of their ſettlements on the coaſt has been tranſpoſed. The fort is in thirteen degrees thirty minutes north latitude, the city which adjoins to it lies in the dominions of the Nabob of Arcot. The trade here, and indeed all along the Coromandel coaſt, in arrack, ſugar, Japan copper, ſpices, and other articles, brought from Batavia, is very briſk. Sadraſpatnam is a town equally in the dominions of the Nabob of Arcot, from whom the Company have farmed it; they have a fortified lodge here, and have frequented this place ſince 1647: it lies in twelve degrees forty minutes north. Palicol is a village belonging to the Company, in ſixteen degrees forty minutes north, and in the country of Narſepore; together with the two following places, it is ſituated in the kingdom of Golconda. Jagernakpouram, lies in ſeventeen degrees twenty minutes north: the territory upon which it ſtands, together with the factory at Daatijerom, and two villages near it, which are uſed for the bleaching of calicoes and other piece-goods, are the property of the Company; the factory is defended by ramparts of earth. Bemelipatnam, the north latitude of which is nearly eighteen degrees, is a place which the Company hold in farm; they have a new fort here, and the road before it, as well as that at Jagernakpouram, is practicable from December to September. The Dutch Company likewiſe carry on a conſiderable trade at Maſulipatnam, and they have a reſident at Porto Novo, which is under the Nabob of Arcot for the purchaſe of cottons, on which they pay an export duty of one per cent. In 1776-1777, their eſtabliſhment on the coaſt of Coromandel conſiſted of one thouſand one hundred and ſeventy-five Europeans: namely, one hundred and forty-two in civil, and nine in eccleſiaſtical employments; fourteen ſurgeons and aſſiſtants; ſeventy-nine belonging to the artillery; one hundred and eighty-four ſeamen and marines, employed on ſhore; ſeven hundred and thirty-ſix ſoldiers, and eleven mechanics, beſides one hundred and thirty-ſeven natives. The revenues and the profits on the merchandize diſpoſed of, amounted in 1779, for all theſe ſettlements, Negapatnam included, to *f.*427,131, and the charges to *f.*452,133. The intelligent Moſſel, who was particularly acquainted with the local circumſtances of this coaſt, as he was five years governor of the Company's Coromandel ſettlements, calculated that the former might be made to amount to *f.*520,000, and the latter reduced to *f.*260,000. One or two ſhips are annually diſpatched direct to Europe, with piece-goods, and caliatour-wood, the reſt go firſt to Batavia. The value of the piece-goods ſold in 1778 in Holland, was *f.*2,000,000, about 181,818l. ſterling; and of caliatour-wood 200,000 pounds were ſold at *f.*20 per 100 pounds. It is computed that twenty-five per cent. is gained on both articles. The whole of the Dutch ſettlements on this coaſt are now in poſſeſſion of the Engliſh. Tr.

† Ceylon lies between ſix degrees and nine and a half degrees north. The ſtruggles between the Dutch and Portugueſe for this iſland laſted from 1638 to 1655, in which laſt year the latter were entirely driven from it, by the loſs of Colombo. This place, which is well fortified, is the chief ſettlement, and the reſidence of the governor; it it ſituated on the weſt ſide of the iſland, and at the broadeſt part of it. Candy, the metropolis of the iſland, and the ſeat of the emperor, lies about ſixteen Dutch miles inland from Colombo; it was taken in 1764 by the Dutch, but reſtored to the emperor by the ſubſequent peace. The diſtrict of Colombo extends about twenty leagues in length, and eight in breadth; it abounds in cinnamon groves and rice fields, black cattle and poultry, and is very populous. There is a ſeminarium at Colombo, for the propagation of the Chriſtian religion; and it is computed, that there are three hundred thouſand native Chriſtians in Ceylon. The road of Colombo is unſafe, and only practicable for a few months in the year. Five leagues north of Colombo is Negombo, a fortreſs of leſs conſideration, but the cinnamon produced in its diſtrict is the beſt of the iſland; it likewiſe yields a large quantity of coir for cordage. Jaffnapatnam is a place of conſequence, ſtrongly fortified, lying oppoſite to and not far from the continent of Indoſtan; it is the capital of what was formerly a kingdom, nearly ſixty leagues in circumference; elephants form the only object of trade of this country for the Company; this, however, yields

This extenſive iſland may be ſaid to be entirely under the dominion of the Company, ſince the treaty of peace concluded in 1766 with the Emperor of Candy; for they now poſſeſs in ſovereignty all the ſea-coaſts and harbours round the iſland: nothing but the interior parts has been left to the Emperor, and he is wholly incloſed in them, without any acceſs to the ſea, except by paſſing over the territory of the Company. This is in fact the chief if not the ſole advantage derived from that expenſive war, which it has been computed coſt the Company more than eight millions of gilders*. The Dutch embaſſadors who were ſent to the court of Candy, were formerly obliged to conform to the oriental ceremony of approaching the throne upon their knees; but it was made a condition of the treaty of peace, that this ſervile cuſtom ſhould no more take place and that they ſhould remain ſtanding in the preſence of the King.

The chief and almoſt the only produce of this iſland is cinnamon†. The pearl-fiſhery likewiſe, however, yields the Company in general a benefit of one hundred thouſand

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in general a profit of *f* 50,000, about 4550l. ſterling, yearly. A conſiderable number of theſe animals are delivered annually to the company, by the native Princes in this diſtrict, who are on that conſideration left in poſſeſſion of the ſovereignty over the country and the inhabitants. Trinconomale is on the oppoſite ſide of the iſland, thirty-five leagues from Jaffnapatnam. Fort Ooſtenburg, which ſtands upon a cliff projecting about fifteen hundred paces into the ſea, was built by the Portugueſe with the materials of a famous pagoda which ſtood there and was deſtroyed by them: the Dutch poſſeſſed themſelves of it in 1639; and notwithſtanding its ſeeming natural ſtrength, it has not proved ſufficient to reſiſt the attack of an European enemy, having been taken twice in the preſent century; its harbour is celebrated as one of the moſt commodious and extenſive in the world, and it is peculiarly favourably ſituated for keeping up a correſpondence with the King of Candy, and of courſe for engroſſing the trade of the cinnamon grown in his dominions. About eighteen leagues farther is Batticaloa, which is a fort of but little ſtrength, but on account of the fertility of its diſtrict in all kinds of proviſions, of ſome importance to the Company. Punto Gallo is a ſecure harbour at the ſouthern extremity of the iſland, in the fertile province of Mature, where ſome coffee and pepper are produced: in this harbour all the ſhips for Holland are laden in November and in February, with the various products of Ceylon, and thoſe taken in trade at Colombo, all which muſt be conveyed to Punto Gallo, to be ſhipped to Europe. Beſides theſe, there are ſeveral ſmaller forts, Caliture, Kalpetty, Putelang, Chilau, and Manaar, which ſerve chiefly to cover the moſt open parts of the coaſt: and the factories, on the oppoſite ſhore of India, appertain alſo to the government of Ceylon; theſe are, Tutucorin, Kilcaré, Ponnecail, Cape Comorin, and Mannapaar, where a quantity of piece-goods is collected and ſent to Ceylon. In September and October 1795, Ceylon and its dependencies were re-reduced by the Britiſh forces. TR.

* About 727,300l. ſterling. TR.

† Of the various ſpecies of the cinnamon tree, and the manner of ſtripping the bark, preparing and ſhipping it off, Dr. Thunberg has given an ample and curious account in the fourth volume of his Travels. It is grown chiefly in the diſtricts of Colombo, Gale Corle, Negombo, and in the dominions of the King of Candy; it uſed formerly never to be regularly planted, but was always ſought for in the woods by the choulias, one of the loweſt caſtes of the Cingaleſe, whoſe peculiar occupation was the barking of cinnamon: it is however now cultivated by the Dutch Company, who have laid out extenſive plantations of it in the diſtricts of Colombo and Gale Corle. They have proceeded with greater ardour in this plan, ſince the laſt war with the King of Candy, on account of the great decreaſe in the quantity collected ſince, compared with that uſually procured before. Notwithſtanding the acquiſition of a large extent of territory, at the concluſion of peace, it has been found that inſtead of 8000 or 10,000 bales of cinnamon, of 88 pounds each, which was the quantity uſually drawn from Ceylon before that war, only 6000 or 7000 bales have been furniſhed. This deficiency has been aſcribed to the ill-will of the court of Candy, on account of the humiliation to which it was reduced by that war; and although the King is bound by the conditions of peace to deliver all the cinnamon produced in his country to the Company, for five pagodas (an Indian gold coin of ninety ſtivers, or about 8s. 2d. ſterling) per bale of 88 pounds, he either neglects to have the cinnamon duly collected, or ſends a great part of it, of an inferior quality, or in an adulterated or ſpoiled ſtate. The cinnamon which the Company collect, or cultivate themſelves, is computed to ſtand them in nearly the ſame rate. Beſides this precious ſpice, ſome coffee and cardemons are the only articles of the produce of the iſland, which are exported to Europe; piece-goods from the factories on the

ſand rix-dollars annually. No pearls uſed formerly to be fiſhed, but upon the oyſter-beds of Tutocorin; but they are now likewiſe got from thoſe on the Ceylon ſide, near Manaar and Aripo. The fiſhery, however, does not take place for certain every year; for this depends upon the condition in which the beds are found. When the fiſhing ſeaſon approaches, the oyſters are examined by the Ceylon council, and if they are found of a proper ſize, publication is made of the time when the pearl fiſhery is to commence, and the number of boats and men to be employed in it are determined upon: the number of divers is at preſent uſually fixed at ninety-ſix. A certain per-centage is allowed to the governor of Ceylon, on what the Company receive from the farming of this fiſhery*.

The trade of the Company in Bengal is entruſted to a director, as they poſſeſs only a very ſmall territory there, by permiſſion of the Emperor of Indoſtan, or the Great Mogul. It is the ſame at Surat, where, as in Bengal, they have a lodge, or factory, for the ſecurity of their goods, and their juriſdiction does not extend far beyond its limits. From Bengal, they receive piece-goods, ſaltpetre, and opium. From Surat, piece-goods, various ſorts of Indian dreſſes, &c.

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the oppoſite coaſt, pepper from the coaſt of Malabar, cowries from the Maldives, ſaltpetre from Bengal, and ſome Surat goods, help to form, however, the cargoes of the veſſels which are diſpatched from Punto Gallo; and in 1778, the ſales in Europe, of the imports from Ceylon, were as follow:

600,000lb. cinnamon, at about *f.*6 (11s. ſterling) per pound.
4,000lb. cardemoms, at 33 ſtivers (3s.)
5,000lb. coffee, at 10 ſtivers.
300,000lb. cowries at 7½ ſtivers.
20,000lb. cotton-yarn, and
piece-goods to the amount of *f.*200,000 (about 18,180l.)

A conſiderable quantity of cinnamon is alſo yearly ſent to Batavia, for the conſumption of the eaſt. The cinnamon found at Ceylon in 1795, was purchaſed of the captors by the Engliſh Eaſt India Company, for 180,000l. ſterling. In the latter end of 1797, the quantity of 13,893 bales, containing 1,238,968lb. of cinnamon was brought to England; and the Eaſt India Company ſold 350,000lb. at their enſuing ſpring ſale. Tr.

* The advantages which accrued from this ſource amounted only to one hundred thouſand gilders, not rix-dollars, annually; but the Company have been deprived of them entirely ſince the year 1771: at that period, the nabob of the Carnatic attacked and took poſſeſſion of Marrua near Tutucorin, whoſe prince was in alliance with the Dutch; the nabob immediately laid claim to the pearl-fiſhery, and the Company thought fit to give up the point, and have abandoned it ever ſince. The famous Van Imhof, in his poſthumous elaborate memorial reſpecting the ſtate of India, conſiders Marrua as an important barrier, or frontier place of Ceylon. Many precious ſtones are found in Ceylon, the principal of which are rubies, ſapphires, topazes, and garnets; different kinds of chryſtals, and quartz, are ſold there under the pompous denominations of diamonds, amethyſts, &c. Dr. Thunberg has given a curious liſt of all the kinds which he met with at Ceylon. The digging of them is farmed out by the government; and though trifling, is one of the objects of revenue of the iſland. Theſe amounted in 1779 altogether to *f.*611,704, while the charges of the whole eſtabliſhment were *f.*1,243,038, which makes the expence of the Company in maintaining Ceylon ultimately amount to *f.*631,334, or 57,394l. ſterling; but this is eaſily borne by the immenſe profits attached to the excluſive cinnamon trade, and the other articles brought from this iſland, as before noticed. In 1755, however, when Moſſel drew up his ſtatements, Ceylon appeared in a very different light: he made the revenues and profits amount to *f.*1,168,000, and the charges only to *f.*902,500, by which it appears that the iſland was then fully able to maintain itſelf. Yet there are many cauſes which may be ſuppoſed to contribute to this difference: the failure of the revenue from the pearl-fiſhery; the augmentation of the territory of the Company by the peace of 1766, and conſequent increaſe of their military force, &c. In 1776-1777, the eſtabliſhment at Ceylon conſiſted of four hundred and ſixteen perſons in civil, and thirty-three in eccleſiaſtical offices, fifty-four ſurgeons and aſſiſtants, three hundred and fifteen belonging to the artillery, ſix hundred and fifteen ſeamen and marines employed on ſhore, two thouſand three hundred and ninety-ſeven ſoldiers, and two hundred and forty-three mechanics; in all four thouſand and ſeventy-three Europeans, beſides one thouſand two hundred and twenty-five natives. Tr.

The Company's poſſeſſions on the coaſt of Malabar are under a commandant. The chief produce is pepper, which is eſteemed the beſt of all India *.

From the weſt coaſt of Sumatra are brought gold, camphor, and pepper †.

Bantam is a commandery from which the Company draw the greateſt quantity of pepper.

On the inner, or eaſtern coaſt of Sumatra, they have a ſettlement at Palembang, whence they receive pepper and tin ‡.

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* Mr. Stavorinus enlarges reſpecting Bengal, in the next book; reſpecting Surat in the 2d and 3d books of his ſecond voyage; and reſpecting the coaſt of Malabar, in the 13th and 14th chapters of the 4th book. Tr.

† Beſides Lampon, which has been mentioned among the dependencies of Bantam, the Dutch have a ſettlement at Padang, on the weſt coaſt of Sumatra, to which the factories at Pulo Chinco, Priamam, and Adgerhadja are ſubordinate. At Padang there is a fort, with a garriſon of fifty or ſixty men, and the chief of the ſettlement has the rank of merchant. Some pepper, camphor, and benzoin are furniſhed from this coaſt, but ever ſince the eſtabliſhment of the Engliſh ſettlement at Bencoolen in this neighbourhood, the Dutch complain that pepper is procured in very ſmall quantities; they, however, likewiſe collect and export annually to Batavia, about two thouſand five hundred tials of gold, the quantity never exceeds three thouſand tials, nor falls ſhort of two; a tial is twenty-ſix pennyweights twelve grains; the purchaſe price is high, being nearly 3l. 5s. ſterling, per ounce. There is a vein of gold which runs cloſe to Padang, and ſome years ago it was worked, but not finding returns adequate to the expence, the Company let it to farm, and, in a few years, it fell into ſuch low repute as to be diſpoſed of at a rent of two Spaniſh dollars, by public auction. In 1779 the books of Padang ſhewed a balance in favour of the eſtabliſhment of *f.*20,902, about 1900l. ſterling, the charges being *f.*53,675, and on the other hand, the profits accruing on the ſale of piece-goods, ſalt, &c. *f.*74,577; which is ſufficient to defray the expence of ſending a ſhip thither annually from Batavia, with neceſſaries for the ſettlement. Padang and its dependencies are, at preſent, in the hands of the Engliſh. The whole eſtabliſhment of the Dutch on the weſt coaſt of Sumatra, including Lampon, was, in 1776-1777, thirty perſons in civil employments, five ſurgeons and aſſiſtants, two belonging to the artillery, thirteen marines, one hundred and four ſoldiers, and twenty-one mechanics; in all, one hundred and ſeventy-five Europeans, beſides ninety-ſeven natives in the ſervice of the Company. Tr.

‡ Palembang lies about ten or twelve days ſail from Batavia. The dominions of the King of Palembang are extenſive; they reach as far as the hills of Lampon to the ſouthward, and comprehend the iſland of Banca, which lies oppoſite to the river of Palembang. This iſland is celebrated throughout Aſia for the ſame cauſe, its tin-mines, to which England owed its celebrity in Europe, in very ancient times, before its arts and arms had ſpread its fame around the globe. The tin-mines in Banca, which were firſt diſcovered in 1710 or 1711, have yielded immenſe quantities of ore, and appear inexhauſtible. There are ſeven chief places where it is dug, which are under the direction of Chineſe managers, who provide and pay for the labour of the miners, who are alſo, in general, of that nation. The tin is delivered by theſe chiefs to the King of Palembang, for five rix-dollars per one hundred and twenty-five pounds, and by him to the Dutch for fifteen rix-dollars, equal to about 58s. ſterling per hundred weight Engliſh. The Company do not, however, always take all that is brought; for in 1770 the government at Batavia reſolved, "not to receive more than twenty-five thouſand picols of one hundred and twenty-five pounds each, from Palembang every year, and as 5000 picols more had been delivered that year, no more than twenty thouſand ſhould be accepted in the next, of which due notice ſhould be given to the King." And yet the Dutch endeavour to prevent the tin from being diſpoſed of to any others, and keep veſſels continually cruiſing along the ſhores to prevent the ſmuggling of it; but their vigilance is eluded, and the commerce is largely participated by private adventurers. Raynal and others ſtate the quantity of tin received by the Dutch Company at two million pounds; but from the above it appears, that they take at leaſt three million pounds. But very little of it comes to Europe; in 1778, ſeven hundred thouſand pounds were ſold in Holland at *f.*42 per hundred pounds; the greateſt part goes to the China market, where it is preferred to European tin, and the profit upon it is ſuppoſed by a late intelligent traveller, Sir George Staunton, not to be leſs any year than 150,000l. ſterling, though, by the Dutch account of their China trade, which is given a little farther on, this ſeems to be an extravagant computation. The King is under ſtrict engagements to the Dutch, to allow them an excluſive trade throughout his dominions, and to deliver all the tin and pepper produced in them at Batavia, ſending them thither in his own ſhips, and at his own expence. The quantity of pepper brought annually from Palembang is about two million pounds, which is purchaſed at the rate of two ſtivers per pound. The Company likewiſe take about one thouſand carats of rough diamonds, and a conſiderable quantity of canes and rattans. Very few goods are given in exchange

Moſt of the coffee ſold by the Company is brought from their ſettlement at Cheribon in Java.

One of their moſt advantageous branches of commerce is that which they carry on to Japan; they ſend one or two ſhips thither every year, and are admitted to trade there excluſively of all other nations, the Chineſe alone excepted.

A ſmall iſland called Decima, in the harbour of Nangaſakki, has been ceded to them; and the merchandiſe they import is landed and houſed there *.

This trade is confided to a chief, who is ſent out from Batavia every two years.

The charges of this eſtabliſhment amount to full one hundred thouſand gilders every year; the half of which is the value of the annual preſents to the Emperor of Japan †.

The principal articles that are ſhipped to Japan are tortoiſe-ſhells, Baros camphor from Sumatra and Borneo, Dutch woollens, and ſugar; in return for which we receive Japan camphor, copper, china, and lacquered ware ‡.

The trade to China generally employs four ſhips every year; theſe are diſpatched directly from Holland, and only touch at Batavia, in going out, in order to take in a cargo of Banca tin, which is diſpoſed of to much advantage in China: but when they return to Europe they only anchor at North Iſland, not far from the ſtraits of Sunda,

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change for theſe articles, and a large ſum in ſpecie is yearly required to balance with the King. In 1779 the profit on the few things diſpoſed of at Palambang amounted only to *f.*?922, and the charges of the ſettlement were *f.*49,677, making it ſtand the Company for one year in *f.*45,755, or about 4160l. ſterling. In 1771 they rebuilt their old ruinous fort, in a pentagonal form, and the coſt of the new one was computed to be *f.*80,540, about 7322l. ſterling. The eſtabliſhment here conſiſted, in 1776-1777, of one hundred and fifteen Europeans, *viz.* ſix in their civil ſervice, one clergyman, two ſurgeons, ſixty-one ſeamen and marines, twenty-nine ſoldiers, and ſixteen mechanics. Tr.

* Decima is ſituated in forty-two degrees north latitude. The voyage from Batavia to Japan generally laſts about thirty days. The navigation is very dangerous, and the Dutch have, for the laſt hundred years, loſt one out of every five ſhips that go thither. For an account of the exceſſive jealouſy and ſuſpicion of the Japaneſe, and their treatment both of the Dutch and of the Chineſe, as well as of numerous other particulars relative to Japan, and before little known in Europe, the reader cannot be better referred than to the ample and curious relations to be found in the third and fourth volumes of Dr. Thunberg's Travels. Tr.

† The Company have only about ten or twelve of their ſervants reſident in Japan. The charges amounted, in 1779, to *f.*96,356; the greateſt part whereof conſiſts, as above, of preſents to the Emperor, and the expences of the journey undertaken yearly to Jedo, for the offering of them: on the other hand, the profits ariſing from the ſale of goods were *f.*106,802, leaving a ſurplus of full *f.*10,500, or nearly 1000l. ſterling; ſo that nothing remains to be deducted from the profits on the returns (for which ſee the next note) but the expences of the ſhips ſent, and the calculated loſs, as before mentioned, of one veſſel in five. Tr.

‡ The two ſhips which go yearly to Japan, uſually take the value of *f.*500,000, about 45,450l. in ſugar, ſapan-wood, elephants' teeth, tortoiſe-ſhell, camphor, tin, lead, quickſilver, chintzes, cottons, Dutch woollens, vermillion, wax, cloves, nutmegs, pepper, China root, and ſome ſilver in ducatoons. Their returns conſiſt, for the greateſt part, in Japan copper, which is in ſmall bars of about ſix inches long, and about one third of a pound in weight; of theſe they receive eight or nine thouſand boxes, each containing one hundred and twenty-five pounds, which they pay at the rate of *f.*51 per box, and diſpoſe of it in Bengal, at Surat, and on the coaſts of Coromandel and Malabar, for *f.*90, and *f.*91: they likewiſe take about fifty thouſand pounds of Japan camphor, two-fifths of which is retailed in India, and the reſt comes to Europe; and alſo a trifling amount in ſoy, china, lacquered ware, and large ſilk night-gowns. The private trade of the Dutch officers and ſhips' crews to Japan is alſo very conſiderable, as well as profitable; they carry out camphor, China root, ſaffron, Venice treacle, Spaniſh liquorice, rattans, ſpectacles, looking-glaſſes, watches, manufactured glaſs, and unicorns' horns (the horn of the *monodon monoceros*); and receive in return ſoy, ſilks, ſilk night-gowns, china, lacquered ware, fans, and fine rice. Tr.

to take in water, without touching at Batavia. The time when they ſet ſail from Batavia for China is generally about the beginning of July *.

The Company uſed formerly to trade to Cochin-China, Tonquin, Siam, Pegu, Aracan, Perſia, and Mocha; but they have now abandoned all commerce with theſe places. Their connections are, at preſent, limited to thoſe I have before ſhortly noticed: and among theſe there are ſeveral which, in my opinion, are more prejudicial than advantageous to the Company, eſpecially thoſe in the weſt of India; which muſt be aſcribed to a change of times, and of circumſtances.

When the Company eſtabliſhed their commerce in thoſe parts, their rivals were very inconſiderable; the Engliſh were not a match for them, and the Indian Princes traded rather with the Dutch than with their neighbours. But this is now entirely altered.

The Engliſh, who did not then come into any conſideration, are now as ſtrong, and perhaps ſtronger, in the weſt of India, than the Dutch Company are in the eaſt. They have preſcribed laws to the Emperor of Indoſtan, and are, in conſequence, maſters of the whole trade of his dominions, eſpecially at Surat and in Bengal, where the Company uſed to make important profits, both by the goods which they imported, and thoſe which they exported.

If the ſea-riſk, the ſhips' charges, and the intereſt of the money employed, were accurately computed, their preſent gains would, perhaps, be found to be extremely trifling.

* The Dutch factory at Canton is not, like all their other ſettlements and places of trade in India, ſubordinate to the government at Batavia, but has, for upwards of forty years, been under the management of a ſpecial committee of directors in Holland; yet every thing relative to it, is communicated to and tranſacted in concert with the government at Batavia. The cargoes of the four or five ſhips which the Dutch ſend annually to China amount in value to *f.*2,400,000, or *f.*2,500,000, about 225,000 ſterling, one half of which conſiſts in ſilver, either in bars or Spaniſh dollars, and the other half in tin lead, pepper, cloves, and nutmegs, upon which articles a profit of at leaſt *f.*660,000, about 60,000 l. ſterling is made. For the above capital the Company's agents purchaſe between four and five million pounds of tea, of all ſorts, and a quantity of ſilks, nankeens, china, turmeric, &c. We ſubjoin a liſt of the quantities of tea exported in Dutch ſhips from China, for the twenty years between 1776 and 1795:

Years.	Ships.	Pounds of Tea.
1776	5	4,923,700.
1777	4	4,856,500.
1778	4	4,695,700.
1779	4	4,553,100.
1780	4	4,687,800.
1781	4	4,957,600.
1782, 1783, 1784	none, on account of the war.	
1785	4	5,334,000.
1786	4	4,458,800.
1787	5	5,943,200.
1788	5	5,794,900.
1789	4	4,179,600.
1790	5	5,106,900.
1791	3	1,328,500.
1792	2	2,051,330.
1793	3	2,938,530.
1794	2	2,417,200.
1795	4	4,096,800.

TR.

Not

Not only the Engliſh but almoſt all the naval powers of Europe have, at preſent, ſhips trading to the Indies, and eſtabliſhments of more or leſs conſequence in the weſtern parts.

The trade in piece-goods which, in former times, produced ſuch conſiderable benefit to the Company, is now almoſt entirely in the hands of the Engliſh; at leaſt they are very detrimental to the portion of it that ſtill remains with us, by their competition for purchaſes.

I ſhall not ſay any thing of the honeſty and fidelity of the Company's chiefs at their out-factories, that is out of the line I propoſe following; when I was in Bengal, I had an opportunity of obſerving ſome inſtances, not very conſonant with the above virtues; and it is not many years ago that the Company had proofs of the like, in the government of the Coromandel coaſt.

On the other hand, the number of officers, and their appointments, remain the ſame; and a numerous body of uſeleſs placemen, and too many military, are maintained by the Company.

If the trade in Bengal, at Surat, and on the coaſt of Coromandel were reduced to the ſame regulations as that of China and Japan; and if, inſtead of expenſive fortifications, trading-houſes, or factories, were only retained, the profits which are actually made, would remain, and the preſent charges would be amazingly diminiſhed. It cannot, in my opinion, be of any real advantage to the Company, that they pretend to appear as a ſovereign ſtate, where they have not an excluſive trade, and where they cannot interdict the trade of every other nation. At Ceylon, Java, and the other iſlands in the eaſtern parts, where they have the territorial property, and the ſovereign power, it is neceſſary both to diſplay and to maintain their dominion; for there they can, and juſtly, diſpute the right of all others, whether authorized traders or interlopers; but it is money thrown away to pretend to make a ſhew of ſovereignty at the before-mentioned places, for it augments neither their commerce nor their reſources.

The goods which they carry thither, and which cannot be furniſhed by any other nation, the Dutch being the ſole dealers in them, ſuch as the finer ſpices, and Japan copper, are of a nature which renders them indiſpenſable in the weſt of India. Their ſhips loaden with theſe articles, would be, with pleaſure, ſucceſſively received, and they would ſpeedily and gladly be bartered for cargoes of other commodities.

Moreover, there would be the advantage, that the conductors, having to ſuperintend a leſs extenſive concern, would the better be enabled to diſcover and reform all errors and abuſes: whereas the extent of the object under their controul affords, at preſent, innumerable openings for miſconduct and miſtakes, which undermine the whole ſuperſtructure.

The Engliſh have not only been very prejudicial to the trade of the Company in the weſt of India, but have alſo endeavoured, if not to ſupplant them in the entire poſſeſſion of Ceylon, at leaſt to participate in the advantages of that rich iſland.

At the time of the laſt war in Ceylon, when the Company had blocked up all the harbours with their ſhips, and the Emperor was nearly reduced to be beſieged in his capital, the Engliſh ſent an ambaſſador from Madras to the Emperor, with an offer of aſſiſtance to expel the Dutch from his dominions, for which purpoſe they would provide a large number of ſhips. But their own pertinacity was the reaſon that the alliance was not formed in time; for the ambaſſador would not comply with the oriental cuſtom of addreſs, which is eſpecially prevalent in Ceylon, and to which the Dutch were uſed to conform; that is, he refuſed to proſtrate himſelf upon the ground, or fall upon his knees, when he was firſt introduced into the preſence of the Emperor.

Several weeks thus elapſed before he had an audience; and in the mean time, matters had taken a ſtill more decided aſpect in our favour, ſo that the clandeſtine attempts of our ſecret enemies were, in this inſtance, fruſtrated.

I was exceedingly ſurprized when I ſaw at Batavia, that, although the trade in piece-goods, and in opium, was prohibited to private individuals of our own nation, the Engliſh were not only allowed to bring whole cargoes to Batavia, and to diſpoſe of them there, but were facilitated in every reſpect in the diſpoſal. Theſe indulgences were not confined to the above, but were extended to all ſorts of commodities, both Indian and European, to the great detriment of our own ſhips' officers and crews, who were not allowed to import their wares; and they who did bring ſome privileged goods were forced to ſell them at a loſs, on account of the glut occaſioned by the quantities imported by the Engliſh. The exportation of ſugar too was likewiſe prohibited to our own people, but the Engliſh were furniſhed with as much as they aſked for, out of the Company's warehouſes. Their ſhips, upon paying for the work done, were allowed to be repaired by the Company's ſervants at the iſland Onruſt. In Auguſt 1769 I ſaw eight Engliſh ſhips, lying at that iſland, and three more in the roads of Batavia. In the following year, however, the government ſeemed, in ſome meaſure, to have a different opinion; for they then reſtricted the Engliſh to the taking in of water and wood, which every one hoped might be of long continuance.

The Company have another object of expence, ſince the year 1742, which did not perhaps then appear in ſo detrimental a light as at preſent. I mean the premiums which are given to the ſhips' crews returning home, and which were allowed as an indemnification for the articles of trade, which, before that time, they were permitted to bring home with them from India; but this was ſo much abuſed, that the Company's ſhips were crammed with the private property of the crews, in ſo far that now and then a ſhip was loſt in conſequence of being too deeply loaden.

In how far, by putting a ſtop to this private trade, ſuch accidents have in reality been prevented, may be beſt ſeen by comparing the number of the ſhips loſt for thirty years before the year 1742, with thoſe loſt ſince. For my own part, I believe, that very little difference would be found. It is of courſe, that the veſſels loſt in Table Bay, or other roads, which cannot be attributed to overloading, muſt not be taken into the account. The Company have already expended the ſum of eighteen millions of gilders in theſe premiums, as will appear from the rough calculation ſubjoined, in which I have taken rather too little than too much.

The premiums for every ſhip returning home (eſtimating the crews, one with another, at one hundred and twenty hands for each ſhip) amount to full *f.*18,000, as follows:

1	Captain receives for premium	*f.*2000
1	Captain's mate	500
1	Second mate	400
1	Surgeon	400
2	Other mates, *f.*300 each	600
1	Chaplain	300
20	Under officers, one with another *f.*200 each	4000
24	Seamen, earning upwards of *f.*10, monthly wages, *f.*150 each	3600
66	Ditto, and boys, under *f.*10, *f.*100 each	6600
117	Men	*f.*18,400

3 Suppoſed

117	Brought forward - -	f.18,400
3	Suppoſed to have died on the other ſide of the Cape of Good Hope, who receive nothing	
120	Men	
	So that every ſhip's crew receive for premiums	f.18,400
	Which, however, in order to make a round ſum, I only take at - - -	f.18,000
	And computing that ſince the year 1742, twenty-five ſhips have annually returned from India, conſidering one year with another, the whole amount in premiums for one year is - -	f.450,000
	Since the navigation has been put upon this footing, that is, from 1742 to 1771, twenty-nine years have elapſed; ſo that during that period the Company have paid premiums to the amount of	f.13,050,000
	The intereſt of this capital for twenty-ſeven years, at three per cent. per annum, which is annually augmented by f.13,500, amounts to *	f.5,103,000
	So that the Company have loſt a ſum, for which they have no adequate benefit, of -	f.18,153,000

May not the decay of Batavia, whoſe chief ſupport is the free trade of its inhabitants, be in ſome meaſure likewiſe aſcribed to this cauſe? People well worthy of credit, who have lived for forty years and more at Batavia, have aſſured me that there is an inconceivable difference between the actual ſtate of the city, with reſpect to trade, and its flouriſhing ſituation before the year 1740. Free inhabitants, who had never been in the ſervice of the Company, uſed then to return to Europe loaden with riches, very few inſtances of which occur at preſent. Here in Holland, we may in conſequence plainly perceive, that there is little chance of making money at preſent at Batavia by private trade, and it is well known that it grows worſe from day to day.

It is true, that the Company at home are unable to reform all the abuſes which have crept in from time to time in ſuch an extent of territory, as they poſſeſs in the Indies; but they are too well acquainted with the actual ſtate of Batavia; and the proſperity or decay of that city, which is the centre, and as it were the pivot of all their poſſeſſions, is of too great and real importance to their intereſts, than that they ought not to endeavour to raiſe it out of that languid ſtate into which it is progreſſively falling.

Another thing which is a great drawback upon the proſperity of Batavia, is the unhealthineſs which has been perceived there for ſeveral years back. The moſt probable cauſe hereof may be ſought in the great increaſe of the mud-banks along the ſea-coaſt; the water only juſt covers them; or they are flooded by the tide, which, when it recedes, leaves a thick ſlime behind it, together with a great deal of animal

* Inſtead of ſimple intereſt, at three per cent. per annum, for twenty-ſeven years, we ſhould take compound intereſt, at the ſame rate, for twenty-nine years, which would amount to f. 7,316,500, and the whole ſum loſt to the Company, during that period, by this regulation, would be f. 20,366,500 or about 1,851,500l. Tr.

matter,

matter, thrown up by the ſea, various kinds of blubber, and other marine productions, which immediately putrify by the burning heat, and contaminate the air, uniting with the noxious exhalations of the ſwamps and moraſſes near the town. The opinion that the unhealthineſs of the place may be chiefly attributed to this cauſe, ſeems to be corroborated by the circumſtance, that the ravages of ſickneſs and death are much leſs in the upper parts of the city, which lie the fartheſt from the ſea, than in and near the caſtle, which is cloſe to the mud-banks and ſwamps. The mud thus thrown up already reaches, on the eaſt ſide of the river, more than two thouſand feet out from the dry ground.

I have already ſaid ſomething of the province of Jaccatra; namely, that it is a poſſeſſion of the Company, ſubdued by their arms, whoſe natives are their immediate ſubjects, governed by the council of India, and more particularly under the eye of the governor-general.

A perſon is appointed by the governor, under the title of commiſſary of inland affairs, who repreſents the ſovereign in the interior of the country.

He adjuſts all differences which ariſe between the native grandees, with the preknowledge of the governor-general, and exacts all penalties and fines which are laid upon them, the greateſt part of the profits by which accrue to him. He is feared and reſpected like a prince in the interior parts, as the happineſs of every individual, is almoſt entirely in his power.

The regents, who are his coadjutors in the adminiſtration of the land, are taken from among the natives. The firſt in rank, are the adapatis, to whom the government of a large diſtrict is entruſted. Then follow the tommagongs who are, however, much lower in rank, having the direction over a proportionate ſmaller extent of country; although each of them ſtands alone in his local juriſdiction. Theſe have inghebées under them, who are as much as lieutenants, and before whom diſputes of little importance between the inhabitants of their diſtricts are ſettled; yet the parties may appeal to the commiſſary.

It is only when very important matters occur, in which the Company have a particular intereſt, that they are brought to the cognizance of the government at Batavia, and ſettled by them; but this does not often happen.

The commiſſary, who reſides without the city, has a guard of natives every night at his houſe, and twenty or twenty-four armed attendants, who are Javaneſe, and ſtand ready to execute his commands; all being in the pay of the Company.

The chief productions yielded by this province, are ſugar, coffee, indigo, and cotton-yarn. The revenues which the Company draw from it, amount annually to full one million of gilders.

The original letters which are written by the council of India to the Indian Princes, are compoſed in the Dutch language, and ſigned by the governor-general, and by the ſecretary, in the name of the government; but tranſlations are always added, in the Malay, Javaneſe, or whatever other language be that of the Prince to whom the letter is addreſſed. For this purpoſe, there are ſeveral tranſlators at Batavia, who are well paid, and have the rank of merchants.

The letters, which are ſent by the Indian Princes to the government, are written upon gold or ſilver flowered paper *, and are brought to the council with much ceremony.

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* In the eaſtern parts of India, paper is prepared from the bark of trees: at Ceylon, and on the adjacent continent, the leaves of the boraſſus palm tree (boraſſus flabelliformis), and ſometimes of the talpat tree

The letter which the Emperor of Candy ſent to the government at Batavia, after the concluſion of peace, containing the full powers of his embaſſadors to negotiate concerning certain matters, which could not be adjuſted at Ceylon, was written upon a leaf of beaten gold, in the ſhape of a cocoa-leaf; the letters were engraved upon it with a ſteel pen, in a moſt curious manner. This leaf was rolled up, and inſerted in a cylindrical caſe of gold, which was wound all round with a row of pearls, ſtrung upon gold thread. This caſe was in a box of maſſy gold, and this again in one of ſilver, which was ſealed with the emperor's great ſeal, impreſſed in red wax. The ſilver box was incloſed in one of ivory, which was put in a bag of rich cloth of gold; and finally, a bag of fine white linen, ſealed up with the emperor's leſſer ſignet, encircled the whole.

When theſe embaſſadors had their audience of the council of India, they were received with extraordinary honour; all the members of the aſſembly ſtanding up, both when they came in and when they went out, though without uncovering their heads. When the embaſſadors left Batavia, they were each preſented with a gold chain by the council.

All goods which are carried into or out of Batavia are ſubject to duties, which are levied at the bar, at the entrance of the city. Theſe, as well as the other taxes and impoſts, are annually farmed out, generally to Chineſe. The whole of them amount together upon an average, to 32,000 rix-dollars, or *f.*76,800 per month, making *f.*921,600 per annum*.

Of the ſeveral iſlands which lie before Batavia†, there are no more than four which are made any uſe of by the Company, and of theſe that of Onruſt is the principal. This iſland lies about three leagues north-weſt from Batavia; it is nearly round; it riſes ſix or eight feet above the ſurface of the water, and is of ſmall extent, being about four thouſand eight hundred feet in circumference. In the centre of the iſland, and within a fort, conſiſting of four baſtions and three curtains, ſtand the warehouſes and other buildings. On theſe fortifications, and on three ſmall out-works which are conſtructed at the water's edge, the walls of all which are whitened with lime, are mounted ſixteen pieces of cannon, of various ſizes‡.

In

tree (licuala ſpinoſa), are uſed inſtead of paper. The leaves of both theſe palm trees, lie in folds like a fan, and the ſlips ſtand in need of no further preparation, than merely to be ſeparated, and cut ſmooth with a knife. Their mode of writing upon them conſiſts in engraving the letters with a fine pointed ſteel; and in order that the characters may be the better ſeen and read, they rub them over with charcoal, or ſome other black ſubſtance. The iron point made uſe of for a pen is either ſet in a braſs handle, and carried about in a wooden caſe, of about ſix inches in length, or elſe it is formed entirely of iron; and together with the blade of a knife, deſigned for the purpoſe of cutting the leaves, and making them ſmooth, ſet in a knife handle, common to them both, and into which it ſhuts up. When a ſingle ſlip is not ſufficient, ſeveral are bound together by means of a hole made at one end, and a thread on which they are ſtrung. If a book be to be made, they look out principally for broad and handſome ſlips of talpat leaves, upon which they engrave the characters very elegantly and accurately with the addition of various figures, by way of ornament. All the ſlips have then two holes made in them, and are ſtrung upon a ſilken cord, and covered with two thin lacquered boards. By means of the cords, the leaves are held even together, and by being drawn out when they are wanted to be uſed, they may be ſeparated from each other at pleaſure. Tr.

* About 83,800l. ſterling. Tr.

† They are in all fifteen in number, and have the following names given to them: Onruſt, de Kuiper, Purmerend, Engels Onruſt, Rotterdam, Schiedam, Middleburgh, Amſterdam, Horn, Harlem, Edam, Enkhuizen, Alkmaar, Leyden, and Vader Smit. The two firſt are the innermoſt, and are fronting and within ſight of the city. Tr.

‡ "The fortified island of Onruſt," ſays Captain Parish, "is well ſituated to command the channel that affords the principal paſſage into the road. The work upon that iſland was of a pentagonal form; its

In the year 1730, under the government of the governor-general Durven, a ſmall church with a ſteeple was erected here; where ſervice is performed on Sundays by a clergyman, who comes hither from Batavia, for that purpoſe, every week.

The Company have here ten or twelve large warehouſes, which are almoſt always quite full of goods: pepper, japan copper, ſaltpetre, tin, caliatour-wood, ſapan-wood, &c. They are under the direction of two adminiſtrators, who, as we have before mentioned, have very lucrative places.

On the north ſide of the iſland ſtand two ſaw-mills; and on the ſouth ſide there is a long pier-head, on which are three large wooden cranes erected for the purpoſe of fixing maſts in ſhips, or unſtepping them. Three ſhips can lie here behind each other, alongſide of the pier, in deep water, to be repaired, or to receive or diſcharge their cargoes. There is another pier a little more to the weſtward, called the Japan pier, where one more ſhip can lie to load or unload.

There is twenty and more feet water againſt the piers, and it riſes and falls about five feet once in four-and-twenty hours. All the Company's ſhips that require it are hove down at the wharfs along the piers, and receive every neceſſary reparation with eaſe and diſpatch*.

The government of the iſland, and the direction over the repairs of ſhips which take place here, is entruſted to a maſter carpenter, who has the management of every thing, except what relates to the departments of the adminiſtrators of the warehouſes. His office is eſteemed a very profitable one, and he has the rank of ſenior merchant. Though the iſland is but ſmall, the number of people dwelling upon it is ſuppoſed to be near three thouſand, among whom there are three hundred European workmen.

About ſixteen hundred feet from Onruſt, is the iſland de Kuiper, or Cooper's Iſle, which is one-third leſs in ſize than the former. The Company have ſeveral warehouſes upon it, in which coffee is chiefly laid up. There are two pier-heads, where veſſels may load and diſcharge, at its ſouth-ſide. There are ſeveral large tamarind trees interſperſed over the iſland, which afford an agreeable ſhade. The workmen who are employed here in the day-time are fetched away at night to Onruſt, and only two men remain behind as a watch, together with a number of dogs, who are remarkably fierce, ſo that no one dares to ſet his foot on the iſland at night.

To the eaſtward of Onruſt, and at twice the diſtance of Cooper's Iſle, is the iſland Purmerend, which is half as large again as Onruſt. It is planted with ſhady trees; and in the centre is a building which ſerves for a hoſpital, or lazaretto, for perſons afflicted with the leproſy, or other incurable diſeaſes, who are ſent thither from Batavia. It is ſupported by the alms of both Europeans and Javaneſe, but the latter contribute the largeſt ſhare.

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its baſtions were ſmall and low, not more than twelve feet the higheſt; and not always connected by curtains. A few batteries were lately conſtructed on the outſide of this work, that bore towards the ſea. On theſe, and on the baſtions, about forty guns were mounted, in different directions. South of this, was another iſland" (this muſt be that called de Kuiper) " at the diſtance of a few hundred yards, on which two batteries, mounting together twelve guns, had been lately erected." This account dates in 1793, and proves that the Dutch have become ſenſible of what is alleged in this work, page 253, that the fortifications at the mouth of the river are inſufficient to protect the road. TR.

* " It would be injuſtice," ſays Captain Cook, " to the officers and workmen of this yard, not to declare, that, in my opinion, there is not a marine-yard in the world, where a ſhip can be laid down with more convenience, ſafety, and diſpatch, nor repaired with more diligence and ſkill." TR.

The

The iſland of Edam lies about three leagues north-north-eaſt from Batavia. It is about half an hour's walk in circumference. It is very woody, and has abundance of large and ancient trees. Among them is one, the trunk of which is ſo large that twenty men with their arms extended are not enough to encompaſs it; its outward branches ſhoot downwards, and taking root, as ſoon as they reach the earth, grow up again into trees; I ſaw ſome of them that were already two feet thick; it is eſteemed holy by the Javaneſe, and is much venerated by them*. The Company have ſome warehouſes on this iſland for ſalt; but the chief uſe they make of it, is as a place of exile for criminals, who are employed in making of cordage; and over whom a ſhip's captain is placed as commandant.

* This is the banian-tree, ficus indica, or Indian fig-tree. Tr.

ACCOUNT OF CELEBES, AMBOYNA, &c.

FROM THE VOYAGES OF STAVORINUS.

IN order to throw more light upon the affairs of Macaſſer, it is neceſſary to become acquainted with the principal kingdoms and ſtates of Celebes, and to have a ſketch of their hiſtory down to the preſent time. A manuſcript on this ſubject has fallen into my hands, which Mr. Blok, formerly governor of Macaſſer, compoſed from authentic records, and continued down to his time, that is, till 1759: in order, however, not to repeat too much of what Valentyn may already have written, whoſe account of Macaſſer I have not by me, I ſhall only ſtate the moſt prominent parts of the hiſtory of Celebes ſince the beginning of the preſent century.

CHAPTER I.—*Account of the Kingdom of Macaſſer.—Their ancient Traditions.—Sketch of their Hiſtory.—Oath of Fidelity to the Company taken by the Kings of Boni and of Goach.—Conſtitution of Goach.—Laws.—Religion.—Former Proſperity of the Macaſſers.—Kingdom of Tello.—Of Sandrabony.*

THE empire or kingdom of Macaſſer, which, before the conqueſt of it by the Dutch, was ſo cloſely united with thoſe of Tello and Sandrabony, that it made, as it were, but one ſtate, extended along the ſea-coaſt, from Boeleboele, in the bay of Boni, to the point of Laſſem (called Laſſoa, in our maps), and thence weſtward to the point of Touratti, or Tanakeke, and along the weſt coaſt northward, to Tanette, or Aganondje, and reached inland as far as Boni and Soping, through the whole of which the original language of the Macaſſers then prevailed.

The Kings of Goach and Tello are both called Kings of Macaſſer, although each is a ſeparate ſtate, taking their names from their reſpective capitals, Goach and Tello.

The ancient fabulous traditions of Macaſſer, according to a manuſcript, tranſlated out of their language, of which I had the peruſal, make mention of four Kings, before the coming of Toemanoerong, which ſignifies one deſcended from heaven.

It happened, as theſe traditions relate, at a certain time, after the death of theſe four Kings, that a beautiful woman, adorned with a chain of gold, deſcended from heaven, and was acknowledged by the Macaſſers for their Queen, under the aforeſaid denomination of Toemanoerong.

Upon hearing the report of the appearance upon earth of this celeſtial beauty, the king of Bantam went thither and ſought her hand in marriage, though he had before wedded a princeſs of Bontain. His ſuit was granted, and a ſon was begotten in this marriage, of whom Tormanoerong was two or three years pregnant, ſo that the child could both walk and talk immediately after he was born; but he was very much diſtorted in ſhape. His name was Toema-Salingaberieng. When he was grown up, he

broke the chain of gold, which his mother had brought with her from heaven, in two pieces, after which, ſhe, together with her huſband and his brother, vaniſhed in a moment, taking with her the one half of the chain, and leaving the other and the empire to her ſon. This chain, which the Macaſſers ſometimes ſay is heavy, ſometimes light, at one time dark coloured, and at another bright, was ever afterwards one of the principal regalia of the Kings of Goach, till in the revolution of Crain Bontalancas, it was loſt, as I was informed, together with ſeveral other regal inſignia.

The manuſcript I alluded to, traces the origin of the Princes of Goach from this ſon of Toemanoerong, who, together with his three ſucceſſors, it is added, did not die, but vaniſhed in the ſame manner as their parents; and the eighteenth King after him began his reign under the name of Paducca Siri Sultan Shah Badin Iſmael.

Although this King did not long occupy the throne, he waged a furious war againſt the King of Boni, who was reinforced by the arms of the Company.

He was depoſed by the nine eſtates of the country of Goach, and they elected in his ſtead the King of Tello, who was called Mappa Orangie, but, as King of Goach, he took the name of Paducca Siri Sultan Sira Joudeen.

In the year 1718, the Macaſſer Prince, and afterwards famous rebel Caraing, or Crain Bontalancas, fled from Goach, having killed a daughter of the former King, and ſought an aſylum among the Dutch, living under the Company's protection, in the campon Baro. He afterwards went from here to Sumbawa, and aſſiſted in the war which raged between the Sumbawers and Baliers, in which the King of the former was killed. He wedded the daughter of this Prince, who was afterwards Queen of Sumbawa, and whoſe mother, marrying with the King of Goach, perſuaded her daughter to be divorced from Crain Bontalancas, and to marry a Prince of Sumbawa.

In the year 1724, the King, Sira Joudeen, gave up entirely to his ſon the kingdom of Tello, and taking upon himſelf the ſole adminiſtration of that of Goach, ſoon gave ſo much umbrage to the Macaſſer Princes, and eſpecially to Bontalancas, that the latter, who was become both furious and deſperate, from his forcible ſeparation from his wife, formed a reſolution of taking ample revenge upon the King. In order to compaſs this purpoſe, he procured, not only ſeveral of the diſcontented Macaſſer Princes, but likewiſe many Bougineſe of high rank, to take part in his conſpiracy; and he afterwards entered into the moſt ſolemn engagement with the famous pirate Aroe Soenkang, and his Captain Touaſſa, to dethrone the Kings of Goach and Boni, and wholly to expel the Dutch from Celebes.

Accordingly he kindled the flames of war, in the year 1734, in Bontain, whence they ſoon ſpread far and wide. In the beginning of the war, Bontalancas gained many advantages, and made ſo much impreſſion upon the King of Goach, that on the 5th of November 1735, he fled from Goach to Tello; upon which the Macaſſer eſtates immediately elected his grandſon, ſurnamed Malawangeſe Abdul Haerman Shoer, twentieth King of Goach. But he likewiſe was forced to yield to the arms of the rebels, and abandon his capital, which was immediately taken poſſeſſion of by Crain Bontalancas; while the King, together with a conſiderable number of Macaſſers, fled as far as Fort Rotterdam, where in the year 1739, he put himſelf under the protection of the Company.

Crain Bontalancas, being maſter of the country of Wadjo, and of part of the kingdom of Boni, came down a ſhort time before to the northern provinces of the Company, and cauſed himſelf to be inſtalled King of Goach.

Soon afterwards, he ſummoned Fort Rotterdam in the name of the three united empires of Boni, Goach, and Wadjo. But the governor not being ſpeedy enough in his determination, the whole force of Goach and Wadjo ſoon appeared upon the plain before the fort. The garriſon, reinforced by a body of Bougineſe, who were attached to the Company, and by the Company's ſubjects, marched againſt the enemy the ſame day, being the 16th of May 1739, and falling upon them with great fury, ſoon put them to flight, and throwing up a battery of ſixteen pieces of cannon, where a good number of them took poſt, they returned in triumph to the fort.

The enemy, on the other hand, intrenched themſelves againſt us, and daily ſkirmiſhes took place, till on the 14th of July, when the country being ſufficiently dry, that the artillery could be tranſported, the garriſon made another ſally, and being joined by their Bougineſe allies, and other auxiliaries, together with the Company's ſubjects and the Macaſſer refugees before-mentioned, they fell upon the enemy early in the morning of the 17th of July, by ſurprize, and after an obſtinate reſiſtance, and a bloody battle, which laſted till four o'clock in the afternoon, they gained a complete victory.

This victory was of the greater importance, as by it the treacherous hopes of the Macaſſer refugees were fruſtrated; for though they had joined our troops, they were almoſt all inclined to the rebel party, and had concerted with their chief, that, as ſoon as the balance turned the leaſt in his favour, they would join him, and turn themſelves againſt us.

Three days after this, when the rebels again tried their chance, they were beat anew, and put to flight by our troops, leaving behind them many dead and wounded. Crain Bontalancas, who had thrown himſelf into Goach with all his troops, was himſelf wounded. Our men purſued them hotly, and at three o'clock in the afternoon they came before the town, and immediately threw up ſome batteries, which were ready in the evening, and played with ſo much effect during the night, that at four o'clock the next morning our commander in chief, Admiral Smout, received intelligence that the enemy had abandoned the town, and had fled to the mountains; by which the war, on this ſide of Celebes, was put an end to. The regalia of Goach were immediately collected, and, together with the kingdom of Macaſſer, were reſtored to the monarch who had laſt fled from Goach, Abdul Haerman Shoer, and to the regent of the empire.

Moſt of the adherents of Crain Bontalancas then came in, and ſubmiſſively entreated for pardon. Among them, was a man of upwards of a hundred years of age, Crain Alamanpang, a younger brother of Crain Pomliaan, who had been a fugitive of the former century. On ſurrendering his kris, he ſpoke as follows:

"I have beheld this city of Goach in its proudeſt luſtre, when it ruled over the whole iſland of Celebes; I afterwards was a witneſs to its firſt humiliation, when we were ſubdued by the Company; it was then thought its fame and honour were greatly tarniſhed, yet it was ſtill populous and reſpected; but now I look around me, and behold nought but ruins and diſhonour. I ſurrendered my kris the firſt time at Samboepo, once more at Sourabaya, and now here, for the third time, to the conquering arms of the Company; leave to an old man now the only conſolation that remains—to die in peace."

He received a free pardon, and his kris was reſtored to him.

A ſhort time afterwards, intelligence was received that Crain Bontalancas had died of his wounds.

King

King Abdul Haerman Shoer dying on the 27th of July 1742, in the ſeventeenth year of his age, his brother, Mappa Babaſſa, a child of eight years old, was choſen ſucceſſor to the crown of Goach, under the guardianſhip of the regent Crain Madjennang. Nothing material occurred during his reign. He died on the 21ſt of December, 1753, and was ſucceeded by his ſon Amas Madina, ſurnamed Pattema Tharie, who was the twenty-ſecond king of Goach, and in the year 1758, was re-named Battara Goach, by the regent, who was, at the ſame time, his grandfather.

Thus far the manuſcript of Mr. Blok. What follows, was related to me at Macaſſer.

After the death of his grandfather, the regency fell into the hands of the uncle of king Battara. This man, urged by the ambition of enjoying the crown himſelf, cauſed ſo much vexation to his nephew and ſovereign, that the latter abandoned his kingdom and Celebes, and fled to the weſtward, no one knew whither.

But the regent, ſeeing that matters were not yet ſufficiently ripe, nor the nobles of Goach properly prepared to admit of his uſurping the crown himſelf, contrived that a younger brother of the King ſhould be exalted to the throne; whoſe life, however, he equally found means to embitter ſo much, that he alſo quitted his dignity and country in deſpair *. Upon this, the artful regent was conſecrated King, and he took upon himſelf at the ſame time the office of regent, or prime miniſter, in order to avoid another's playing the ſame part which he had acted before.

This Prince was on the throne in the year 1775, when I was there. He was deſcribed to me as a very wiſe monarch, who diſtributed impartial juſtice to his ſubjects, and kept a watchful eye over all the foreign relations of his country; eſpecially over the kingdom of Boni, for which, in common with all the other Kings of Goach, he entertained the moſt inveterate hatred; for its preſent proſperity and power were founded upon the decline and ruin of Macaſſer. An equally deep-rooted mutual hate exiſts at Boni, where they leave nothing untried, by means of their more ſtrict connections with the Company, to humble the power of Macaſſer, and render its fidelity ſuſpected.

An inſtance hereof occurred in the year 1770, upon the arrival of the preſent governor of Macaſſer, Mr. Van der Voort. The King of Boni, having received information that a new governor was expected from Batavia, cauſed an intimation to be conveyed to the King of Goach, by a third or fourth hand, that one of the fugitive Princes was coming over with the governor, who was to be reſtored to the throne of his anceſtors, while the uſurper would be taken priſoner, and ſent into baniſhment. In order to effect the latter purpoſe, it was alledged, that the opportunity would be availed of, when the King of Goach, according to ancient cuſtom, came to renew the oath of fidelity to the Company, upon the acceſſion of a new governor †.

This

* It was in the year 1767, that the king of Goach, thinking himſelf inſecure on his throne, abandoned his kingdom, and fled to Bima, where he was overtaken and ſent to Batavia. He was a weak and puſillanimous Prince, and preferred a petition to the Dutch government that he might be exiled to Ceylon, where he lived for many years, in the caſtle of Colembo, receiving a monthly allowance of fifty rix-dollars (about 130l. ſterling per annum) from the Company. Huyſers beſchryving der Ooſt-Indiſche Etabliſſementen, page 42. Tr.

† The oath of fidelity, and alliance to the Company, is taken by the Kings of Goach and of Boni, with the following ceremonies: The King, dreſſed in cloth of gold, and wearing the chain which the Company have preſented to him, in token of alliance, and every link of which repreſents a flower made of maſſy gold, with a medal pendant from it, with the initial letters of the united Eaſt-India Company engraved upon it, preſents himſelf with his courtiers and lifeguards at the government-houſe in Fort Rotterdam.

This Prince, deceived hereby, came at the appointed time to Fort Rotterdam, not with his uſual ſuite, but accompanied by five or ſix thouſand well-armed men, and refuſed to enter the walls of the fortreſs without theſe troops, ſaying, at the ſame time, the reaſon why he came in this manner; but when the Company's ſervants pointed out to him the groundleſſneſs of his ſuſpicions, and the evident falſity of his information, he was prevailed upon to lay aſide his diſtruſt, and every thing paſſed off without further difficulty; ſo that the King of Boni was diſappointed in his object. Yet the King was ſo fearful, and upon his guard, at the feaſt which the governor gave that day to the native Princes, that neither he nor his attendants would touch any wine, nor any of the proviſions which were ſet before them.

I ſaw this Prince twice; he is rather corpulent, grave in his appearance and converſation, and attentive and reſerved in his manners.

The King of Goach is not an abſolute ſovereign: he is ſubject to the laws of the land, and may not perform any important regal functions without the concurrence and approbation of the body of nobility. Crimes are puniſhed according to laws, and not by the arbitrary will of the monarch. His privy counſellors are called tomani lalangs.

Every negree, or townſhip, has a chief, called galarang: this rank was inſtituted by the eighth King of Goach, in the beginning of the ſixteenth century, perhaps at the inſtance of the Portugueſe, who firſt arrived at Celebes, and obtained a footing there during the reign of that King, in the year 1512.

His ſucceſſor appointed and regulated meaſures and weights for general uſe; he fixed prices upon the articles of trade; he manufactured gunpowder, and firſt mounted artillery upon the walls of Goach. He afterwards not only allowed the Malays to ſettle in his ſtates, but, together with other privileges, he granted them that of building a temple, and openly profeſſing the Mahomedan faith. This religion gained ſo much ground here, that the Macaſſers, by means of the Malays, diſpatched an embaſſy to Mecca, to fetch a ſtadja, or prieſt, from that place, for the purpoſe of inſtructing them in the religion of the Arabian impoſtor, which was at laſt univerſally eſtabliſhed throughout the Macaſſer empire, in the year 1603, under the thirteenth King, Sultan Allah Oudeen; and three years afterwards they forced the people of Boni equally to ſubſcribe to the doctrines of the Koran.

The power of Macaſſer was at its higheſt pitch about the middle of the laſt century, when its Princes not only ruled over almoſt the whole of Celebes, but had likewiſe rendered Loma, Mandelly, Bima, Tambora, Dompo, and Sangar, tributary to them, and had conquered Bouton, Bungay, Gapi, the Xulla iſlands, and Sumbawa. They moreover held the government of Saleyer, which had been given to Macaſſer by Baab Ullach, King of Ternate; they were in ſtrict alliance with the inhabitants of Bali, and coined the firſt gold coins which were probably the gold mas, of the value of ſixty Dutch ſtivers.

About that time alſo the alliance between Goach and Tello was renewed; and theſe two ſtates were ſo firmly united together, that it was a common ſaying, that there were "two lords, but one people." By the articles of union it was ſettled, that all levies

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His attendants firſt dance their war-dance, with their kriſſes and aſſagays. A chapter of the Koran, relating to the taking of oaths, is then read to the King, in Arabian, to which he liſtens with great attention and veneration. He then folds his hands, and lays them three times upon the book, and afterwards upon his head. Next he takes his kris of ſtate, and dipping the point of it in a ſilver horn of water, ſtirs it about with it, and lets a few drops which remain upon the point fall upon his tongue; by which the oath is completed, in the moſt ſolemn manner. S.

and contributions from conquered provinces, &c. ſhould be divided into five parts, two of which were to be given to Goach, and two to Tello, while the fifth ſhould fall to the ſhare of the eldeſt of the two Kings; that the eldeſt of the Kings ſhould always exerciſe the office of regent, or prime miniſter, to his junior colleague; that they ſhould both be equal in dignity; and, laſtly, that they ſhould both enjoy the title of Sambanco, ſignifying as much as Emperor.

The empire of Macaſſer has at preſent ſo much declined, under the influence of the powerful arms and the artful policy of the Company, that the King of Boni is now much ſuperior to Goach, both in extent of territory and number of ſubjects; although, in war, a Macaſſer is better than three Bougineſe, on account of their martial character and undaunted courage, which, notwithſtanding all the adverſities which have fallen upon them for a century paſt, have never been ſubdued or diminiſhed *.

It is worthy of remark, that the Kings of Macaſſer have a new name given to them after their death, and that their ſucceſſor muſt be nominated before their interment.

The kingdom of Tello was bounded, in the year 1667, to the north by the Coerees, two iſlands ſituated a little to the ſouthward of the river Maros, and to the ſouth it reached as far as Fort Rotterdam. The intimate connection between this kingdom and that of Goach has before been mentioned; and both have, in conſequence, participated in the ſame changes of fortune.

The ninth King of Tello, Abdal Carie, died in January 1709, and was ſucceeded by his ſon Mappa Orangie, who was elected King of Goach in the year 1712, and ruled over both kingdoms till the year 1724, when he gave up that of Tello to his ſon Man Radja, or Radja Mouden. To him ſucceeded, according to the records of the Company, but in what year is not mentioned, his brother Mappa Enga, or Jappee Oeden; this Prince, known by the name of Crain Tello, was the grandfather, and regent of the King of Goach, in the year 1759, and an inveterate enemy of the Company. After his death, his daughter, the preſent reigning Queen, ſucceeded to the crown.

The kingdom of Sandraboni, lying within the bounds of Macaſſer, on the weſtern coaſt of Celebes, between the Company's lands at Galiſſong and Poelonbanheen, is ſmall in extent, yet independent of Goach. In the time of Toena Parie, King of Macaſſer, in the beginning of the ſixteenth century, the Queen of Sandraboni entered in an alliance with the Macaſſers, its liberties and immunities remaining, however, unimpaired; and ſince that time it has, as well as Tello, been ſubjected to the ſame fortunes as Goach.

Mappa Doelang, afterwards King of Goach, ruled over this ſmall ſtate, at the time of the war conducted by General Speelman, and, together with his nobles, accepted and ſwore to the engagements with the Company in 1667 and 1669. The Kings of Sandraboni are moſtly related to the royal family of Goach.

The city ſtands a little inland, on the banks of a river, whence the kingdom derives its name. It was built about the ſame period as Samboupo and Tello. This is all that I learnt reſpecting it.

* In 1778, a finiſhing ſtroke was given to the independence, and power of reſiſtance, of Goach; the reins of government were, at that time, on account of the nonage of the King, in the hands of his mother Queen Radja Polakka, a woman of an ambitious and intriguing diſpoſition, who, probably aiming at the total emancipation of her country from the yoke of the Company, raiſed a rebellion againſt it, in which her forces were ſubdued, the city of Goach taken by aſſault, its fortifications razed, and the government new modelled, ſo as to be entirely conformable to the views of the conquerors. Tr.

CHAP.

CHAP. IX. — *Account of the Kingdom of Boni. — Sketch of its Hiſtory. — Their firſt Kings. — Origin of their Enmity to Goach. — Singular Revolutions under Queen Battara Todja. — Piracies of Aroe Seenkang. — War with Wadjo. — Arone Tanete, a Cannibal. — Method of accuſing and puniſhing Criminals. — Story of a Duel between two Princes, Grandſons of the reigning King. — Cruelty of the King towards the Object of their Diſagreement.*

AT the time of the Boni contract, that kingdom extended along the weſtern ſhore of the gulph, which is ſtill called the Bay of Boni *, from the river Chinrana to the river Salenico, a length of about twenty leagues; inland it bordered upon Soping, Lamoere, Macaſſer, and Boeleboele. This kingdom was independent of and unconnected with any other in very ancient times. Their traditions affirm, that their firſt King likewiſe deſcended from heaven. When he came upon earth he had no name, but was afterwards called Matta Salompo by the people, ſignifying as much as, all-ſeeing. He married a Princeſs of Toro, who was equally of celeſtial origin; he had by her one ſon and five daughters, from whom all the ſucceeding Kings of Boni are deſcended, and of whoſe poſterity, born from marriages with royal Princeſſes, ſuch only being, in every reſpect, entitled to the crown, according to Mr. Blok's account, no other remained alive in 1759 than Aroe Palakka, the grandmother of the then reigning King of Goach. She was ſtill living when I was at Macaſſer in 1775, and governed as Queen of Tannetta.

This, their firſt monarch, inſtituted the laws of the country, which are ſtill obſerved; he made the royal ſtandard, called Worong Porong, and appointed ſeven electors, under the denomination of Matoua Petoes. Theſe are hereditary in ſeven families, though it has ſometimes happened that two, and even three of them, have been of the ſame lineage. This high office deſcends upon women as well as upon men. All matters of importance, relating to the kingdom, muſt be determined by them: their power, in particular, extends over the election and depoſition of the Kings, and the making of peace and war †.

King

* Called Sewa by the natives, and Buggueſs, or Long Bay, by the Engliſh. The following account of it, given by Captain Foreſt, from the information of a Buggueſs noquedah, or sea-captain, may not be unacceptable: "Having paſſed the ſtrait between Celebes and Saleyer, called the Budgeroons, keep on in a direction north-eaſt-by-north, about one hundred and thirty miles, and you will find near the weſt coaſt of the Sewa a ſmall iſland called Baloonroo: it is viſible eight or ten leagues off, and has ſome rocky iſlets at its eaſt end. Farther on, about a day's ſail, which I fix at ſixty miles, is the mouth of the river Chinrana: this river takes its riſe in the Warjoo country, the capital of which is called Toſſoro, and lies a day's journey by water from the mouth of the river; it afterwards paſſes through Boni: it has a good muddy bar, paſſable by large ſhips, and is navigable a good way up; it has ſeveral mouths, and there are many towns on its banks, where a great trade is carried on in gold, rice, ſago, caſſia, tortoiſe-ſhell, pearls, &c.: the anchorage is good off the river's mouth. Half a day's ſail farther north, along the weſt coaſt of the Sewa is the river Peeneekee, not very conſiderable. Farther on are two places called Akolingan and Tellu-dopin, which are pretty well inhabited. Continuing ſtill north, you come to the river Sewa, not very conſiderable; then to the river Loo, famous for boat-building: then you come to Mankakoo, where there is gold, and much ſago, very cheap; they have alſo caſſia and ſeed-pearl. Being now come to the bottom of Buggueſs Bay, the ſago-tree abounds very much; and in many parts of the Sewa, there are ſpots of foul ground on which they fiſh for ſwallow, which they generally carry to Macaſſer, to ſell to the China junk. On the eaſt ſide of the Sewa the country is not ſo well inhabited as on the weſt ſide. The ſouth-eaſt point of the Sewa is called Pajungan: here is a cluſter of iſlands, rather ſmall, with good anchorage amongſt them." Tr.

† According to Foreſt, Boni is governed by a Prince, who is called Pajong. He is elected for life by ſeven nobles, a fixed number, which may be kept up by the Pajong (but not increaſed), from the dyons (certain

King Matta Salompo, ſay the natives, after having reigned forty years over them, aſcended into heaven with his Queen.

The Bougineſe, and Queen Tarre Toeppoe, who then ruled over them, were compelled, in the beginning of the ſeventeeth century, to conform to the Mahomedan religion, and the condition was, moreover, impoſed upon them, that the enemies of Macaſſer ſhould likewiſe be the enemies of Boni, but not the enemies of Boni thoſe of Macaſſer.

This was the firſt blow which was given to the greatneſs of Boni, although they were able to bring ſeventy thouſand fighting men into the field.

The hatred which, by this means, was excited among the Bougineſe againſt the Macaſſers, was greatly inſtrumental to the ſucceſs of the arms of the Company againſt Macaſſer. Radja Palacca, a Bougineſe Prince, whoſe exertions in particular contributed much to the completion of the conqueſt of Macaſſer, was afterwards choſen King of Boni, by the electors, and rendered himſelf ſo famous and powerful, extending the bounds of his kingdom in every way, that he was called by his people Toenee Sombaya, ſignifying, a King before whom all others muſt humble themſelves.

He died on the 6th of April 1696, and was ſucceeded by his ſon Lapatoua, as fifteenth King of Boni, who, after having been the cauſe of much uneaſineſs to the Company, died in the year 1713.

His daughter Battara Todja, likewiſe called Aroe Toemoerang, ſucceeded him, as the ſixteenth ſovereign of Boni. After reigning a ſhort time, ſhe reſigned the government in the year 1715, into the hands of her half-brother Lapadany Sadjati, ſurnamed Toapannara Aroe Palacca; but his ill treatment of his ſiſter and her huſband, whom he cauſed to be rampaſſed, or beaten with ſticks, and whom he threw into confinement at Boni, without any ſhadow of reaſon, or legal pretence, was ſo much diſapproved of and reſented by the nobles, that ſhortly afterwards, on the 20th of January 1720, he was not only depoſed, but, together with his wife, was thrown into priſon. After this the Bougineſe again gave the kingdom to Battara Todja, who, however, directly reſigned it anew to her eldeſt half-brother, the dethroned King of Goach, Sappualee, then ſurnamed Madanrang; he likewiſe was depoſed in the year 1724, after a ſhort and turbulent reign, on account of his diſſolute conduct, and his youngeſt brother Topawanoi, or Aroe Mano, afterwards called Crain Beſſei, was choſen in his ſtead; on the fourth day after his appointment he was alſo ſet aſide, and in his room Battara Todja was choſen Queen for the third time; ſhe became at the ſame time Datoua, or Queen of Loehoe, and not long afterwards Queen of Soping alſo; her huſband was appointed co-regent with her of the kingdom; he died in the year 1725; after which ſhe was married, for the fourth time, to Aroe Kayoe, who was, ſhortly after his nuptials, equally made co-regent of the kingdom. But the Queen being at variance with her brothers, one of whom ſhe had cauſed to be killed, and being diſſatisfied with Mr. Goubius, at that time the Company's governor at Macaſſer, went away to Soping, where ſhe cauſed herſelf to be inaugurated as Queen.

Her huſband, the regent, Aroe Kayoe, now thinking himſelf King of Boni, reſolved to ſupplant his Queen and conſort, and to take again to his bed his firſt beloved wife Crain Bonto Majene, whom he had repudiated in order to marry the Queen; but when this deſign was diſcovered, in the year 1728, he was immediately declared

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(certain freeholders). The Pajong is often reſtrained by a ſort of parliament, elected by the freeholders: it conſiſts of four hundred members, two hundred of which are called mattoua, one hundred are called pabicharro, and one hundred are called galarang. "But of this (he adds), I never learnt a diſtinct account; and I mention it only as a hint for future travellers." Tr.

unworthy of the regentſhip, and his life was ſo much endangered, that he was obliged to fly by night to Tello, where he received protection. He afterwards became connected with Crain Bontalancas, and loſt his life in the commotions excited by that famous rebel.

In the year 1730, the three remaining brothers of the Queen of Boni came from Bouton, whither they had fled for fear of their ſiſter, and took refuge under the protection of the Company, who allowed them to reſide in the campon Baro.

The Queen, in the meantime, continued diſcontented with the Company, becauſe the province of Bontain was withheld from her; while her madanrang, or general in chief, and her tomarilalangs, or privy counſellors, conducted every thing at Boni according to their own wiſhes, and adhering to the enemies of the Company who aroſe about this time, Aroe Seenkang and his followers, and the rebel Crain Bontalancas, they prepared the way for the ruin of the kingdom of Boni, which was effected in the following manner:

Aroe Seenkang, a diſcontented Wadjoreſe Prince, had for ſome time, together with his captain, laut, or admiral, touſſa, been committing piracies; he had taken Paſſir and Coety, and had even attacked the veſſels of the Company.

Theſe freebooters, therefore, in the years 1735 and 1736, carrying their depredations to a great exceſs in the neighbourhood of Mandhar and Cajelie, were encountered by the cruiſing veſſels of the Company, but to no purpoſe; and, in the beginning of the year 1736, they landed in ſight of Fort Rotterdam, on the adjacent iſlands, belonging to the Company, where they plundered the inhabitants, and burnt their houſes. Upon this our government equipped ſome veſſels at Macaſſer, who attacked the enemy, but the battle was ſtopped by the evening coming on; and in the night, the enemy having effected their purpoſes, cunningly gave us the ſlip, and got away to Wadjo, without having ſuffered any material damage.

The Wadjoreſe, notwithſtanding the earneſt repreſentations of the Company's ſervants, obſtinately refuſed to deliver up Aroe Seenkang; and the Bougineſe in conſequence declared war againſt them. But it was proſecuted with very little vigour; for the general and the counſellors of Boni, as we have before ſeen, were in colluſion with the enemy; whence this war had an unfortunate iſſue.

The Queen of Boni perceiving the treachery, though too late, ſent for the Princes, her brothers, who had left Bouton, and were gone over to the Company, and gave the command of the army to the eldeſt; but matters had already taken ſo bad a turn, that there was ſcarcely any poſſibility of retrieving them, ſo that they were compelled to make peace with Wadjo.

A little before, our people, at the requeſt of the Soping nobles, had let Aroe Tanete, ſurnamed the Mad Duke *, go to Soping, to defend that country againſt the Wadjoreſe; but he, attending little to the war with Wadjo, procured, by his intrigues, the Sopingers to depoſe their Queen, and elect him for their Datoua, or King, in her ſtead; after which he likewiſe contrived to have himſelf choſen King by the Bougineſe, of which election they gave communication to the Company's ſervants at Fort Rotterdam, but it met with their marked diſapprobation; and when the Queen herſelf came forward, he was obliged to give way to her by flight.

Upon this, the Wadjoreſe made themſelves maſters of Boni, appointed another Queen, acknowledged the rebel Crain Bontalancas for King of Goach, and

* Of this Aroe Tanete, it was related, that, like the ancient inhabitants of Celebes, he was a cannibal, and remarkably fond of human fleſh, ſo that he even uſed to fatten his priſoners, and cutting their heart out alive, he eat it raw, with pepper and ſalt, eſteeming it the moſt delicious morſel of all. S.

declared

declared themſelves, in this manner, as three united countries, and enemies of the Company.

In the month of April 1739, they came down, took poſſeſſion of Goach, and ſummoned Fort Rotterdam to ſurrender. What happened afterwards I have before related in the account I have given of Goach.

When the Company were ſaved by the fortune of arms, the next ſtep to be taken was to relieve Boni; but this, for ſome unknown reaſon, was only done by halves; for when the Wadjoreſe were twice beaten, they were not purſued as far as their capital Toſſora; and thoſe people who refuſed to renew their engagements with the Company, were ſuffered to do as they liked, while the diſputes with Wadjo, as well on the part of the Company as on the part of Boni, remain unſettled to the preſent day. [Written in the year 1759.]

In the mean time, in order, as was pretended, to forward the reſtoration of the public tranquillity, the queen of Boni was prevented from proſecuting her juſt claim againſt Aroe Tanete, or the Mad Duke; and, to her further chagrin, the grant of Bontain, which province had been given to that princeſs, in the ſame manner as to her predeceſſors, as a reward for paſt ſervices, by the Dutch government at Batavia, was annulled.

She died in the year 1749, and her half-brother Lama Oſſong, was choſen ſucceſſor to the crown of Boni, under the name of Abdul Zadſhab Djalaloedeen, who was the reigning king when I was at Celebes, in 1775. He was then a man of upwards of eighty years old, and he dwelt in the Bougineſe campon, which is not far from our town of Vlaardingen, and, like moſt of the native villages, is a place of little conſideration.

He did not ſhow much eſteem for the Europeans; he governed his ſubjects in an arbitrary manner, with much ſeverity, and paid very little regard to the laws of the country, which he always explained according to his will.

All criminals are accuſed before the king, who commiſſions his prime miniſter, and one or two more of the nobles, to examine into the affair. As ſoon as a report is made concerning it, if the culprit be thought worthy of death, the king gives a ſign with his eyes, and he is immediately carried out and killed with a kris. If aggravating circumſtances occur, the king gives directions for a more ſevere puniſhment; the criminal is then bound to a tree, and he is pricked full of ſkin-deep wounds with kriſſes, and rubbed with ſugar or molaſſes; the whole body is ſoon entirely covered with ants, and the poor wretch is not relieved by death before he has ſuffered the greateſt torments. But one of the grandees of the kingdom, or a man of noble birth, is never otherwiſe put to death for any crime than by the more merciful method of plunging a kris into his boſom.

Mr. Van Pleuren related to me the following inſtance of the cruel character of this monarch, which had occurred about two years before.

Two princes, grandſons of the King, became both enamoured of the ſame perſon, a young princeſs, who was ſcarcely more than twelve years old; ſhe was an exquiſite beauty, poſſeſſed of every accompliſhment that an education at the court of an eaſtern monarch could procure her. Both the lovers, notwithſtanding their earneſt ſolicitations that ſhe would make choice of one who ſhould be the favoured youth, could not prevail upon her, for a long time, to decide between them; overcome, however, at length by the vehemence of their entreaties, ſhe at laſt declared in favour of the youngeſt. This, as might be ſuppoſed, occaſioned an implacable enmity between the two princes, which was carried to ſuch a height, that they drew their kriſſes againſt each other in a

ſolitary place, with ſuch fury, that, had they not been fortunately ſeparated by ſome people who came in time to prevent a fatal cataſtrophe, they would probably have both fallen victims to their jealouſy and love.

As ſoon as this occurrence came to the ears of the King, he ſent for both princes, and reproached them with great aſperity, that they were near depriving him of two of his children by their raſh and fooliſh conduct, which was the more unpardonable, being merely for the ſake of a woman. He then commanded them immediately to diſmiſs their animoſity, and to live thenceforward together with their accuſtomed fraternal affection.

Thus far all was right. He next ſent for the young princeſs, and ſternly aſked her, how ſhe dared to avow a choice between two of his grandſons? The poor girl, trembling and in tears, could make no other reply, than that ſhe had not done ſo before ſhe was abſolutely compelled to it, and was afraid of fatal conſequences, if ſhe had remained obſtinate in her refuſal.

This diſculpation was of no avail to ſoften the indignation of the King; he knew, he ſaid, a way to preſerve his children both from ſuch debaſing love and from the dangerous conſequences of it, and that it would be an unheard-of event that one of his ſons ſhould loſe his life for the ſake of a boyiſh attachment. He then gave the wonted ſign of death, and the wretched object of the violent love and furious hatred of the two princes, was carried out and pierced to the heart, without there being any one found who durſt pretend to be her advocate, or that her youth and beauty made the leaſt impreſſion upon the obdurate heart of the cruel monarch.

CHAP. X. — *Account of the Kingdom of Soping; — Sketch of its Hiſtory. — Loehoe; — Its Productions. — Diſſolute Conduct of the preſent Queen. — Tanete; — Its Hiſtory. — The Country of Mandhar; — Its Government — History. — Toadja, or Wadjo; — Its ſingular Conſtitution.*

THE kingdom of Soping was anciently one of the moſt powerful ſtates of Celebes; it lies partly along the weſtern ſhore of the bay of Boni; to the north it is bounded by the great lake called Tamparang Laba, and to the ſouth it borders upon Lamoeroe, which, together with ſeveral other ſmall ſtates, formerly belonged to it, but which afterwards became either independent or united to Boni.

It yields nothing but paddee. In the year 1661, after the flight of Radja Palacca, it became a fief of Macaſſer; but in the year 1667, it was reſtored to its liberty by the Company.

The Kings of Soping have been allied by marriages to thoſe of Boni from time immemorial. The Sopingers pretend, in the ſame manner as thoſe of Macaſſer and Boni, that their firſt King equally deſcended from heaven. After him a ſeries of ſovereigns, as well Kings as Queens, ruled over them, of whom the preſent reigning King of Boni is the twenty-ſecond, who, with the conſent of the nobles of Soping, governed the kingdom by means of a viceroy; at preſent, however, namely in 1775, it is again under its own King, who married the daughter of the King of Boni. He is a faithful ally of the Company, and follows in all things the advice of the governor of Macaſſer, although by the bravery of his people, for one Sopinger is better in war than three Bouginеſe, he could do much more than the King of Boni. His ſon is educated at the court of his maternal grandfather.

The part which this kingdom took in the troubles at the time of Crain Bontalancas and Aroe Tanete has before been mentioned.

The kingdom of Loeboe, or Loehoe, was the moſt powerful and moſt extenſive of all the ſtates of Celebes, before thoſe of Macaſſer and Boni attained their ſubſequent celebrity. It ſtretches at preſent from Pelopa, the capital of the country, to Larompo, being an extent of about twenty leagues along the weſtern ſhore of the bay of Boni, and from the other ſide of the city, over the whole of the ſouth-eaſtern part of Celebes, between Bugguefs Bay and the eaſtern coaſt of the iſland, as far as the Alforeſe will ſuffer them inland; to the weſt, it is bounded by Wadjo, and to the north by Toradja.

The land is fertile in paddee; it yields likewiſe good iron, and much gold is found in the rivers *.

Mr. Blok had not obtained any information reſpecting their antient hiſtory or Kings. The firſt King of whom mention is made in the records of the Company, is called Crain Haroo; he was ſubdued by the arms of the Company, at the ſame time with the Macaſſers at Bouton.

The Queen who ruled over the country, when the account of Mr. Blok was written, was called Tanralele, and ſometimes Aſha; ſhe was, at the ſame time, Queen of Tanete; but ſhe was afterwards deprived of the crown by the machinations of the King of Boni, on account of her alleged diſſolute life; for, notwithſtanding ſhe was already very far advanced in years, ſhe had the fineſt men daily brought to her for the ſatisfaction of her ſhameful licentiouſneſs; while, if ſhe met with any one whom ſhe did not approve, ſhe had him immediately killed and thrown into the river: a grandſon of the King of Boni was appointed King in her ſtead.

This kingdom is likewiſe in alliance with the Company, and conſequently dependent upon them.

The kingdom of Tanete, or Aga Nonſha, ſignifying a bridge or ford, lies halfway between Fort Rotterdam and the bay of Sorian. It is bounded to the eaſt by the principality of Mariovi-wavo, to the north by Barroe, to the ſouth by Sageree, and to the weſt by the ſea. It ſtood, in former times, on friendly terms with Macaſſer; afterwards, upon a war breaking out between them, although Tanete was conquered, it was ſtill reputed independent and a free ally of Macaſſer; but when the King gradually began to extend his power over this country, it was, and juſtly, looked upon as a ſtate dependent upon that of Macaſſer, as it is called in the reports of the conference of Macaſſer, on the 7th of September 1668.

At the time of Mr. Speelman, one King Ibrahim reigned here; who, during the peace of Bonaye, joined the Company, and was received as one of their allies, after having entered into and ſworn to the engagements dictated at that time by the Company, to which his ſucceſſors have ever ſince adhered.

The preſent Queen Tanralele, upon her being made Queen of Loehoe, and going thither, gave up the government of Tanete to the King of Boni, and to the Company; but having, ſome years afterwards, been driven from the throne of Loehoe, ſhe came back, and reſumed the adminiſtration of her own ſtate.

The country of Mandhar borders upon the ſea to the weſt, upon Cajelie to the north, upon Bionangis to the ſouth, and to the eaſt upon a tract of deſert mountains, which afford a ſecure refuge to the inhabitants when they are attacked by too powerful enemies; they then abandon to them their deſerted villages on the ſea-coaſt, and do not return to their habitations till they have been left by the invaders.

* The gold of Celebes is generally got, as on Sumatra, from the beds of rivers and torrents, and there are many ſprings iſſuing from crevices of rocks, that bring ſome gold along with the water, which, running through a veſſel bottomed with ſand, leaves its treaſure behind. Tr.

The government of this country was veſted, in former times, in ten nobles, or eſtates, who had all entered into engagements with the Company; three of them voluntarily; the ſeven others are commonly called Princes of the ſeven rivers. They formerly were ſubject to the Macaſſers, and, in token of allegiance, were obliged to ſend a yearly tribute of long ſhields; they even were forced to receive a governor from Macaſſer, whom they, however, rejected in the year 1658, though they remained otherwiſe faithful to that country.

By the contract of Boni, the Macaſſers reſigned all claim to the dominion over Mandhar; after which their Princes, or eſtates, were ſeveral times ſummoned to enter into treaty with the Company; but they all, except one, obſtinately refuſed to do it. On this account, they were made war againſt by the Company, and by the Bougineſe, but were never ſubdued, as they always fled to the mountains, but, in the year 1674, fearing that they ſhould be attacked by Radja Palakka, they humbled themſelves before the Company, and ſigned and ſwore to the engagements required. Yet they never much obſerved them, eſpecially not thoſe articles which bind them not to navigate any veſſels without paſſes from the Company, and which forbid them to admit any veſſels into their harbours which are not provided with ſuch paſſes. Nevertheleſs they are deſerving of praiſe and eſteem for the reſpect which they otherwiſe pay to the Company and to Boni, and for the readineſs which they ſhewed in aſſiſting the Company in the laſt war.

Toadja, as pronounced by the Macaſſers, or Wadjo, as pronounced by the Bougineſe, is ſituated north of the river Chinnanſe Boni, which divides this country from that of Boni, extending to Panekee, which, though a free ſtate, is eſteemed a dependency of Wadjo, and which reaches to Cotenga. Behind Panekee and Kera, Wadjo ſtretches northwards to Larompo, or Loehoe. To the weſt it touches upon the Borders of Adja Tamparang, or Sedeenring.

It is governed by forty Princes, or Regents, amongſt whom women are admitted equally with men. Theſe nobles are all obliged to remain in Wadjo; yet, when requiſite, they are allowed to go for a ſhort time to their lands, in order to effect what may be neceſſary; but as ſoon as this is done, they muſt immediately return to Wadjo.

The forty are divided into three diſtinct bodies, or eſtates, each of which has a chief banner or flag, to which they belong. Out of each of theſe three again two chiefs are choſen, one for warlike affairs, who is ſtyled patara, and the other for the civil adminiſtration of the government, ſtyled padenrang, who have for their preſident the mattoua, or elected King, who belongs to neither of the three eſtates, and conſtitutes the fortieth Prince, ſo that each diviſion conſiſts of thirteen members.

Theſe laſt ſeven chiefs, to which high authority no woman is admiſſible, form an aſſembly in whom the chief government in every thing is veſted, in the name of the forty nobles of Wadjo, except in the point of making war or peace, for which the grand council of the forty are aſſembled, in whoſe deliberations the mattoua has, if neceſſary, a double or caſting vote *.

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* Though our Dutch traveller had undoubtedly the beſt opportunities for becoming acquainted with the ſeveral republican, or rather feudal, conſtitutions which appear to prevail in the petty ſtates of Celebes, it may not be unpleaſing to compare his account with that of Captain Forreſt, who navigated in the eaſtern parts of India, at different times, from 1763 to 1776, and whoſe information on this ſubject was obtained from the Indians. "Warjoo, or Tuadjoo," he ſays, "is governed by an elective Prince, called Aramatooa. He is elected for life by the four nobles of the higheſt rank, called oran cayo batta bazar (nobles of the great flag), from the body of an inferior nobility, called oran cayo batta ampat palo (nobles of the forty flags, there being forty in number). When elected, if he ſhould ſay, 'I am poor,' which may be the caſe, the reply made to him by the nobleman who preſides at the election is, 'Warjoo berennee, Warjoo caio, Warjoo guaſſo,' which ſignifies, Warjoo is brave, rich, and powerful; intimating, no doubt, that

Upon the deceaſe of this eminent chief, the three eſtates, or the thirty-nine nobles as they are then reduced to, are equally aſſembled, who elect one of their own body to ſucceed to his dignity, without paying any particular attention to his family: but ſuch regentſhips of the forty as happen to be vacant, are filled up from the neareſt relations of the deceaſed King, provided they are not born of a bondſwoman.

Theſe people had their ſhare in the general oppreſſion which was the conſequence of the extenſion of the power of Macaſſer, but they redeemed their freedom by the payment of one hundred cattis, being one hundred and twenty-five pounds of gold.

They live very peaceably among themſelves, and follow their commercial purſuits with much activity. They are the greateſt merchants of Celebes, and at preſent alſo the richeſt and moſt redoubted nation of the iſland. They pay no regard to any engagements either with the Company or with Boni, alleging that they have been cancelled by the laſt war; ſince, after that time, Wadjo has increaſed in power in proportion as the conſideration of Boni has declined.

CHAP. XI. — *Account of the Kingdom of Tourattea. — The Country of Linques. — Touradja. — The People called Boadjoos. — The Kings of Ereka and Letha. — The Country of Cajelie. — Its Productions. — Toerongan. — Its Dependencies. — Boeleboele. — The Iſland Bouton. — Various petty States upon the Iſland Sumbawa. — Paſſir and Coeti, in Borneo.*

TOURATTEA extends from the river Tjeeko, along the ſea-coaſt to the ſouth and eaſt to the river Tino, the eaſtern bank of which belongs to Bontain; it is bounded on the north by Macaſſer, and on the weſt and ſouth by the ſea.

In ancient times it was inhabited by a free people, living under ſeveral independent Princes; the chief of whom were thoſe of Binano and Bankale. The country of Linques lies between the two laſt named ſtates, not far from the bay of Tourattea. By the contract of Boni, their independence was allowed by the Company, although the King of Boni looks upon them as his ſubjects, without admitting them to be equally allies of the Company.

Touradja is a large country, lying inland, bordering to the north upon the Alforeſe mountains, which ſeparate it from the bay of Tominee; to the eaſt upon Loehoe and Wadjo, to the ſouth upon Sedeenring, and to the weſt upon the Mandhareſe mountains.

A large proportion of the Touradjeſe are mountaineers and idolaters. Another part live upon the water, and their veſſels are continually roving round Celebes, the iſland of Ende and Sumbawa. Theſe ſubſiſt by fiſhing, by the preparing of tripangs *, and by catching of tortoiſes for the ſhells; they are likewiſe called Boadjoos, and are eſteemed ſlaves of Boni, or of Goach †.

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that he ſhall want for nothing. He then accepts of the government. Beſides the four high, and the forty inferior nobles, there is ſtill a kind of freeholders called dyons, as in Boni. The aramatooa can only keep up the number of the four high and forty inferior nobility, when they are, by want of heirs, extinct; but he cannot increaſe the number. In Warjoo, the nobility is hereditary." Account of Celebes, added to Forreſt's Voyage to the Mergui Archipelago, p. 75.

* The ſame with ſwallow, or ſea ſlug, mentioned in the following note. Tr.

† The Boadjoo people, who are likewiſe called oran laut, or men of the ſea, are a kind of itinerant fiſhermen, ſaid to come originally from Johore, at the eaſt entrance of the Straits of Malacca, though ſome are of opinion that they muſt have come either from China or Japan. They live chiefly in ſmall covered boats on

The Kings of Ereka and Letha, two ſmall diſtricts, in the weſtern part of Touradja, are alſo in alliance with the Company.

Cajelie lies upon the weſtern ſhore of Celebes, towards the north, between Mandhar Mamoedje, and Sinlenſa, which is the ſouthernmoſt place belonging to the government of Ternate.

By the treaty of Boni, this country was ceded to the King of Ternate; but the government at Batavia afterwards iſſued orders that it ſhould be conſidered as belonging to the government of Macaſſer.

It uſed formerly to yield much cocoa-nut-oil, and to furniſh as much of this article as was wanted by the Company; but ſince the year 1730, it has been ſo much ravaged, firſt by the internal diſſentions between their own nobles, and afterwards by the Mandhareſe, that all the cocoa-nut trees were felled for the purpoſe of making bentings: the land lies now almoſt uncultivated and deſert, and is ſubject, for the greateſt part, to the Mandhareſe.

The petty Kings of this country requeſted the aid of the Company, ſeveral years ago, againſt the Mandhareſe; upon which ſome veſſels and troops were ſent thither, but they behaved ſo ill, that the natives ſorely repented having ever had recourſe to the Dutch for aſſiſtance.

From the report of the chief perſons employed on that occaſion by the government of Macaſſer, it appears that the country was then very productive in paddee; as likewiſe that it yielded much gold, and that in the neighbourhood of Pavigi, which is ſitu-

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on the coaſts of Borneo, Celebes, and the adjacent iſlands. Others dwell cloſe to the ſea, on thoſe iſlands, their houſes being raiſed on poſts, a little diſtance into the ſea, always at the mouths of rivers. They are Mahomedans. They have a language of their own, but no written character. Many Boadjoos are ſettled on the north-weſt coaſt of Borneo, who not only fiſh, but make ſalt, and trade in ſmall boats along the coaſt. They make ſalt in the following manner: they gather ſea-weeds, burn them, make a ley of aſhes, filter it, and form a bitter kind of ſalt in ſquare pieces, by boiling it in pans made of the bark of the aneebong, or cabbage-tree; theſe pieces of ſalt are carried to market, and paſs as a currency for money. Thoſe ſettled on the north-weſt coaſt of Borneo uſed to ſupply the Engliſh at Balambangan with rice, fowls, and other proviſions. Many of them are ſettled at the mouth of the river of Paſſir, who employ themſelves chiefly in catching ſmall ſhrimps with hand-nets, which they puſh through the mud; the ſhrimps, after being well waſhed in ſea-water, are expoſed to a hot ſun; they are then beat in a mortar, and made into a kind of paſte called blatchong, which has a ſtrong ſmell, and is much in requeſt all over India. Theſe laſt Boadjoos may be called fixed or ſtationary, compared with thoſe who live always in their boats, and who, as the monſoon ſhifts on the iſlands Borneo and Celebes, ſhift their ſituation to leeward, ſo as to be always under the lee of the land, for the ſake of fine weather. Moſt of thoſe who rove round Celebes, though they change their ſituation with the monſoon, conſider Macaſſer as their home. When Captain Carteret lay at Bontain, a fleet of more than a hundred ſail of their boats anchored there; they were from twelve to eighteen and twenty tons burden, and carried from ſixteen to twenty men: they were all under Dutch colours. The Boadjoo boats which Captain Forreſt ſaw at the little Paternoſter Iſlands, between Borneo and Celebes, were about five or ſix tons burden; ſeveral had women and children on board, and their women are ſaid to be capable of managing their veſſels, even in heavy ſeas: they lay at anchor fiſhing for the ſwallow or ſea-ſlug in ſeven or eight fathoms water. They ſee the ſwallow in clear water, and ſtrike it as it lies on the ground, with an inſtrument conſiſting of four bearded iron prongs, fixed along an almoſt cylindrical ſtone, rather ſmaller at one end than at the other, about eighteen inches long; an iron ſhot is fixed at the end of the ſtone, next the point of the prongs. The ſwallow is dried in the ſmoke, and ſent to the China market. They alſo dive for it, the beſt being got in deep water. The black is reputed the beſt; but there is ſome of a lighter colour, found only in deep water, which is of more value in China than the black, and ſold even for forty dollars a picol; the pieces are much larger than the general run of the black ſwallow, ſome of them weighing half a pound. The white is the worſt, and is eaſily got in ſhoal water, and on the dry land, among coral rocks, at low water: its value is about four or five dollars a picol. The Boadjoos are very uſeful to the Dutch Eaſt-India Company, in carrying intelligence ſpeedily from place to place. Tr.

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ated upon the gulph or bay of Tominee, gold is found by digging about four feet under the ſurface of the earth.

Toerongan is ſituated inland. This negree, or townſhip, and eight others appertaining to it, bear the denomination of Wauwo Woele, or the leſſer mountains. They were formerly all free, and dependent upon no one; afterwards, and poſterior to the conqueſt of Samboupo, ſix of them were admitted, at their earneſt requeſt, into the alliance of the Company; and not long after the people of Touraayo, ſituated behind Goach, at the foot of the mountains, and ſome others in that neighbourhood, were equally, at their own deſire, included in the treaty of Boni.

In time of war theſe places are of great importance, but moſt of them are at preſent united with Boni; as is the caſe with Boele-boele and its appurtenances, which is ſituated in the bay of Boni, at and near the river of the ſame name. To the weſt it has Wauwo Woele, to the ſouth the river Caſſa, to the north the river Tanka, and to the eaſt the ſhores of the bay. This country is likewiſe ſometimes called Tellolimpoe; it has three chief negrees, or townſhips, namely Boele-boele, Lamante, and Radja, which are all independent of each other.

Before and during the war of 1667, theſe people were the faithful allies of the Macaſſers, who, by the treaty of Boni, gave up all claim to this country and its inhabitants. After that war it was poſſeſſed by the Radja Palacca, and it was governed by him in behalf of the Company, remaining one of their moſt obedient allies; but after his death, it continued under the dominion of Boni, whoſe Kings now look upon it as an appendage of their crown.

Theſe are the principal matters relative to the kingdoms and ſtates of Celebes, which I found particularly mentioned in the aforeſaid manuſcript account.

I ſhall, in concluſion, ſay ſomething of the more diſtant countries, which, though they do not peculiarly belong to Celebes, have much relation to the Company's government at Macaſſer.

Bouton is a pretty large iſland, lying eaſt of Celebes, of which I ſhall ſay more, in the account of my voyage from Macaſſer to Amboyna.

The Kings of this iſland have equally acceded to the treaty of Boni, though they have not conſtantly ſtuck to it; for in the year 1752, they ſuffered the Company's ſhip Ruſt en Werk (reſt and work) to be plundered by pirates, for which the Boutonners received a ſevere correction from the Company in the year 1755; they then ſought for aid from Boni and Ternate, but not ſucceeding in this, they began, by degrees, to incline towards peace, and ſhewed an inclination to keep their engagements with the Company, without however, either renewing them, or paying the penalty which was impoſed upon them by the Company, on account of the perfidiouſneſs they had been guilty of.

The petty ſtates which are ſituated on the oppoſite iſland of Sumbawa, viz. Dima, Dompo, Tambora, Sangar, Papékat, and Sumbawa, are independent of each other, but united together by a defenſive alliance, as far as regards their poſſeſſions on the iſland Sumbawa. They are likewiſe all ſeparately the allies, and under the protection of the Company.

Bima lies at the eaſt end of Sumbawa, about forty-five leagues ſouth of the ſouth-weſt point of Celebes, and the paſſage over can be effected, in a good veſſel, the whole year round. It is a free ſtate, under whoſe juriſdiction are comprehended the Straits of Sappy, the whole of Mangery at the weſt point of the iſland of Ende, and the iſland Goenong-api, which laſt lies a little to the north of Bima.

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The Princes of Bima, Dompo, Tambora, Sangar, and Papékat have, in general, obſerved their engagements with the Company pretty well; but thoſe of Sumbawa have paid little attention to them, by the inſtigation of the Macaſſers and Wadjoreſe, who reſort in great numbers to theſe iſlands, eſpecially the latter, who are great merchants and adventurous navigators, and, with their country boats, they keep the ſea in a moſt ſurprizing manner; they are even ſaid to go as far as the Engliſh ſettlement at Bencoolen, on the weſt coaſt of Sumatra *.

Paſſir and Coeti are two little ſtates, or ſea-ports, ſituated on the eaſt ſide of the iſland Borneo, and were anciently conquered by the Macaſſers †.

Their Princes uſed formerly to viſit theſe places alone, or only accompanied by their relatives, prohibiting their other ſubjects or allies from going thither. But theſe ſtates were received into alliance with the Company in the year 1686.

In 1726, they were taken by the famous fugitive Wadjoreſe Prince and pirate Aroe Seenkang, and have ever ſince paid an annual tribute to him ‡.

CHAP. XII. — *Account of Fort Rotterdam, and of the Lands of the Company around it. — Diſputes with the Macaſſers about the Limits. — The Northern Provinces. — Occurrences relating to them. — Maros. — Siang. — Labaccan. — Sagcree. — Southern Provinces. — Poelembankeeng. — Galiſſong. — Iſlands on the Coaſt. — Tanakeke, and the Three Brothers. — Bontain. — Character of its Inhabitants. — Deſcription of the Bay and Fort. — Boelecomba. — Productions. — Its Road and Fort. — Bera. — Ship-building. — Deſcription of their Proas. — The Inhabitants.*

HAVING given an account of the principal matters relative to the allies of the Company, I ſhall next proceed to deſcribe the Company's own lands, which belong to the government of Macaſſer.

Of the Company's poſſeſſions in Celebes, Fort Rotterdam is the chief. It lies in the kingdom of Macaſſer, and belonged formerly to the juriſdiction of Tello. It is on the weſt coaſt of Celebes, in the ſouth latitude of five degrees ſeven minutes, and is the head ſettlement of the Company here. It is called Oedjong Pandang in the treaty of Boni, by which it was ceded to the Company, together with the diſtrict belonging to it. None of the contracts point out the exact diſtance to which the juriſdiction round the fort ought to be extended, on which account the Macaſſers endeavour to circumſcribe it to the north within the exterior bounds of the town, or negree, of Vlaardingen

* Captain Forreſt mentions to have ſeen fifteen prows, from Celebes, at a time, at Bencoolen, loaded with a mixed cargo of ſpices, wax, caſſia, ſandal-wood, dollars, and the cloths of Celebes, called cambays. Tr.

† Forreſt informs us that Paſſir was a colony from Wadjo, and that the Wadjoreſe equally formed ſettlements on Sumbawa, and at Rhio, in the Straits of Malacca. Tr.

‡ Paſſir ſeems now to be entirely freed from the influence of the Dutch, the tribute mentioned by the author being oſtenſibly required for the protection of the freedom of the port; and in 1772, when the Engliſh Eaſt India Company's ſhip Britannia was there, a factory was intended to be eſtabliſhed chiefly for the ſale of opium, Indoſtan piece-goods, and the purchaſe of the precious commodities, ſpices, gold, wax, &c. brought thither by the Bugueſſes; this plan was only fruſtrated by a commotion taking place in the town, at which the Engliſh commander, rather needleſsly took the alarm, and quitted the country. Paſſir was then a place of great trade; with two fathoms water on the muddy bar of a river that led up to the town, forty-five miles, the tide running a good way up above the town; this conſiſted of about three hundred wooden houſes on the north ſide of the river, moſt of them inhabited by Bugueſs merchants: the houſe and wooden fort of the Sultan was on the ſouth ſide, a very little way from the river. The Britannia lay about fifteen miles off the river's mouth, in ſix fathoms, muddy ground. Tr.

and its ſuburbs; to the ſouth within the outward line of the campon Baro; and to the eaſt they define it to extend no farther than to Bontualack.

The difference in this, and in many other reſpects, between the Macaſſers and the Company ariſes from the circumſtance, that the treaty of Boni remained in full force after the conqueſt of Samboupo, or rather that it was never altered and amended, or at leaſt explained, upon the change of affairs, although the Company have ſince been three times at war with the Macaſſers, and the iſſue has every time been ſuch that they had only to preſcribe their conditions; yet this neceſſary emendation, it ſeems, has never been thought of.

The preſent juriſdiction of the Company, as claimed and maintained by them, extends from Sambong Java to what is called the Kraal; thence northward along the ſalt marſhes behind Bontualack, as far as the river Patinga Loang not far from Oedjong Tana.

The northern provinces include the lands of Maros, with the half of Sodian and Barras, or Cabbe Siang; Labaccan, with Bongero and Sageree, which are the plains lying between Tello and Tanete, the proper granaries of Celebes; then the places which are ſituated between theſe plains and the mountains; and laſtly, the mountain villages, or negrees.

Theſe lands, which border upon each other, have the ſea to the weſt; Tanete and Maros to the north; Lamoeroe to the eaſt; and the kingdom of Macaſſer to the ſouth.

They were all conquered during the reign of the Macaſſer King Allah Oedeen, who reduced them to ſervitude, and divided them by villages and lots among the nobles of Macaſſer, who received from the inhabitants, as from their own property, the tenth of the produce, and the uſual feudal ſervices, till October 1668, when, upon the rupture with the Macaſſers, Maros was taken by the Company and their allies, but it fell again into the hands of the enemy on the 20th of November enſuing; however, upon the conqueſt of Samboupo, this province was alſo ſubdued by our people.

In the year 1736 or 1737, when the northern provinces were overrun by the rebel Crain Bontalancas, all of them either voluntarily or by force abandoned the ſide of the Company, and took up arms againſt them; but when Maros was retaken in Auguſt 1737, by Governor Smout, moſt of the chiefs returned to their former allegiance, while the others abſconded, though they were afterwards purſued and taken, and underwent a well merited puniſhment.

Thoſe who returned to their duty, together with other chiefs newly appointed, were ſummoned in January 1738 to the fort, where thoſe who were guilty, but had returned of themſelves received a pardon; and all of them, Labaccan excepted, abjured for ever the dominion of Macaſſer, and were accordingly again received as faithful ſubjects to the Company.

A junior merchant has the ſuperintendence over all theſe provinces; he reſides in that of Maros, between the paliſadoed fort called Valkenburg and the negree Soeryjerang; the lands around the Company's pagger, or paliſadoed fort, in the kingdom of Tanete, on the river Pantjana, are alſo under this reſident. The number of negrees, or townſhips, over which the Company's juriſdiction and the authority of the reſident at Maros extends, amounts to three hundred and ſeventy.

For the government of the inhabitants under the reſident Maros has, beſides five native regents, who are elected by the elders of the people, from the neareſt relatives of ſuch as have died, and are preſented to the governor and council at Macaſſer, who confirm the election, with a reſerve nevertheleſs for the approbation of the government at Batavia.

Siang has one regent chofen from among the natives, who is called Loma.

Labaccan has alfo one native regent, who has the appellation of Crain.

Sageree has five of thefe regents, the chief of whom is Crain Mangalong.

The greateft part of the inhabitants of thefe plains, however, are Bougineſe, who are very induſtrious in agriculture: theſe again have their own peculiar chiefs, who are appointed by the King of Boni; but they are, as well as the ſubjects of the Company, liable to the levy of the tenth part of the rice-harveſt.

The other provinces lying between theſe plains and the mountains, have likewiſe their own regents appointed to rule over them in behalf of the Company, moſt of them under the title of Crain, with the adjection of the name of the negree, which is under their authority. Theſe laſt furniſh the timber and bamboos wanted for the Company's poſt at Soeryjerang and logs for repairing the wooden pier at Fort Rotterdam.

Beſides theſe regents they have likewiſe among themſelves ſeveral inferior chiefs, whom they call galarangs. They live quietly under their own laws, and in the enjoyment of their own religion; and perform the feudal ſervices required of them by the Company, as their rightful lord paramount.

To the ſouth of Fort Rotterdam, on the weſt coaſt, the Company poſſeſs the ſmall provinces of Poelem Bankeeng and Galiſſong, being within the kingdom of Macaſſer Proper, between the fiſh-pools of Aing and the river Tjikoa; but the little ſtate of Sandraboni lies in the middle. Theſe plains were ſubdued by the Company in the war of 1667.

The inhabitants of both theſe diſtricts make good ſoldiers, and thoſe of Galiſſong are eſteemed here the beſt ſeamen: when the Company want ſailors at Macaſſer, they are obliged to ſerve without any other pay than their ſubſiſtence.

To the province of Galiſſong belong the iſland Tanakeke, and the ſmall iſlands called the Three Brothers, which equally by right of conqueſt, are the property of the Company, and the inhabitants of them their ſubjects; as is the caſe with all the other iſlands which are ſcattered along the weſt coaſt of Celebes, from the point of Tourattea to Tanete. The Macaſſers have a colony of Touradjeſe upon the iſland Great Barnang; but many of theſe iſlands are uninhabited, ſome of them are inhabited by the ſubjects of the Company, and a few by Bougineſe.

On the ſouth coaſt and on the eaſt ſhore of the Bay of Boni, the Company poſſeſs the kingdoms of Bontain, Boele Comba, and Bera, together with their dependencies.

Bontain is bounded on the weſt by the river Tino, which divides it from the kingdom of Touſattea; on the north by the mountains which bear its own name; on the eaſt by the river Kalekongang, and on the ſouth by the ſea.

It was anciently conſidered among the dependent allies of Macaſſer, and was ruled by their Kings; but it has twice been conquered by the arms of the Company and their allies, and was ceded to them in property by the treaty of Boni.

It is a very pleaſant country, and is fertile in rice. There is a larger bay for ſhips and veſſels of all deſcriptions, and the people of this land, and thoſe of Boele Comba and Bera are the beſt natured, moſt peaceful and tractable, of all the ſubjects which the Company have in the whole iſland of Celebes *.

This

* Captain Carteret gives us ſeveral inſtances of the patient and unreſenting temper of the inhabitants of Bontain, which occurred while he lay there. The bay he deſcribes as a large one, where ſhips may lie in perfect ſafety during both the monſoons; the ſoundings are good and regular, and the bottom ſoft mud; nor is there any danger in coming in, but a ledge of rocks which are above water, and are a good mark for

This kingdom was once given by the Company to Radja Palacca, as a reward for the great ſervices rendered to them; but, from default of male heirs, falling again to them, it was afterwards conſidered as a too important poſſeſſion ever to part with it again, without the moſt urgent neceſſity.

It is governed by two native regents, who bear the title of Crain; namely one who rules over Bontain, and one over Tompoboele, under whom there are ſeveral galarangs, or village-chiefs. All theſe, together with the ſerjeant who commands at the Company's pagger, or paliſadoed fort, are under the authority of the reſident, whoſe juriſdiction likewiſe extends over Boele Comba, which was alſo anciently a ſeparate kingdom, but was brought under the yoke of the Macaſſers in later times.

It ſtretches from the river Kalekongang; which divides it from Bontain, to Bera, or rather to the river Banpang, which runs between them; to the north of it lie the mountains of Kyndang, which ſeparate it from Boni, or rather from the highlanders of Touraayo; to the ſouth it is waſhed by the ſea.

This province is likewiſe one of the conqueſts of the Company, and its inhabitants are, therefore, their ſubjects; and they have, together with thoſe of Bontain, the ſame duties to fulfil, and enjoy the ſame privileges, as thoſe who dwell in the Company's northern provinces.

Two head regents are in like manner appointed to rule over this diſtrict, namely, Crain Gantarang and Crain Oedjonglowe, who have ſeveral galarangs under them.

The land is fertile in rice, and abounds in game and extenſive foreſts; but the timber is not adapted to the conſtruction of houſes.

In the weſt monſoon, the road before Boele Comba is dangerous for ſhips; ſmall veſſels, however, can run into the river Kalekongang at high water. At or near the mouth of this river ſtands the Company's paliſadoed fort Carolina, in which the reſident, who is a junior merchant, has his abode.

To him is equally entruſted the ſuperintendence over Bera, which province reaches from the river Bampang eaſtward along the ſea-coaſt to the point of Laſſem (called Laſſoa in our charts), and thence northward to the point of Cadjang; on the land-ſide it borders upon Boele Comba, Tourang, and Kadjang, belonging to Boele-boele.

The whole of this country was ceded to the Company by the treaty of Boni. It is barren and rocky, and yields to its inhabitants nothing but ocbee* in the room of rice or bread; if they want paddee, they muſt have recourſe to Boele Comba, or Bima. It has ſome woods, from which the inhabitants, and thoſe of Boele Comba, obtain

for anchoring. The higheſt land in ſight is called Bontain Hill; and when a ſhip is in the offing, at the diſtance of two or three miles from the land, ſhe ſhould bring this hill north, or north half weſt, and then run in with it and anchor. In this bay there are ſeveral ſmall towns; that which is called Bontain lies in the north-eaſt part of it, and here is a ſmall paliſadoed fort, on which eight guns are mounted, that carry a ball of about eight pounds weight: it is juſt ſufficient to keep the country people in ſubjection, and is intended for no other purpoſe; it lies on the ſouth ſide of a ſmall river, and there is water for a ſhip to come cloſe to it. Wood and water are to be procured here in great plenty; likewiſe plenty of freſh proviſions, at a reaſonable rate: the beef is excellent, but it would be difficult to procure enough of it for a ſquadron. Rice may be had in any quantity, ſo may fowls and fruit: there are alſo abundance of wild hogs in the woods, which may be purchaſed at a low price, as the natives, being Mahomedans, never eat them; and fiſh may be caught with the ſeine. The latitude of Bontain Hill is five degrees thirty minutes ſouth. The tides are very irregular; commonly it is but once high and once low water in four-and-twenty hours, and there is ſeldom ſix feet difference between them. Tr.

* Panicum corvi.

middling good timber for building proas; the chief building yards of the Macaſſers were formerly at this place *.

The men of Bera are in general good warriors, both at ſea and at land; the richeſt among them are merchants; the others employ themſelves in building of proas, and in manufacturing a ſort of coarſe white cloth, from the cotton which grows in tolerable abundance here; a ſmall annual tribute of theſe cloths is paid to the Company.

This country has ten regents, of whom the chief is Crain Bera. Theſe come once a year to Fort Rotterdam to diſcharge their tribute.

CHAP. XIII. — *Account of the Iſland Saleyer. — Its Productions. — Government. — Character of the Inhabitants. — Iſlands of Bonaratte and Calauwe. — Intricacy and Difficulty of the Government of Macaſſer. — Contract, or Treaty, of Boni. — Miſtaken Policy of the Company. — Declining State of their Authority. — Encroachments and clandeſtine Trade of the Engliſh. — Difficulty of preventing them. — Alarm excited at Macaſſer by the Arrival of Captain Carteret, in* 1768. *— Account of that Affair. — Bad Conſequences of the Second never ſucceeding to the Governorſhip. — Emoluments of the Governor at Macaſſer. — The other Servants of the Company. — The Company's Trade. — Private Trade. — Impoſſibility of preventing Smuggling. — Opinions of Governor Moſſel on theſe Subjects. — Receipts and Charges of this Settlement. — Memorial of Mr. Van Pleuren on the Trade of the Company. — Eſtabliſhment of Macaſſer. — Malays. — Their Chief or Captain. — Trade of the Chineſe to Celebes. — Deſcription of their Junk. — Departure from Macaſſer.*

THE iſland Saleyer lies nearly ſouth of the point of Laſſem, full two leagues; in the ſtrait between them are the Budjeroons, called by our ſeamen the Boeſeroens, which are three ſmall, uninhabited iſlets.

There are ſeveral other iſlands which lie round and near Saleyer, and belong to it, of which however only two are inhabited, namely, Bonaratte and Calauwe.

The Macaſſers, who had poſſeſſion of Saleyer, made a ceſſion of it, by the treaty of Boni, to the King of Ternate; but it has ſince, in the lapſe of time and by ſlow degrees, been wreſted from the Ternateſe, by the Company.

Saleyer is very mountainous and woody, and there are many deer in its foreſts. It produces ocbee and batta: the laſt is a ſort of millet, which conſtitutes a chief part of the food of its inhabitants. Much coarſe blue and white ſtriped cloth is made here of the capas, or cotton, which it likewiſe produces †.

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* They build their proas, which they call paduakans, very tight, by dowling the planks together, as coopers do the parts that form the head of a caſk, and putting the bark of a certain tree between, which ſwells, and then fit timbers to the planks, as at Bombay; but do not rabbet, as it is called, the planks, as is done there. In Europe we build reverſely; we ſet up the timbers firſt, and fit the planks to them afterwards. They are bigotted to old models and fixtures in fitting their veſſels. The largeſt never exceed fifty tons. They have their bow lowered, or cut down, in a very awkward manner, ſo as to be often under water; a bulk-head is raiſed a good way abaft the ſtem, to keep off the ſea. They have a tripod maſt, with a high pointed ſail: the tripod maſt is made of three ſtout bamboos; two riſing from the ſides, and one from the fore-part of the veſſel, laſhed together at the top: the two feet abreaſt are bored at the lower end acroſs, with holes about three inches in diameter; and theſe holes receive the two ends of a piece of timber, which goes acroſs, like a main thaft; on theſe the two abreaſt parts of the tripod turn, as upon a hinge: the fore part of the maſt is fixed forward like a mainſtay, to a knee a-midſhips, with a forelock; by unlocking the forelock, the maſt is ſtruck in a moment. TR.

† Captain Foreſt, who was caſt away, in the Bonetta ketch, on a ſmall, deſert, ſandy iſland, eaſt of Saleyer, travelled acroſs the latter in 1763, accompanied by the reſident. They were carried by men up the

This iſland is governed by fourteen regents, who reſort once a year, in the month of October, to Fort Rotterdam, with two hundred and fifty or three hundred of their countrymen, to perform the cuſtomary duties of vaſſalage, and to ſet forth ſuch diſputes as they may have among themſelves, in order to obtain a deciſion in them.

This people are puſillanimous and ſervile, and, at the ſame time, quarrelſome and perverſe; inſomuch, that if their ſituation be not exactly to their own liking, they immediately emigrate with the whole of their family to another country.

A junior merchant is placed here as reſident in behalf of the Company, who has his abode near or in a paliſadoed pagger, or redoubt, called Defence, which lies, as I was informed, in five degrees ſouth latitude.

The before-mentioned iſlands Bonaratte and Calauwe were given in fief to the old Radja Palacca. He made uſe of the firſt for a place of education and inſtruction for his dancing girls; to which purpoſe his ſucceſſors in the kingdom of Boni likewiſe appropriated it; hence theſe iſlands are moſtly inhabited by Bougineſe, and but very few Saleyers are found upon them.

From theſe ſhort ſketches and deſcriptions of the nations who inhabit the great iſland of Celebes, may eaſily be deduced the different relations, in which they ſtand towards each other, and towards their neighbours, both with reſpect to their internal policy, and their foreign connections; and hence may likewiſe be ſeen, how intricate and troubleſome the office of governor of Macaſſer muſt be, in order to reconcile the jarring intereſt of all theſe numerous petty ſtates with each other, and with the intereſt of his employers.

The contract, or treaty, of Boni, which has been ſo often mentioned in the preceding pages, was the foundation upon which the ſuperſtructure of the Company's power and influence in Celebes was erected more than a century ago. Boni, who firſt entered into this engagement, and whence it has always been called the contract of Boni, has for that reaſon been ever eſteemed the firſt and oldeſt ally of the Company. It was at that time in danger of being ſubdued by the Macaſſers; and not poſſeſſing ſufficient power to oppoſe ſo redoubted an enemy, it may therefore be eaſily conceived that the Bougineſe readily embraced the opportunity of entering into the ſtricteſt alliance with the Company, whoſe power was ſo great, and ſo renowned throughout India, that whoever were their allies might diveſt themſelves of all fear of being maſtered. This was in fact apparent in the ſequel. Macaſſer was ſubdued, and Boni, being thus freed from the fear of their hereditary adverſaries, increaſed more and more in greatneſs and luſtre, more eſpecially during the government of Radja Palacca. It became an adopted political maxim, that Macaſſer ſhould be continually kept under; and this has been till the preſent time ſo ſtrictly adhered to, that Boni has been rendered ſo great and powerful, that it is at preſent out of all queſtion to preſcribe rules or bounds to that kingdom, although the miſtake is now moſt clearly perceivable: it even happens from time to time, and every year, that different portions of territory, which appertain to the Company by right of conqueſt, are ſuffered by the negligence or indulgence of the governors to be wreſted from them by Boni, under ſome plauſible pretext or other; while theſe encroachments are likewiſe afterwards unaccountably ratified by the government at Batavia.

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the very ſteep hills, that run along the middle of the iſland from north to ſouth, on bamboo-chairs, made on the ſpot; and they went over the flat lands on horſeback. He computes the inhabitants of Saleyer to amount to about ſixty thouſand. They drink much of a liquor called ſaguire, drawn from the palm-tree: they burn tallow from the tallow-tree, as in China. Tr.

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The preſent ſovereign of Boni has brought it ſo far that one of his grandſons has aſcended the throne of the powerful kingdom of Loehoe, and which the Company have been obliged to wink at; perhaps the danger to their intereſts, which lies in this vaſt increaſe of the power and influence of the Bougineſe monarch, has not been ſufficiently inſiſted upon by their ſervants, or it may even be, that it has been repreſented in a favourable light.

Hereby, and by ſeveral other circumſtances, the authority of the Company has ſo much declined in Celebes, that their poſſeſſions in the iſland may be conſidered as very inferior in importance to others. Little regard is now paid to the treaty of Boni, upon which every thing hinged heretofore. The King of Boni has even preſumed to prefer a claim upon the campon Baro, cloſe to the fort, becauſe he reſided for ſome time in it, when he had fled to the Company for protection againſt his ſiſter Aroe Palacca. It is not impoſſible, that when this prince is dead, other darker clouds may ariſe: for this is certain, that all the native princes are jealous of the footing which the Company have obtained upon the iſland, and envy them their poſſeſſions; and if they could but remain united among themſelves, they would not let ſlip any opportunity of freeing themſelves from their dependence, by expelling the Dutch from Celebes, or at leaſt curtailing their power and influence. This it is what conſtitutes the moſt important, as well as the moſt difficult and delicate, part of the adminiſtration at Macaſſer, namely, to inſpire the principal nations with jealouſy and diſtruſt of each other, at the ſame time preventing and avoiding, as much as poſſible, all actual hoſtilities and interference, in order not to be forced to join either one or the other.

The Company are not only menaced on this ſide, but their hereditary rivals in trade, the Engliſh, ſeek likewiſe to eſtabliſh themſelves here, which they had nearly effected, about the river of Sadraboni, a few years ago. The Bougineſe, Wadjoreſe, and Mandhareſe are much attached to them, and aſſiſt them in the purchaſe of ſpices from Ceram and other iſlands. Their new eſtabliſhment at Balambangang gives them opportunities of connection with the merchants and other individuals of the different nations who reſort to Paſſir and Soeti, or have ſettled there, and of drawing them over to their intereſts: and if they were to perſevere in their endeavours, it would be very difficult to prevent them from obtaining a footing in Celebes; eſpecially upon conſidering what happened with reſpect to the little Engliſh ſloop of war, the Swallow, in 1768, whoſe ſtay at Macaſſer I mentioned in my former voyage; and though the circumſtances attending it, were contradicted to me now that I was at Macaſſer, it was in ſuch a manner as rather confirmed my belief in the credibility of Captain Carteret; if a little ſloop of twelve guns, with a ſick and exhauſted crew, was enough to cauſe ſuch an alarm, what would be the event if a greater force were to appear in theſe ſeas*.

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* When Captain Carteret reached Macaſſer, from the South Seas, his ſhip's company were in a dying condition, and it was in order to procure refreſhment for them, and ſhelter againſt the approaching bad monſoon, that he touched there. His arrival excited the greateſt alarm, and all the ſloops and veſſels that were proper for war were fitted out with the utmoſt expedition. He, however, thought to have been an overmatch for their whole ſea-force, had all his people been well; but they were ſo reduced, that a boat having been diſpatched on ſhore, the united ſtrength of the remaining men was not ſufficient to weigh the anchor, though a ſmall one, in order to proceed nearer to the town. As ſoon as it was known who he was, he was commanded, by a letter from the governor, "inſtantly to depart from the port, without coming any nearer to the town; and not to anchor on any part of the coaſt, or permit any of his people to land in any place that was under the governor's juriſdiction;" and notwithſtanding all his remonſtrances, and occular demonſtration of the emaciated and diſtreſſed ſtate of the crew, the ſhort and final anſwer of the deputies of the governor, who brought the letter, was, "that they had abſolute and indiſpenſable orders from

If there be any government among the Company's poſſeſſions, that requires a chief who is a man of knowledge and of ſound judgment, vigilant and zealous in diſcovering every machination and deſign that are concerted in the ſurrounding kingdoms and provinces, it is that of Macaſſer. As theſe qualities are ſeldom found in ſuch perſons as are raiſed to the head of affairs from the deſk, or other employments which have no affinity with the art of goverment, it is evident that their adminiſtration cannot but be productive of the moſt prejudicial conſequences; and, for my own part, I entertain no doubt that there have been governors ſent thither from Batavia, who have never become acquainted with even the names of the greateſt part of the nations with whom they had to deal, much leſs with the various and intricate connections ſubſiſting between them and the Company.

I think it a radical defect in the management of the Company's affairs, that ſcarcely ever the ſecond perſon, in any adminiſtration, ſucceeds to the office of chief governor, in the ſettlement to which he is attached. He muſt incontrovertibly poſſeſs more local knowledge than one who only knows the place by name, and who has never aſſiſted at the deliberations of the local council. Yet the mode which I condemn is ſo univerſally adopted, that it muſt even be ſurmiſed to be a maxim laid down by perſons in high authority, the motives of which it is impoſſible to divine.

At the ſame time, the government of Macaſſer not being a very lucrative one, the governors ſeldom wiſh to remain long in it; and they do not, therefore, take much pains to dive deep into the knowledge of affairs, each thinking that it will laſt his time.

Beſides what the Company allow the governor out of the profits upon trade, and the territorial revenues *, there are other private advantages, which help to make out his otherwiſe inconſiderable income. In the firſt place, the collection of the tenth of the produce of the earth, at which the governor is preſent, one year in the northern, and the other year in the ſouthern provinces. Secondly, the yearly letting out to farm the duties on articles of conſumption, for a preference in which two or three thouſand piaſters are generally given as a preſent. Thirdly, preſents are likewiſe given to the governor when vacancies occur among the petty kings of the oppoſite iſlands by their ſucceſſors, to procure his favour. In the fourth place gifts are likewiſe offered by

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from their maſters, not to ſuffer any ſhip, of whatever nation, to ſtay at that port, and that theſe orders they muſt implicitly obey." To this Captain Carteret replied, that perſons in their ſituation had nothing worſe to fear than what they ſuffered, and that therefore if they did not immediately allow him the liberty of the port to purchaſe refreſhments, and procure ſhelter, he would, as ſoon as the wind would permit, in defiance of all their menaces, and all their force, go and anchor cloſe to the town; that if, at laſt, he ſhould find himſelf unable to compel them to comply with requiſitions, the reaſonableneſs of which could not be controverted, he would run the ſhip aground under their walls, and after ſelling their lives as dearly as they could, bring upon them the diſgrace of having reduced a friend and ally to ſo dreadful an extremity. It was not till after he had begun to put his threats in execution, by getting under ſail, and proceeding towards the town, that a treaty was entered into with him, by which, after much altercation, he was permitted to go to the bay of Bontain, in order to procure the neceſſary ſupplies of proviſions and water, to erect an hoſpital for his ſick, and to find ſhelter from the bad monſoon, till the return of a fit ſeaſon for ſailing to the weſtward. Tr.

* The Dutch Company ſupply their eaſtern ſettlements with the cloths of Indoſtan at 33½ per cent. advance on the prime coſt; whatever they ſell for more is the profit of their ſervants. Five per cent. for commiſſion and del credere on the ſale of all articles, is divided between the governor and the ſecond at Macaſſer; the former has likewiſe an allowance of *f.*3000 (about 275*l.* ſterling) per annum, to make good the expence he is at in entertaining the native princes and grandees. Tr.

others,

others, upon his coming to the government; as for example, by thoſe of Bera, who are obliged to preſent him with a new proa, made in reſpect to ſize and ſhape according to preſcribed rules, and ſuch as, being ſent to Bima, or Sumbawa, ſometimes fetches fifteen hundred piaſters. And others of leſs importance; the mode of obtaining which is not known to me.

The other head ſervants in the Company's employ, at this place, conſiſts of the following officers:

The vice-governor, or ſecond, who has the title and rank of ſenior merchant. The trade that is carried on here, chiefly relates to his department. He is at the ſame time commercial book-keeper, and has an aſſiſtant, who writes the Company's ledger. As is cuſtomary in all the Company's ſettlements, the ſecond in command is preſident of the council of juſtice, and of other boards. All his offices, however, put together yield but little. Mr. Van Pleuren, who had filled this ſtation for eight years, aſſured me more than once (and I have no reaſon to doubt what this worthy man told me in this reſpect, having heard it confirmed by ſeveral intelligent and unintereſted perſons), that taking one year with another, his income had not exceeded five hundred rix-dollars, or twelve hundred gilders, per annum, for the whole time he had been the ſecond at Macaſſer. This ſum might, indeed, eaſily have been quadrupled by unlawful means; as by receiving preſents, in the quality of preſident of the council of juſtice; by giving undue preferences to Chineſe merchants, or others, in the diſpoſal of the Company's piece-goods; by winking at monopolies in trade; and by other evil means, which are ſufficiently notorious.

The commander of the military is the third in order; he has the title and rank of ſenior merchant.

Next follow the ſhebandar, or maſter of the port, and the fiſcal, who are both merchants in rank.

The ſecretary of police and caſhier, the winkelier, or purveyor, the reſident of Boele-combe and Bontain, the reſident of Maros, and the ſoldy-boekhouder, or paymaſter, are junior merchants in title and in rank, and theſe, together with the preceding officers, form the council of polity.

The reſident on the iſland of Saleyer, has the rank of book-keeper, equally with the firſt interpreter in the Macaſſer and Bougineſe languages; the latter was at that time thought a very good office; he has two aſſiſtant interpreters under him.

To the military belong further, two lieutenants and ſix enſigns; of which laſt, one is commandant at Bima.

The lieutenant of the artillery is at the ſame time fabriek, or inſpector, of the fortifications and buildings, and may, in certain points, be here conſidered as engineer.

The equipment of, and control over, the Company's veſſels, which conſiſt of ten or twelve panchallangs* and ſloops, employed in cruiſing along the coaſt, in order to prevent ſmuggling, are veſted in an inſpector of equipment, who has the rank of ſea-lieutenant.

The Company's trade here conſiſts chiefly in the ſale of piece-goods, eſpecially of coarſe cloths, which are, therefore, prohibited to be imported by private traders. At the time of Governor Moſſel, that is, in the beginning of his government, 1752, he calculated that the yearly amount of the piece-goods ſent to Celebes, was one hundred

* Country veſſels, with one maſt and a large pointed ſail. Tr.

thouſand gilders, upon which the profits were eſtimated at forty thouſand; but as the contraband trade with the Engliſh has greatly increaſed ſince that time, and the orders from Batavia for cloths have not been properly executed, with other additional influencing circumſtances, this vent and the conſequent profits, are much curtailed.

"It is ſo impoſſible," ſays Moſſel, in his State of India, "to prevent ſmuggling at Macaſſer, on account of the many creeks and inlets of Celebes, which afford opportunities for a contraband trade, that I hold it expedient and neceſſary that all private trade from the Spice Iſlands thither ceaſe and be prohibited." This private trade, however, is continued as heretofore, at leaſt to Amboyna and back.

This free or private trade is chiefly carried on from Macaſſer to Amboyna and Batavia in rice, ſlaves, tripangs, and the cloths which are made there; from Amboyna back ſpecie is moſtly brought; and from Batavia proviſions and ſuch piece-goods as are not prohibited.

The little that the Company draw from Macaſſer and its appurtenances conſiſts in ſapan-wood of Bima *, and ſome cadjang. A ſhip is, at preſent ſent thither every year, which carries a cargo from Batavia, in the month of March or April, and returns to the capital of India, by way of Bima and Sumbawa.

Governor Moſſel was of opinion that this expence might be avoided, as the neceſſary ſupplies for the ſettlement at Macaſſer might be ſent by the ſhip for Banda, which calls there for rice, and the Bima ſapan-wood might be fetched away by the ſhip annually returning from Ternate; while the ſlaves which the Company require for their own ſervice from Celebes, might be diſpatched to Batavia by the veſſels employed in the private trade, for which a contract exiſts between the Company and the free merchants, but which is not now availed of; according to which ſixty rix-dollars, or one hundred and forty gilders per head, is agreed to be paid by the Company for the conveyance of ſlaves to Batavia.

That gentleman further calculated the clear receipts of the Company, at the time, at eighty thouſand gilders; in which ſum were included the exciſe and cuſtom-duties, with the territorial revenues, which were taken at forty thouſand gilders.

I cannot determine whether any diminution has taken place in the latter ſince the year 1752; but the forty thouſand gilders profits, which were then made by the Company upon the trade in piece-goods, and upon opium, liquors, and other articles of importation, have undergone great alteration to the diſadvantage of the Company; as at preſent Celebes is provided with the two firſt articles in no inconſiderable quantities, by the contraband trade of the Engliſh; and it is not without reaſon, that

* In 1778, 580,000lb. Bima ſapan-wood was ſold in Holland at *f.*15 per 100lb. (equal to about 28s. per cwt.); and upon this article the profit is ſuppoſed to be between fifty and ſixty per cent.; which, however, is ſcarcely more than enough to cover the charges of conveyance to Europe. In April 1769, the King of Siam, whence the Dutch uſed to receive much ſapan-wood, but the trade to which country they had abandoned for ſome time, ſent a letter to the government at Batavia, informing it that tranquillity was again reſtored there, and that Siam had recovered from the ravages of the Avaneſe; requeſting, at the ſame time, that the Company would re-eſtabliſh their factory, and that they would furniſh him with one thouſand muſkets. To the firſt point an anſwer was given, that the Company could not yet accede to his deſire; and as to the ſecond, they ſent him five hundred muſkets, ſtipulating that their price ſhould be paid in ſapan-wood, at *f.*3 per picol of 125lb. or, if need be, in wax, at the current rate of the day. The Siam ſapan-wood would thus ſtand the Company, with freight, &c. in 2¼ rix-dollars per picol, at the higheſt, or *f.*4. 16. per 100lb., and the rate at which the Macaſſer ſapan-wood was ſold, as abovementioned, was *f.*15 per 100lb. But it does not appear that this article has, ſince that time, been procured from Siam. Tr.

apprehenſions are entertained that that enterprizing nation will endeavour to proſecute it more and more, as they are now almoſt the ſole maſters of the trade in piece-goods from Bengal, and they ſeem to aim at eſtabliſhing themſelves likewiſe in the eaſtern parts of India. Yet the Company's charges do not decreaſe in the ſame proportion with their receipts: it is true, that by the good management of Mr. Van Pleuren, in the concerns committed to his care, the charges have been lowered thirty-three thouſand gilders in the ſpace of eight years, and in the laſt year he reduced them even to three thouſand gilders below the lateſt memorial of œconomy: but what can this avail, if we conſider that by the above means the profits have been reduced by one half, and perhaps more, and that Macaſſer is yet a loſing eſtabliſhment to the amount of upwards of eighty thouſand gilders a year; while it cannot be expected that all who ſucceed Mr. Van Pleuren in his office ſhall equal him in integrity, and ſhall ſacrifice their own intereſt to promote that of their employers *.

The memorial drawn up by the above-mentioned Mr. Van Pleuren, for the improvement of the Company's trade in Celebes and the oppoſite iſlands, ſeemed to me to be a judicious and elaborate compoſition. The chief point on which he inſiſted, was the prevention of the clandeſtine trade of the Engliſh, and the reduction, under the Company's influence, of Salemparre, a kingdom whoſe Prince is attached to the Engliſh, and has always refuſed to become the ally of the Company; for he would thereby have obliged himſelf not to ſuffer any other nation to reſort to his dominions, againſt which he moſt ſtrenuouſly objected, alledging that his country was open to all ſtrangers who behaved with propriety, and regularly paid him his duties.

When the eſtabliſhment is complete at Macaſſer it ſhould amount to eight hundred Europeans †; but this number is not nearly complete, on account of the great mortality on board of the Company's outward-bound ſhips, by which means fewer men are brought to Batavia than are wanted, and they are conſiderably thinned by the unhealthineſs of that place, and of Bantam, whereby not only Macaſſer, but likewiſe almoſt all of the Company's poſſeſſions are in want of men.

Beſides the Europeans, the Company have, in time of war, a great number of Malays in their ſervice. Theſe people, who have emigrated in the ſixteenth century from Johore, Patanee, and other places on the Malay coaſts, and have ſettled themſelves here, dwell in a ſort of town, ſeparate from the Bougineſe, which is called after them Campon Maleyo. They are under one captain, or chief, who is nominated by the Company. They have always been inſeparably allied to the Company, and have rendered them very ſignal ſervices both by ſea and land.

The Company have given the iſland Tanakeke to their captain, for his uſe. He came on board of my ſhip, with his brother, in order to accompany Mr. Van Pleuren as far as the point of Tourattea: he appeared to me to be a peculiarly friendly and open-hearted man, and they both poſſeſſed much ſenſibility; for when they took their laſt leave of Mr. Van Pleuren the tears rolled down their cheeks; they told me aſide, that they loſt in him their beſt friend and benefactor. Indeed, I heard the ſame a few days before he went away from Macaſſer from many others, both Europeans and Indians, who ſincerely lamented his departure, as that gentleman had made himſelf univerſally beloved, by his great affability and his generous diſpoſition.

* In 1779 the receipts of this government amounted to *f.*63,190, and the charges to *f.*163,137, leaving a deficiency of *f.*100,053, or about 9100*l.* ſterling. Tr.

† In 1776-1777 the eſtabliſhment at Macaſſer conſiſted of 57 perſons in civil, and 3 in eccleſiaſtical employments, 13 ſurgeons and aſſiſtants, 27 belonging to the artillery, 178 ſeamen and marines, 502 ſoldiers, and 72 mechanics; in all 852 Europeans. Tr.

The Company have, for many years, allowed a Chineſe junk to come here, direct from China, every year, to bring thither the goods which are exported from that country, and which otherwiſe would be clandeſtinely introduced into the iſland by that intriguing nation, whom it would be impoſſible to exclude; and the Company's cuſtoms are now benefited by it, as, if I am rightly informed, every junk pays three thouſand Spaniſh dollars in duties. The paſſes for thoſe veſſels are granted by the government at Batavia, where they are obtained by the chief of the Chineſe nation, who ſends them over to the merchants in China, and for which it is ſaid that he receives full eighteen thouſand rix-dollars *.

As ſoon as theſe goods are landed, every merchant, for there are ſeveral of them who come in ſuch a junk, expoſes his commodities for ſale in a large houſe, which is peculiarly adapted for that purpoſe. This houſe is the daily reſort of a great number of people, particularly Macaſſers, Bougineſe, and Wadjoreſe, ſo that the merchandize imported is ſpeedily diſpoſed of.

Theſe merchants take in return tripangs, and Spaniſh dollars, both which render them good profit in China; and they are generally able to obtain forty thouſand dollars, as the governor here Mr. Van der Voort aſſured me †.

On my former voyage, when I was at Batavia, I wanted very much to have ſeen the inſide of a Chineſe junk. Theſe are called here wankon, and as there was one lying alongſide of my ſhip in the road, I took the opportunity of gratifying my curioſity.

* About 3900l. ſterling. Tr.

† Some judgment may be formed of the trade carried on by the Chineſe to the eaſtern iſlands, from the following curious and intereſting ſtatement of the outward and return cargoes of a Chineſe junk, from China to Sooloo, an iſland, or rather an archipelago of iſlands, north of the Moluccas, as given us by the intelligent Captain Forreſt.

" Liſt of articles that generally compoſe the cargo of a Chineſe junk, of which two come annually from Amoy to Sooloo:

			Coſt in China.		Selling Price at Sooloo.
" 2000	Galangs (ſalvars of braſs), ſeven to a picol	dollars	40	.	70
100	Picols iron, in ſmall pieces like Bengal iron	.	4	.	8
	Sugarcandy, a quantity, per picol	.	7	.	10
50	Raw ſilk, ditto	.	400	.	600
3000	Pieces black kowſongs, a kind of nankeen, per piece	.	0¾	.	
5000	Pieces kompow, white ſtrong linen	.	0¾	.	1
500	Kangans, twenty-five in a bundle, called gandangs, per gandang	.	7	.	10
200	Quallis, an iron thin pan, three feet diameter each	.	1	.	2
500	Neſts of quallis, three in a neſt	.	1	.	2
1,000,000	Pieces chinaware, per hundred	.	1	.	2
200	Pieces of flowered ſilks	.	6	.	10

beſides tea, cutlery, and other hardware, braſs wire, gongs, beads of all colours, fireworks, &c. &c.

" The returns are in the following articles:

		Coſt in Sooloo.		Selling Price at China.
" Black ſwallow, per picol	dollars	15	.	30
White ditto	.	10	.	20
Wax	.	15	.	25
Teepye, or pearl oyſter-ſhells	.	1½	.	5
Birds' neſts, per catti	.	6	.	9

" Alſo tortoiſe-ſhell, agal agal, a ſea-weed uſed as gum, or glue, and many other articles; ſuch as carooang-oil, clove-bark, black wood, ratans, ſago, various barks for dyeing, caſſia, pepper, native camphor, ſandal-wood, curious ſhells for grottos, pearls, ſeedpearl, and ſpices."

Forrest's Voyage to New Guinea, and the Moluccas, p. 325. Tr.

As ſoon as I came on board, with the company that were with me, we were received with great politeneſs by the Chineſe chiefs, and tea, confectionery, and fruits were ſet before us, previous to our taking a view of any thing. This veſſel carried three maſts, of which the largeſt and middlemoſt was nearly of the ſame thickneſs as the main-maſt of my ſhip the Ouwerkerk (a ſhip of one hundred and fifty feet in length), and it was made of one entire piece of timber. The length of the junk, from the exterior of the ſtern to the extreme point of the head was, according to my computation, one hundred and forty feet. The hull was ſeparated into as many different diviſions as there were merchants on board, each having a diſtinct place to ſtow his commodities in. The water was likewiſe diſtributed in ſeveral reſervoirs, and being ſtarted in bulk, was drawn up by buckets through hatches which opened in the deck. The furnace for cooking was by the larboard ſide of the main-maſt upon the deck; for theſe veſſels have but one deck; and we ſaw the victuals dreſſed there, in a much cleaner and neater manner, than is practiſed on board of European ſhips. At the ſtern were ſeveral tiers of little cabins, or huts, made of bamboos, as well for the officers of the veſſel as for the merchants. Exactly in the middle between theſe was the ſteerage, and in the center of it was a ſort of chapel, in which their joſs, or idol, was placed; they bring every year a new one with them from China, which is then placed in their temple, and the old one of the former year is taken away, and carried back to China; and they never begin to land any part of the cargo until the image of this idol, which is made of gold, and is about four inches high, has been ſent on ſhore out of the junk; both on board and on ſhore they continually burn lights and incenſe, and in the evening ſome ſilver paper, before the idol. The rudder is not attached to the veſſel by pintles and googings, but it is hung in ropes made of cane, and is very different in ſhape from thoſe we uſe. Their anchors are crooked pieces of timber, to which heavy ſtones are tied to make them ſink. The whole of their tackling, both cordage and ſails, is made of cane.

On the 15th of February my ſhip's company were muſtered by the fiſcal and deputies from the council of juſtice of Macaſſer. Thirty-one hands belonging to the ſhip were left behind here in the hoſpital, moſt of whom were afflicted with bad ulcers on the legs, and had not been properly treated by the ſhip's ſurgeon, as the ſurgeon of the place gave us to underſtand; we received on board, in their room, ſeventy-ſix other European ſailors.

The following day, at half paſt ſeven in the morning, Mr. B. Van Pleuren, with his lady and two children, came on board, being, by appointment of the ſupreme Indian government, of the 7th of November 1774, made governor of the province of Amboyna, after having had the chief adminiſtration as ſecond of the government of Macaſſer.

The ceremonies which were obſerved on the occaſion of his departure were as follows: at half paſt ſix o'clock the governor of Macaſſer Mr. P. G. Van der Voort, with all the members of the council of polity, thoſe who were married being accompanied by their ladies, came to the houſe of Mr. Van Pleuren, in order to conduct him to the pier-head, where he was to embark, the garriſon being in the meantime under arms, and the drums beating a march: after having taken ſome refreſhments, the former walked with Mrs. Van Pleuren, and the latter with Mrs. Van der Voort, followed by all the members of the council, from the fort to the pier, where a boat lay ready to convey Mr. Van Pleuren, his lady, his children, and the deputies from the government, on board. As ſoon as the boat put off, a ſalute of twenty one guns was fired from the fort, which was anſwered by the Company's bark, the Moſſel, which was likewiſe deſtined to go to Amboyna, with nineteen, and by the other veſſels, both

both thoſe belonging to the Company, and thoſe of private perſons, with a leſſer number.

When Mr. Van Pleuren and his company were on board, a ſalute of twenty-one guns was fired by the Ouwerkerk, and at the laſt gun the flag was hoiſted at the maſt-head. We ſhortly afterwards weighed anchor, and ſteering between the reef of Great Lyly and the rock, we ſaluted the fort with one-and-twenty guns, and were anſwered with the ſame number: in half an hour afterwards, having got out to ſea, the deputies from the government returned on ſhore, and we ſaluted them with nine guns.

CHAP. XIV. — *Paſſage to Amboyna. — Strait of Tanakeke. — View of Bontain. — The Iſland Saleyer. — The Budgeroons. — Propoſal for fortifying them. — View of the Iſlands Cabyne — Paſſangane — Bouton. — Account of the latter. — Contract of the King with the Dutch. — Extirpations of Spice-trees. — Dangerous Paſſage between Bouton and the Toucan-beſſis. — Dwaal, or Miſtake-bay. — View of the Iſland Bouro. — Account of it. — View of the Iſland Amblauw. — Of Amboyna, and ſix of the Iſlands belonging to it. — Strange Neglect with reſpect to Signal-flags. — Short Account of the Bay of Amboyna. — Anchorage in it. — Ceremonies upon the Arrival of the new Governor.*

AT three o'clock, P.M. we were conſtrained by contrary winds and currents, to come to an anchor cloſe to the iſland Galiſſong, where we lay that night.

The next day, being the 17th of February, we weighed anchor at daybreak, and ſet ſail, ſteering along the coaſt of Celebes, for the paſſage of Tanakeke, which we reached at ten o'clock, and about eleven we had paſſed the narroweſt and moſt dangerous part of it.

The ſpace between this iſland and that of Celebes, is, of itſelf, large enough, but the paſſage is narrowed, by more than one half of the diſtance over, by a reef which ſtretches out from Tanakeke towards Celebes, and by a ſunken rock, which lies about half a league ſouth-weſt from the point of Sandraboni. The depth in the paſſage is from twelve to ten fathoms. At ſunſet we had doubled the ſouth-weſt extremity of Celebes.

At ſunriſe, on the following morning, we were abreaſt of Bontain, which is remarkable by its very high hills, being the termination of the range of mountains running through Celebes from north to ſouth. At the ſame time we came in ſight of the iſland Saleyer, and ſteered for the point of Laſſoa, which is the ſouthermoſt land of Celebes. In the afternoon we ſaw the Budgeroons lying eaſt of us.

Theſe are three ſmall iſlands, which lie nearly in a line, in the direction of north-weſt and ſouth-eaſt. They almoſt entirely block up the paſſage between the ſouthern part of Celebes, and the northern part of Saleyer, the whole ſpace between which is about a league and a half. The northernmoſt and ſouthernmoſt of theſe iſlets lie, reſpectively, ſo cloſe to the point of Laſſoa, and to the north end of Saleyer, that there is no paſſage for ſhips between them and the larger iſlands, and not even for ſmall veſſels, but attended with danger; they therefore paſs this ſtrait between the ſouthernmoſt and middlemoſt, or between the latter and the northernmoſt of the Budgeroons. Both theſe paſſages ſeemed to me, by the eye, to be about three-eighths of a league in breadth. The ſhores of the middlemoſt iſland are perfectly clear all round, and ſo very bold that there is no ſoundings with a line of one hundred fathoms.

This

This is one of the moſt dangerous parts of the navigations for ſhips ſailing to or from the Moluccas, or the ſpice-iſlands, and there is no avoiding it without going round to the ſouth of Saleyer, which is a much more hazardous route, on account of the great number of ſhoals and ſunken rocks which abound there, and are either not laid down, or placed extremely inaccurately in the charts; though I know of a recent inſtance of a Company's ſhip, which was obliged to take that route, having been driven to leeward by the currents.

For this reaſon, I am ſurprized that the Company have not erected a few good batteries, provided with heavy artillery, upon the middlemoſt of the Budgeroons, in order to block up this paſſage to foreign veſſels, which muſt ſail cloſe under this iſland, and would, therefore, be forced to run under the guns of the batteries, whilſt they would have enough to do to work their ſails, and would not be able to return the fire. The objection which might be made to this plan, namely, that this ſpot does not afford any thing for the ſubſiſtence of the men who might be placed there, and perhaps not even that moſt neceſſary of articles, freſh water, is eaſily obviated, for the Company's reſidencies of Boelecomba and Saleyer, could conſtantly provide thoſe who were garriſoned here, with every thing they wanted; beſides, many men would not be required, for there could be no danger of ever being obliged to reſiſt the attack of an enemy upon the iſland; for it would be impoſſible for a boat to land if there were any battery upon it.

As ſoon as we had come within two cables' length of the middlemoſt iſland, in order to paſs between it and the northernmoſt, we were encountered by a ſtrong current ſetting with the utmoſt violence to the weſtward, ſo that we were obliged to aſſiſt the ſteering of the ſhip by manœuvring with the ſails. The current ran with ſuch force, that although we had a ſtiff gale nearly aft, and the ſhip ſeemed to advance upon the water full five leagues, we made, in effect, little or no progreſs towards getting through the ſtrait. In about half an hour, however, the current decreaſed, and eight o'clock, P.M. we had cleared this dangerous paſſage, and ſteered for the iſland of Cabyne.

In the mean time, a ſmall veſſel, which had been diſpatched by the reſident of Bontain and Boelecomba, with refreſhments for Mr. Van Pleuren, came alongſide of us, while we were ſtruggling with the force of the current; there was the greateſt danger of its being ſtove to pieces againſt the ſhip's ſide by the violence of the rippling, and the Indians who were in it caſt off the rope, and we thereby loſt one of our ſailors, who had been ordered into the boat to aſſiſt in handing over the things they brought. As ſoon as the veſſel fell aſtern ſhe ſteered for Saleyer, and we very ſoon loſt ſight of her.

On the following morning at ſunriſe, we ſaw the iſland Cabyne, bearing eaſt-north-eaſt and eaſt by north, eight or ten leagues: we were ſtill likewiſe in ſight of the coaſt of Celebes, and of the iſland Saleyer. We ſteered for the ſouthern point of Cabyne; but we were prevented by calms from coming abreaſt of it till the 21ſt of February, when we alſo got ſight of the iſlands Paſſangane and Bouton, which form the ſtraits of Bouton.

Bouton is a large, middling high, and woody iſland. It is a kingdom of itſelf, to which the neighbouring iſlands likewiſe belong. The King of Bouton is in alliance with the Company, who pay him a yearly ſum of one hundred and fifty rix-dollars in new Dutch coin, upon condition that he ſhould not only permit the extirpation by the Company of all the clove-trees in this and the neighbouring iſlands, but alſo aſſiſt them in

Isle of Bourou from the Road.

in effecting it. For this purpoſe the Company annually ſend out a ſergeant, who is ſtyled the extirpator, and who goes through the woods in all the iſlands, and cauſes all the clove-trees which he meets with to be cut down. The King of Bouton is obliged to provide him guides and interpreters, as likewiſe with veſſels, if he ſtand in need of them. But, as for ſeveral years, he has been very negligent in fulfilling his engagements, and has ſeveral times, upon various pretences, hindered the extirpator in his ſearch after the ſpice-trees, the government in India have thought fit to withhold the abovementioned pecuniary allowance this year, in order to try, by this means, whether the fear of loſing this annual revenue (for one hundred and fifty rix-dollars, or three hundred and ſixty gilders*, is really a conſiderable ſum in the treaſury of this prince) will not ſuffice to make him ſtick more cloſely to his contract, and be more active in aſſiſting the Company to deſtroy this rich production in his country, for the benefit of Amboyna and Banda.

By the calm weather which accompanied us from Cabyne, till we were without the Toucan-beſſis, which is a diſtance that is commonly ſailed over in one day, or in a day and a half, it was not till the 26th of February that we could accompliſh this part of the navigation. We had no violent currents, either for or againſt us, though we met with ſome, but they neither held any regular courſe, nor did the moon ſeem to have the leaſt influence upon them.

The paſſage between the iſland Bouton and the Toucan-beſſis is the ſecond dangerous part of the navigation for ſhips going to the Moluccas, or ſpice-iſlands. The channel is, it is true, wider than that of the Budgeroons; for, by my calculation, it is about four leagues over, from the neareſt part of Bouton to the weſternmoſt of the Toucan-beſſis, but the danger is of longer duration, by the numerous little iſlands which form the cluſter called the Toucan-beſſis, all of them either connected or ſurrounded by rocky ſhoals, over and between which very rapid currents ſet ſtrongly to the eaſtward: a great and dangerous flat called the Hoefyzer, or Horſeſhoe, lies one and a half, or two leagues ſouth of them, upon which many veſſels of the Company have been wrecked.

Along the ſhore of Bouton, there is, indeed, no danger to avoid but the land itſelf, but in the narroweſt part of the paſſage begins a large bay, which runs into the land, weſt and north, into which there is much danger of being drawn by the currents which ſet into the bay, if the point oppoſite to the Toucan-beſſis be approached too near in calm weather; and if you have once fallen into the bay, there is no getting out till the weſt monſoon ſets in again, and it may even be conſidered a fortunate circumſtance to ſucceed in getting out then: ſome of the Company's ſhips that have been drifted in, have been five or ſix months before their repeated attempts to get out have ſucceeded; and among other inſtances, when Mr. de Clerk went as governor to Banda, he was detained a whole year in this vexatious gulph, before he could proſecute his voyage; our navigators have, on this account, given it the appropriate name of Dwaal, or Miſtake-bay.

The two principal of the Toucan-beſſis iſlands lie, by the eye, about half a league north-north-eaſt and ſouth-ſouth-weſt from each other; I ſaw the northernmoſt which is the higheſt, at the diſtance of nine leagues; they are inhabited by a people who do not ſuffer any ſtrangers, and eſpecially no Europeans among them.

On the evening of the 1ſt of March, at ſunſet, we diſcovered the iſland Bouro, bearing eaſt-north-eaſt full thirteen or fourteen leagues off by computation.

* 32l. 14s. 6d. ſterling. TR.

This

This if[illegible] ſhape, the longeſt diameter of which extends eaſt and weſt. Part of its northern coaſt is inhabited by a people who are ſubjects of the Company, and are governed by their Oran Cayos, who have each a dap, or deputy, under them. The interior parts, which conſiſt of very high mountains, are the haunts of the Alforeſe, or wild mountaineers. The ſouth coaſt is now deſerted, on account of the continual invaſions of the Papuas.

The Company have a ſmall fortreſs in the bay of Cagely, at the north-eaſt end of the iſland. A book-keeper, who belongs to the eſtabliſhment at Amboyna, is the chief there.

On the 4th of the ſame month we ſaw the iſland Amblauw, which lies about two leagues ſouth from the eaſt point of Bouro. It is but thinly inhabited. A corporal and four men were formerly ſtationed here to defend the inhabitants from the incurſions of the Papuas *; but at preſent there are no Europeans upon the iſland. It now belongs to the ſettlement of Larike upon the iſland of Amboyna, whereas it formerly was reckoned an appurtenance of Bouro.

On the 6th of March we weathered this iſland, and ſaw Amboyna at a diſtance, bearing eaſt-north-eaſt.

The next day, at ſunriſe, we were in ſight of ſix iſlands belonging to the government of Amboyna, namely, Amboyna, Ceram, Kelang, Manipa, Bouro, and Amblauw; and an hour afterwards we likewiſe ſaw the iſland Bonoa; we ſteered for the point of Alang, which is the weſtern extremity of Amboyna.

About three o'clock in the afternoon we got ſight of the enſign at the factory of Larike, ſituated on the weſt coaſt of Hitoe, which is the northern peninſula of Amboyna, and on approaching Larike to within half a league, we were ſaluted by the fort with thirteen guns, which we anſwered with five.

Hence we ſailed, at the diſtance of a cable's length from the ſhore, to the point of Alang, where we ſaw the ſignal flag of recognizance for my ſhip flying, about five o'clock; this was red above, and white below; and on the other hand the ſignal flag which we ſhould have hoiſted in return, was to have been, agreeably to the ſealed inſtructions given me at Batavia, one with three horizontal ſtripes, red, white and red; but ſuch a flag had been totally neglected to be put on board at Batavia: the like occurrence happened to me before, when I ſailed to Bengal, in the year 1769. Of what uſe are ſignal flags of recognizance, if one is unprepared to hoiſt the anſwering ſignal? A ſhip's captain can never himſelf take the neceſſary care to be prepared for them; for the letter of inſtructions, containing theſe ſecret-ſignals is put into his hands ſealed, with directions not to open it till in a certain latitude; as in this inſtance I was not to open mine till I had made the iſland Bouro.

Having got to about an eighth of a league from the point of Alang, the pilot of Amboyna came on board of us, with a written order from the governor of the province to pilot the ſhip into the bay.

This bay, which is formed by two large peninſulas, Hitoe and Leytimor, connected together, to the eaſtward, by a very narrow iſthmus, called the Paſs of Baguewala, and which conſtitute the iſland of Amboyna, is, at the entrance, between the points of

* In March and April the Papuas of New Guinea and the iſlands Salwatty, Aroo, and Myſol, are apt to aſſemble in great numbers, and make war on Gilolo, Ceram, Amboyna, Bouro, Amblauw, and as far as Xula-beſſy. About the year 1765 the Papuas plundered the iſland of Amblauw, and carried off many of the inhabitants. In 1770, upon an incurſion of a number of the Papua boats, who ſailed up the ſtrait of Patientia, which divides Bachian from Gilolo, the Dutch took the Rajah of Salwatty priſoner, and he was ſent into baniſhment to the Cape of Good Hope. Tr.

Alang on Hitoe and Noſanipe on Leytimor, which lie eaſt and weſt from each other, ſcarcely two marine leagues over, and it gradually narrows as it goes farther in. It is only in ſome parts of it that there is any anchoring-ground, and then it is at no more than one cable's length from the ſhore, in thirty and more fathoms water; nearly the whole of the remainder is without ſoundings, not even with a line of one hundred fathoms: a conſtant current likewiſe ſets into the bay on one ſide, and out again on the other: this makes it very difficult to enter, eſpecially if you have not a leading wind: if you are becalmed, which is not unfrequently the caſe under the lee of high land, and get into the ſtream that runs out to ſea, you are ſoon driven entirely out of the bay by it, and may be in danger of being drifted to leeward of the iſland, and thereby of loſing the voyage entirely. The place where the ſhips anchor is cloſe to the Leytimor ſhore, under the guns of Fort Victoria, in twenty-five fathoms; it is three-fourths of a cable's length from the ſhore, and there is no ground a ſhip's length farther out.

We plied to and fro the whole of the following night, in order to work farther up the bay, the wind being north-eaſt, and thus in our teeth.

On the morning of the 8th of March, at daybreak, we found ourſelves about half a league from the point of Alang, ſo that we had advanced but little. The ſmall veſſels, which are called corrocorros and orembays *, ten or twelve of which had come to our aſſiſtance in the night, to tow us in, had been of very little ſervice; for the ſlighteſt puff of wind moved the ſhip faſter than they could row or paddle.

At noon we were at the Laha, which is a point that runs out from Hitoe, one Dutch mile from Fort Victoria: at two o'clock the deputies from the government at Amboyna, namely, the ſenior merchant, and ſecond Villeneuve, and the fiſcal, Schilling, accompanied by the lady of the latter, and the lady of the captain commandant of the military, Van der Brinke, came on board, in order to congratulate the governor upon his ſafe arrival thus far, and to conduct him and his lady on ſhore.

We ſoon afterwards had a freſh breeze from the north-weſt, which carried us at three o'clock to the road, where we dropt our anchor in twenty-five fathoms, ſandy bottom. We ſaluted the fort with twenty-one guns, and were anſwered with the ſame number; at four o'clock Mr. Van Pleuren went on ſhore, with his family and the deputies, in a country-boat, upon the maſt of which a flag with a pendant under it, was hoiſted, and we again ſaluted with twenty-one guns.

As ſoon as His Excellency landed, he was received upon the pier by the ex-governor, Van der V——, together with the other members of the council of polity, with their ladies, and paſſing through a double file of native burghers, or mardykers, who were drawn up before the gate of the fort, he went into it, and out again at the landgate, where the whole garriſon ſtood under arms, and where likewiſe the Chineſe ſtood ranged in order with their little flags, to the houſe of Governor Van der V——. As ſoon as he was ſeated, the garriſon fired three volleys, which was each time anſwered

* A corrocorro is a veſſel fitted with outriggers, having an high-arched ſtem and ſtern, like the points of a half-moon. They are chiefly uſed by the inhabitants of the Molucca iſlands, and the Dutch have fleets of them at Amboyna, which they employ as guardacoſtas. They have them from a very ſmall ſize, to above ten tons burthen. On the croſs-pieces, which ſupport the outriggers, are often put, fore and aft, planks on which the people ſit and paddle, beſides thoſe who ſit in the veſſel on each gunnel. In ſmooth water they can be paddled very faſt, as many hands may be employed in different ranks or rows. They are ſteered with two commoodies (broad paddles) and not with a rudder. When they are high out of the water they uſe oars, but on the outriggers they always uſe paddles. An orembay we conceive to be a ſmall corrocorro, without outriggers. Tr.

by a gun from the fort, as was alſo done upon the three volleys of the burghers, after which, a few more guns were fired from the fort, which concluded the ceremony of the day.

CHAP. XV. — *Account of Amboyna. — Iſthmus of Baguewala. — Project for cutting through it. — Abandoned when half completed. — Deſcription of the Bay of Amboyna. — Its natural Strength. — Difficulty of Anchorage. — Road of Fort Victoria. — Currents ſetting in and out of the Bay. — Peninſulas of Leytimor and Hitoe. — Their Soil and Appearance.*

THE province of Amboyna, which is the firſt in rank among the poſſeſſions of the Company in India, becauſe it was the firſt which was ſubdued by their arms, comprizes eleven iſlands, both great and ſmall, or twelve, if the little iſland of Molina be taken into the account; theſe are, Amboyna, Ceram, Bouro, Amblauw, Manipa, Kelang, Bonoa, Ceram-laut, Nouſſa-laut, Honimoa, or Sapparoua, and Oma, or Harocha; the three laſt of which are likewiſe called the Uliaſſers.

As, however, Valentyn has been very ample in his account of this province, for which he had the beſt opportunities, as he reſided in it for ſeveral years, and, as his work is to be met with in moſt libraries *, I ſhall confine myſelf to ſome ſhort remarks, and to ſome particulars which I thought worthy of obſervation, and committed to paper while I was there.

According to my own obſervation, the middle of the iſland of Amboyna lies in three degrees forty-five minutes ſouth latitude, and one hundred and forty-five degrees eaſt of Teneriffe. It conſiſts of two peninſulas connected together by a narrow iſthmus of about three hundred and ſixty roods acroſs, which is called the Paſs of Baguewala, from a village, or negree, ſtanding near it, upon the peninſula of Hitoe, over againſt the negree of Hoetoemoeroe, upon that of Leytimor, which are the names given to the two peninſulas conſtituting the iſland of Amboyna.

As the ſmall veſſels which go from the fort to the Uliaſſers, muſt, on account of this paſs, or iſthmus, take a great circuit, or elſe be dragged over it, Mr. Padbrugge, the governor of this province, about the year 1683, formed a deſign of cutting through the iſthmus entirely; nature ſeemed as it were to have pointed out the propriety of doing this, by the branch of a little river which runs out of Hitoe, and is called Matta-paſſo, or the eye of the paſs, by the natives. The work was begun, from that place to the eaſtward, right acroſs the iſthmus, and it would ſoon have been crowned with complete ſucceſs, had not two idle fancies have been the cauſe of its interruption: the firſt was, that an idea was ſtarted, that as ſoon as this cut ſhould be effected, the currents would fall through it with ſuch violence into the bay of Amboyna, that the Kaaimanſhoek, or Alligators Point, which is a point of land projecting far out from Hitoe, about the middle of the bay, would be waſhed away, and that ſhips would in conſequence be no more able to come near the fort; the other was, that the Amboyneſe, who were employed in the work, refuſed to proceed [redacted] it, becauſe they made one another believe that in digging blood had been [redacted] from the earth, which was an infallible ſign of fatal conſequences; and [redacted] culous the latter might be, it was not by any means poſſible to get t[redacted]o on.

* The work here alluded to is a deſcription and hiſtory of the Eaſt-Indies, in Dutch, in five volumes folio, publiſhed at Amſterdam in 1724. Tr.

The former objection was ſcarcely leſs abſurd, as it appears undeniably that the ſea, eaſtward of the paſs, is not at all more elevated than the water in the bay of Amboyna, as the intelligent engineer Von Wagner, who has accurately ſurveyed both ſhores, has found, and aſſured me. There was thus not the leaſt probability that the currents could have fallen through this opening, and have had the evil effect which was ſo groundleſsly apprehended. This work of public utility, and of particular advantage to the Company, was therefore ſtopped, and no one has ſince thought of undertaking it anew; although Mr. Von Wagner has even told me, that he has frequently demonſtrated how eaſy the cut could be completed, there being now no more than about ninety roods of land to cut through, yet always to no purpoſe.

The arm of the ſea which is now included between theſe two peninſulas, bears the appellation of the bay of Amboyna. I do not believe that there is any harbour in the world which is naturally ſo ſtrong as this. From the point of Alang to the Paſs of Baguewala it is about five leagues, but from the point of Nouſſanivel to the ſame ſpot, ſcarcely three and a half leagues, deep: the breadth is unequal; it is narroweſt between the point of the Laha and the oppoſite Galghoek or Gallows Point, where it is about one Dutch mile over, and between the Kaaimans or Alligators Point, and that which projects eaſt of the land of little Hativa, where, at low water, by means of a rocky ſhoal on the Leytimor, and a ſand on the Hitoe ſide, the paſſage is ſo contracted that adventurous perſons have more than once croſſed it on horſeback, although the water between them is full eighty fathoms deep.

The direction of the bay, according to that in which the two peninſulas lie, which bend round and meet each other at the paſs, is north-eaſt and ſouth-weſt.

The point of Alang, or the weſt point, on Hitoe, and that of Nouſſanivel, corruptly called Noſanipe by our ſeamen, or the eaſt point of the bay, lie about two leagues eaſt-half-ſouth, and weſt-half-north from each other.

From the point of Alang, or paſt Lilliboi, to the point of the Laha, there is no anchoring-ground at all, except cloſe to the rocks which border the whole length of the ſhore, and upon which, eſpecially in the eaſt monſoon, a tremendous high ſurf continually breaks; but juſt paſt the point of the Laha, there is an inlet, or bay (Laha in the Amboyneſe language ſignifying a bay), in which a fleet of five-and-twenty ſhips can anchor in ſafety, particularly in the weſt monſoon, in twenty-five and thirty fathoms, good ſand ground; the anchorage is about a piſtol-ſhot from the ſhore, where, in caſe of neceſſity, ſhips may likewiſe be careened. This was the place where the Dutch fleet, under command of their admiral Stephen Van der Hagen, lay at anchor, when the day afterwards they croſſed the bay and took the Portugueſe fort.

From this inlet to the Kaaimans Point, there is again no anchorage, except upon the edge of the before-mentioned ſand, yet, in caſe of need, one might anchor near the paſs, cloſe to the Matta-paſſo.

On the oppoſite ſhore, along Leytimor, there is, withoutſide the bay, about half a league beyond the point of Nouſſanivel, a reef of about one league in length, on which one may likewiſe caſt anchor, in caſes of neceſſity, when apprehenſions are entertained of being driven paſt the bay by the current, in twenty, eighteen and fifteen fathoms, ſand ground. This anchoring place, which is of great importance to the ſhips bound to Amboyna, is not laid down in the Company's charts of theſe parts, perhaps intentionally; but it is inſerted in that which is found in Valentyn's work: I alſo ſaw it pointed out in the laſt map which has been made in the bay of Amboyna. When I was at Amboyna, in the month of April 1775, I ſaw a Chineſe veſſel lying at anchor upon it. Between the reef, however, and the land which forms

the point of Nouſſanivel, the depth is again fathomleſs, and the ſhore is bold and rocky.

Paſt this point, on the inſide of Leytimor, there is a bend, the deepeſt part of which affords good anchorage, in the eaſt monſoon, but it is only quite cloſe to the ſhore. This is called the Portugueſe-bay, but I am ignorant why this name has been given to it.

Thence, till paſt the Galghoek, or Gallows Point, there is no tolerable anchorage; but you then come to the Vrymans, or free merchant's road, which is juſt paſt that point, whence a ſmall rocky reef projects out into the channel; you muſt be particularly careful not to anchor too near to the point, for worms are ſo abundant at and near it, that in leſs than a month's time not only the ſheathing, but likewiſe the planks of the veſſel's bottom are completely eat through.

Upon this follows the road of Fort New Victoria, but here the anchoring-ground is equally cloſe in ſhore; for directly before the fort, and at one and a half cable's length off, there is no bottom with a line of ſeventy fathoms.

From this place to the point of little Hativa the ſhore is guarded by an uninterrupted range of ſunken rocks, which prevent all approach, and from theſe to the paſs, there is likewiſe no riſing bottom, except cloſe to the ſhore. In the middle of the bay there are no ſoundings with a line of eighty, or one hundred fathoms.

The nature of this bay conſtitutes the ſtrength of the iſland. It is only in a few parts of it that there is any anchorage, and then always quite cloſe to the ſhore; and it would be a difficult matter for an enemy's fleet to enter it, and much more ſo to block it up. The Laha is the only place where ſhips can aſſemble, and this may be made ſo ſtrong that all fear of its being availed of might be diſmiſſed; this has, indeed, now been determined upon, as I ſhall have occaſion to notice farther on.

No rocks, or ſands, are to be met with in this bay, ſave thoſe which have been mentioned, and which lie near the ſhore.

As there is nothing of this kind to avoid, the whole art, therefore, of ſailing into, or out of the bay, or of working into it, conſiſts herein, namely, always to keep well in with the windward ſhore, and never to fall farther off from it than midchannel. The windward ſhore is Hitoe, in the good or weſt monſoon, and Leytimor in the bad or eaſt monſoon.

The currents here are not regular; neither has the moon any conſtant or equal influence upon the tides; high and low water ſometimes occur once, and ſometimes twice, in four-and-twenty hours; the difference is from ſix to nine feet: one or two days before the full moon, the water is found to riſe the higheſt, and fall the loweſt.

It is a natural conſequence of this deep bay, although at Amboyna it is thought ſomething very ſingular, that when the current ſets into it along Hitoe, it muſt run out, in an oppoſite direction, along Leytimor, and *vice verſâ* in the contrary caſe.

Both the peninſulas, as well Leytimor as Hitoe, are very mountainous: on the former, the ſummits of Soya, and on the latter, thoſe of Capaha, tower above the reſt: they are almoſt entirely overgrown with trees and underwood, between which, at intervals, ſome clove-trees are planted and cultivated by the Amboyneſe. Theſe mountains, like moſt others, are in general rocky, and covered with a ſtratum of earth, the depth of which is very various; in ſome places it is no more than three feet, or leſs; in others, it is twenty, or more, feet in depth: the ſoil is moſtly a reddiſh clay, and in the valleys, where there are no rocks, it is a little more blackiſh, and mixed with more particles of ſand.

CHAP.

CHAP. XVI. — *Climate of Amboyna. — Monſoons. — Rivers. — Hills impregnated with Sulphur. — Soil. — Productions. — Plants. — Herbs. — Trees. — Cloves. — Extirpations of Clove-trees. — Cuſtom of the Amboyneſe to plant a Clove-tree upon the Birth of a Child. — Nutmegs. — Cultivation of Pepper and Indigo. — Sugar and Coffee might likewiſe be produced.*

THIS, as well as all the other of the Company's poſſeſſions in the Moluccas, is ſituated in the torrid zone. During the three months which I ſpent at Amboyna, the medium height of a Fahrenheit's thermometer was between eighty and eighty-two degrees; the greateſt heat was ninety-one degrees, and the ſevereſt cold ſeventy-two degrees; a difference which, in theſe parts, is ſo conſiderable, that if ſuch changes were to occur every day, it would, in my opinion, be exceedingly prejudicial to the conſtitution of the body: this is greatly occaſioned by the high mountains of Soya, at the foot of which Fort New Victoria, and the town of Amboyna are ſituated, whereby the rays of the ſun are impeded from ſhining upon theſe places, till it has been three quarters of an hour above the horizon; and on the other hand, at noon, when the ſun is to the north of the line, as was the caſe during my abode there, and its rays ſtrike againſt theſe mountains, which form, as it were, an amphitheatre, it cannot be, but that the heat muſt be greatly encreaſed by the reverberation; at leaſt, when I was at the Laha, which lies in a level plain on the oppoſite ſide, I did not perceive the exceſſive heat which is felt at the fort.

The changes which occur, with reſpect to the weight of the atmoſphere, are not ſo great; during my ſtay of three months, they could ſcarcely be ſaid to amount to two lines, or to one-ſixth of an inch; neither rain, wind, or fine weather, ſeemed to have any influence in this reſpect.

The monſoons are exactly the contrary here, to what they are along the iſlands of Java, Borneo, Bali, Lomboc, Sumbawa, the weſt coaſt of Celebes, &c.; for when the ſouth-eaſt monſoon prevails at theſe places, it is accompanied by fine, dry, and pleaſant weather, on which account this ſeaſon is called the good monſoon: whereas it is then the bad ſeaſon at Amboyna, Ceram, Banda, the eaſt coaſt of Celebes, and in the countries and ſeas lying between them; it then rains almoſt inceſſantly, accompanied by violent thunder and lightning, and ſudden whirlwinds, to which I have frequently been witneſs at Amboyna; but all this ceaſes, and turns to the fineſt weather, upon having paſſed the ſtrait which ſeparates Saleyer from Celebes.

Many rivers precipitate themſelves into the bay of Amboyna, from the mountains, though they only deſerve that appellation during the rainy, or bad monſoon; for in the good ſeaſon they are mere rivulets, and many of them are nearly dry. I was witneſs to the remarkable difference occaſioned in them by the time of the year; for on my arrival, when the dry ſeaſon was not over, the four rivers, which run into the ſea, near the town and the adjacent villages, namely the Way Tome, the Way Alla, the Way Nito, and the Bato Gadja, or Elephant's river, were, at that time, no more than rivulets, in which there was ſcarcely two or three feet water; but at my departure, the continual heavy rains had ſo ſwelled them, that they carried away in one night the ſtrongeſt and largeſt bridges, thirty and more feet in length, that were thrown over them, or at leaſt damaged them very conſiderably.

Minerals are not met with here, though ſome of the hills yield abundance of good brimſtone, with which their whole ſurface is incruſtated. There is one, in particular, on the peninſula of Hitoe, which is famous on that account, and is thence called Wawani,

Wawani, or Brimſtone-hill. The hills likewiſe to the north of Soeli begin, as it is ſaid, to yield ſulphur.

A tough reddiſh clay is found in ſome parts, of which bricks are made, which are as good as thoſe made in Holland.

Salutary plants and medicinal herbs are not wanting here, with which, I was told, many diſorders and infirmities are cured. Amongſt others the boati * is ſaid to have a ſingular antifebrile efficacy. Then there is the cajeput-tree †, from the leaves of which the hot and ſtrong oil, called cajeput-oil, is diſtilled. The ſaſſafras-tree ‡, the bark of which yields the coſtly Coelilawang §, and its roots the ſaſſafras-oil. Not to ſay any thing of the clove and nutmeg-trees, for which this iſland and the Uliaſſers are famous.

The wood which is called Amboyna-wood, or properly Lingoa-wood ‖, is moſtly produced in Ceram; as is the Salmoni-wood **, which is yet more beautful, but is too ſcarce to be uſed for building, the timber for which is moſtly brought from Java, though the Jati-wood †† is likewiſe propagated here with tolerable ſucceſs; but a ſufficient

* The Boe-ati, which ſignifies heart-fruit-tree, becauſe its fruit is in the ſhape of a heart, is called by the Ternateſe Soolamoo, denoting a panacea, or univerſal medicine, being held as a ſovereign remedy in almoſt all diſorders by the Indians; its fruit is ſo extremely bitter that it is generally called the king of bitterneſs. Valentyn ſays, that, infuſed in brandy, or other ſpirits, it is good for colic, pleuriſy, and other diſorders; and that when uſed for an ague, four or five of the kernels are taken: it is alſo uſed with ſucceſs as an antidote againſt poiſon, acting, in the firſt inſtance, as a ſtrong emetic: Thunberg ſays, it is uſed pounded, in the colic, both by the Malays and the Javaneſe. Tr.

† Malaleuca leucadendra. Valentyn deſcribes four different ſorts of cajeput, or properly cajoe-poeteh-trees, ſignifying white-wood-trees; it is from the little cajoe-poeteh-tree that the oil in queſtion is diſtilled: Dr Thunberg calls it a famous and excellent oil; when taken internally it is a great ſudorific, and five or ſix drops is the largeſt doſe that is given; externally applied, it is excellent in all caſes of ſtiffneſs or palſy. Tr.

‡ Laurus ſaſſafras, but a different ſpecies from the ſaſſafras-tree of America. Tr.

§ Coelit-lawang is the Amboyneſe name of the tree, and ſignifies clove-bark, and the Engliſh likewiſe call the bark by the ſame appellation of clove-bark; it is of a greyiſh caſt, and when upon the tree is ſmooth, but when dried it becomes rough and ſhrivelled; it is red within, and that taken from the bottom of the tree has a ſtrong clove ſmell and taſte, but higher up it is not ſo ſtrong, and is more aſtringent; it is dried in the ſun, and muſt be kept in an airy place; it is much more eſteemed than the Maſſoy-bark, though its flavour and ſmell ſooner decay. The very excellent and penetrating oil extracted from this bark is almoſt as fine as oil of cloves, and poſſeſſes the ſame qualities: the Dutch Company reſerved to themſelves the extraction of coelit-lawang oil, and prohibited individuals from diſtilling it, upon a penalty of five hundred rix-dollars. Tr.

‖ Of the Lingoa-wood Valentyn deſcribes three ſorts, the red, the white, and the ſtone-hard lingoa. The red lingoa is a high and ſtately tree, with a thick trunk, ſmooth ſappy branches, and long leaves of a bright green colour. Many limbs of the root appear above ground, and theſe afford the moſt beautiful pieces of timber. The wood of the tree is whitiſh immediately under the bark, but grows red towards the centre, and is of ſo deep a tint, that it has by ſome been taken for red ſandal-wood, though it is much coarſer grained; it has a pleaſant ſpicy ſmell, and is ſometimes made up into ſmall articles; but, together with the white lingoa, it is more generally uſed for rafters, and beams in houſes, and for all kinds of carpentering. The white lingoa has a larger and longer leaf, the wood is of a much paler hue, and of a more open and coarſer texture. The third ſort, or ſtone lingoa, has a ſmaller and rounder leaf, and is a much harder and cloſer grained wood than either of the others; it is ſeldom met with but in the high mountains of Ceram; it is a very heavy wood, and ſinks like a ſtone in water. The lingoa-wood is ſuſceptible of the higheſt poliſh, and its beautiful appearance, when manufactured, is deſcribed by Valentyn in the moſt glowing colours. Tr.

** The Salmoni, or Salemoeli-tree, as Valentyn calls it, affords a moſt beautiful wood; it reſembles walnut-tree-wood in colour, but is veined and variegated in a much handſomer manner; the planks obtained from it are ſeldom more than one foot and a half in breadth, though ſometimes ſome are got of two, and two and a half feet broad, and four feet long. It is alſo called baſtard-ebony. Tr.

†† The jati, or teak tree, as it is called in the weſtern parts of India, has its firſt name from a Javaneſe word, ſignifying durable. It is the pride of the eaſtern woods, and one of the higheſt and largeſt trees of

ficient quantity has not yet been reared to ſupercede the neceſſity of a ſupply of timber from Java.

There are many other ſpecies of wood, beſides the above, the half of which I am entirely unacquainted with; they are amply deſcribed by Valentyn.*

Of the products of the country conſidered as articles of trade, the firſt rank is occupied by its ſtaple commodity, cloves. The tree † on which they grow is too well and too minutely deſcribed by Valentyn, than that I ſhould be required to do it here.

Two large crops of cloves never ſucceed each other; if the crop be one year very large, that of the next year will be ſmall: the firſt generally takes place in uncommon dry ſeaſons; and epidemical fevers are then very prevalent.

When the cloves are almoſt ripe, they muſt be ſoon gathered, or they ſhoot out in a few days into mother cloves. The cloves which are dried over the fire, inſtead of

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of the foreſt. There are two ſorts, which, by the timber they yield, are diſtinguiſhed by the names of male and female; the former is the darkeſt in hue, and very veiny; it is eaſier to be wrought than the latter, which is paler and leſs veiny. Tr.

* "A conception may be formed," ſays Valentyn, "of the great plenty of timber-trees of all kinds "at Amboyna, for the conſtruction of ſhips and houſes, and for the fineſt and moſt coſtly articles of "furniture, from the circumſtance that Mr. Rumphius (author of the Hortus Amboinenſis) had pro- "cured a little cabinet to be made, which was inlaid with nearly four hundred ſorts of only the choiceſt "and handſomeſt woods; and which, together with other curioſities, that gentleman ſent as a preſent, "in the year 1682, to the great Duke of Tuſcany, Coſmo the Third. If then there are ſo many ſorts "of fine and choice woods fit for veneering, how many muſt not the common ſorts be!" He particularly deſcribes a great number, among which are ſeveral different ſpecies of the ebony-tree; the iron-tree; the caſuarina; the wild clove tree; the ſamama tree, which is a baſtard ſort of teak; the nani-tree, which yields a timber that is almoſt imperiſhable; the Chineſe uſe it for anchors and rudders; it withſtands all weathers, and yields but ſlowly to the powerful agency of fire; it is, however, on account of its hardneſs, very difficult to be wrought: the cajoe-languit-tree, which has received the proud title of the tree of heaven, or of the firmament, as it ſeems to lift its lofty and ſpreading ſummit to the clouds; &c. At the concluſion of his account of the trees of Amboyna, he aſſures the reader that the moſt laborious exertion of a long life would not ſuffice to become acquainted with all the trees which grow on the lofty and woody mountains, the extenſive and impenetrable foreſts of Amboyna, and that the vaſt number which he has noticed, ſeventy-two of which he gives repreſentations of, are but a ſmall portion of the whole. Tr.

† Caryophyllus. The clove is produced on a very handſome tree, ſomewhat reſembling a large pear-tree; its ſtem is ſtraight, and at the diſtance of five feet from the ground its branches begin; the bark is thin and ſmooth, and adheres cloſely to the wood; the wood is heavy and hard; the leaves ſtand two and two oppoſite, they are about a hand-breadth in length, and two inches broad, pointed, ribbed and reddiſh on the upper, but ſmooth and of a bright green colour on the under ſide, they have a very aromatic ſmell when bruiſed between the fingers. When a tree is nine years old, and has been well attended to, it begins to yield cloves; they appear in the beginning of the rainy ſeaſon; they are then little dark-green longiſh buds, and become perfect cloves in ſhape in the month of Auguſt or September; they then turn yellow, and afterwards red, which is the time for gathering them; if they are ſuffered to remain three or four weeks longer, they ſwell and become what are called mother-cloves, which are proper for propagation, or for candying, but not for drying as a ſpice. The cloves grow on ſeparate ſtalks, but in bunches of three or more together. Valentyn deſcribes four ſorts: that which he calls the male clove, is the ſort uſed for drying; the female produces cloves of a pale colour, which are the beſt for extracting of oil; the king's clove is a very ſcarce ſpecies, bearing larger and double cloves; he mentions one tree of this kind that ſtood in the iſland Machian, and a few others that were diſcovered in 1668, and 1682, in Hative and in Hitoe: the fourth ſort are called rice-cloves; they are very ſmall, but likewiſe very rare: the clove produced upon the wild clove-tree has no kind of ſpicyneſs. At the time of gathering the cloves, the ground is carefully ſwept under the trees, that none may be loſt; they are generally pulled off by long hooks. The uſual time of the clove crop is in October, and it laſts till December. The oil of cloves is well known in the Materia Medica; an hundred weight of cloves uſed to be employed in former times to procure a quart of oil, but that quantity is now drawn from forty pounds, though it is in conſequence not ſo powerful: the extraction of the oil is ſtrictly prohibited by the Dutch Company to all individuals. Tr.

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in the ſun, are not good; theſe may be diſtinguiſhed by their colour, being more inclining to black, and that they bend between the fingers; while thoſe which are properly dried are on the contrary not flexible, but brittle, and ſnap aſunder upon being filliped with the finger; they are alſo of a reddiſh caſt.

The crop of cloves depends much upon the temperature of the weather, in the months of June and September. An after-crop is ſometimes made, but the time is uncertain, and it does not often happen.

Although this ſpice is not an indigenous production of Amboyna, but a native of the Molucca iſlands proper, whence it was brought hither ſome centuries ago *, it proſpers exceedingly well here, and eſpecially upon the iſlands of Honimoa, Oma, and Nouſſalaut, commonly called the Uliaſſers, which, together with Amboyna, are the only ſpots where the Company allow it to be cultivated †, and they conſtantly cauſe it to be deſtroyed in every other place within their reach, eſpecially on little Ceram, or Hoewamoehil ‡; excluſive of the extirpations which take place, from time to time, in the ſpice-iſlands themſelves, in order to moderate the great abundance of the article, with which their warehouſes overflow both at Batavia and in Holland.

Thus the ſupreme Indian government ordered, by their letter of the 26th of December, 1769, that the number of clove trees ſhould not be allowed to exceed 500,000 §; and it was further ordered, in the year 1773, that 50,000 more ſhould be deſtroyed, ſo that at preſent (1775), after three extirpations, the number of clove trees, as near as could be aſcertained, amounts to 513,268; whereof

320,491 fruit-bearing trees,
104,866 half-grown,
87,911 young plants,

513,268

* A ſhort time before the coming of the Portugueſe in Amboyna, the Cerammers of Cambello ſecretly brought ſome mother-cloves in hollow bamboos from Machian, whence they were propagated all over Ceram, Amboyna, and the neighbouring iſlands, and in the ſpace of fifty or ſixty years the whole of Hoewamoehil was covered with them. This was told to the Dutch when they firſt came to Cambello, and ſome of the trees firſt planted were ſhewn to them, behind the hill of Maſſili; the memory of it is likewiſe preſerved in the traditionary ſongs of the Amboyneſe. The brave and enterpriſing inhabitants of Cambello were rewarded for the openneſs with which they ſhewed the Dutch their treaſures, by the deſtruction of all their clove trees, and the deprivation of the fruits of their induſtry and exertion; the implacable enmity which they in conſequence entertained for the Dutch, and their repeated attacks upon the forts their enemies eſtabliſhed in their country, have been ſtigmatized by the Dutch writers, as a baſe and wicked ſpirit of diſobedience, and an unjuſt and cruel luſt of blood and warfare; "ſo that," ſays Valentyn, "it would have been better, if, inſtead of extirpating their trees alone, we had, at the ſame time, exterminated this revengeful and ſanguinary nation." Tr.

† I believe too, that whatever pains foreign nations may take to propagate theſe ſpice trees in other places, they will never ſucceed, except in the neighbourhood of the Moluccas, unleſs in ſimilar countries, ſituated in the ſame latitudes, which, like theſe, heated by ſubterraneous fires, afford, by the action of this natural laboratory, ſufficient heat to the ſpice trees, to give their fruit their ſtrong pungent and aromatic flavour. S.

The clove tree has, however, been ſucceſsfully introduced in the Weſt-India iſlands, and though the quantities hitherto brought from them, have been very inſignificant, yet their conſtant increaſe ſuffices to ſhew that the culture is in an improving ſtate; in 1797, 350lbs. were imported to London from Martinico, and in the preſent year 200lbs. from that iſland, and 2,981lbs. from St. Kitts. Tr.

‡ Hoewamoehil is a peninſula joined to Ceram by an iſthmus, called the Paſs of Tanoeno; it was not only very fertile in clove trees, but produced likewiſe large quantities of nutmeg trees; of theſe laſt, what was called the Great Nutmeg Tree Foreſt, was deſtroyed in 1667, and in another place 3,300 nutmeg-trees. Tr.

§ One hundred and twenty-five clove trees are allowed to a plantation, or douſſon, as it is called by the Amboyneſe, and of theſe there are 4000, which makes the number of 500,000 trees. Tr.

Beſides 22,310 tatanamangs, which are trees that are not comprehended in the clove plantations, but ſtand interſperſed here and there, near the houſes. Every Amboyneſe plants ſuch a clove-tree when a child is born to him, in order by a rough calculation to know their age. Although they do not oppoſe the extirpation of the clove-trees in the plantations, when the Company think it fit, yet to touch their tatanamangs would ſpeedily be the cauſe of a general inſurrection among them; this was manifeſt on the occaſion of one of the laſt extirpations, when the extirpators ignorantly, at leaſt as they pretended, cut down ſome tatanamangs. The whole country was immediately up; and had not the then governor, Van der V——, ſpeedily provided againſt it, they would have deſtroyed all the other clove-trees, ſet fire to their habitations, and flying to the mountains, they would thus have withdrawn themſelves from their obedience to the Company.

I have been aſſured that a clove-tree will continue to bear fruit for the ſpace of eighty years*.

Beſides the clove, nutmeg-trees likewiſe grow here with tolerable luxuriance; but they are all deſtroyed by the orders of the government, whenever they are found†.

In proportion as the clove trees were more and more eradicated, the government at Batavia began to think on the means of giving the Amboyneſe an equivalent for the diminution of that production, as the crop of cloves brought but little money into circulation, in proportion to the number of inhabitants, of which I ſhall ſay more here-

* Valentyn mentions a clove-tree upon Hoewamoehil, that was known to be one hundred and thirty years old, and to have yielded in one ſeaſon two bhars, or 1,100lb. of cloves. Tr.

† As we had no opportunity, in the ſhort account given of the iſlands of Banda in the firſt volume, to deſcribe the nutmeg-tree, it may be well to introduce an account of it here. The myriſtica moſchata, or true nutmeg, is a handſome and ſpreading tree; the bark is ſmooth, and of a browniſh grey colour; the leaves are eliptical, pointed, obliquely nerved, on the upper ſide of a bright green, on the under whitiſh, and ſtand alternately upon footſtalks; they afford a moſt grateful aromatic ſcent when bruiſed. If a branch of the tree be broken off, a ſap runs out of it, which is of great prejudice to the tree; and it never thrives well afterwards. It does not bear fruit till its eighth or ninth year. When it begins to produce fruit, little yelloviſh buds make their appearance, out of which ſmall white flowers are blown, hanging two or three together, upon ſlender peduncles; in the centre of the flower is an oblong reddiſh knob, from which the fruit is produced, though no more than one bloſſom out of three commonly ripens to a nutmeg. The fruit is eight or nine months arriving at maturity; but bloſſoms and ripe fruit are found at the ſame time upon the ſame tree, and the nutmegs are generally gathered three times in a year. The fruit appears like a ſmall peach, both in ſhape and in colour, only it is pointed towards the ſtalk; when it is ripe, the outer coat, which is almoſt half an inch thick, opens and ſhews the nutmeg, in its black and ſhining ſhell, encircled by a network of ſcarlet mace; the outer coat is generally whitiſh, a little hard, and is very good preſerved in ſugar, or ſtewed; you then come to the mace, which is of a fine bright red colour, and under it a black ſhell, about as thick as that of a filbert but very hard; it is opened by being firſt dried ſucceſſively in five different petaks, or drying places, made of ſplit bamboos, upon which the nutmegs are laid, and placed over a ſlow fire; in each of theſe petaks they remain a week, till the nutmegs are heard to ſhake within the ſhell, which is then eaſily broken; the nutmegs are then ſorted and delivered to the Company; each ſort is then ſeparately put in baſkets, and ſoaked three times in tubs with ſea-water, much impregnated with lime; they are then put into diſtinct cloſets, where they are left for ſix weeks, to ſweat; this is done that the lime, by cloſing the pores of the nuts, may prevent their ſtrength from evaporating, and likewiſe becauſe ſuch a prepared nutmeg is not fit for propagation. Some trees afford longer, and ſome rounder nutmegs, but which are of the ſame quality: the long ones are called male nutmegs; but there are likewiſe wild male nutmegs, which have little flavour, and are not valued. The Bandaneſe enumerate ſeveral ſorts of nutmegs; but they appear only varieties in the fruit of the ſame tree. The myriſtica fatua, or wild nutmeg, grows in all the Eaſtern iſlands; it ſeems to have been this ſort that Forreſt obtained at Dory harbour in New Guinea, and planted on the iſland of Bunwoot: it is produced likewiſe in the Weſt Indies, at the iſland of Tobago. An eſſential oil is extracted both from nutmegs and from mace; it is reckoned that three catti of Banda, making about ſeventeen pounds and a quarter Amſterdam weight, yield about a quart of oil. Tr.

after. For that purpoſe, His Excellency Governor Moſſel propoſed (in his Secret Conſiderations on the State of India, offered to the gentlemen in authority at home, under the head of Amboyna,) to encourage the cultivation of pepper and indigo there, as much as poſſible, in order to furniſh a better means of ſubſiſtence to the natives; but the little inclination which the rulers of Amboyna have ſhewn to comply with this propoſal, and the little attention they have beſtowed upon the ſubject, or, as they allege in their own exculpation, the indolence of the Amboyneſe, have almoſt wholly fruſtrated the attempts which have been made in this line.

The indigo that is produced upon Leytimor is thought to be much better than that of Buro: a pound of the former ſtands the Company in ſix gilders*; but it is very little inferior in point of brilliancy of tint to Pruſſian blue.

The government then adopted the mode of taking it by contract, promiſing to pay forty-eight ſtivers for the firſt, thirty-ſix for the ſecond, and twenty-four for the third or worſt ſort†; but neither did this ſucceed, while its failure is equally attributed to the lazineſs of the natives.

The following quantities were delivered to the Company in 1748 and 1749, according to the report of Governor Roozeboom:

	From Hila.	From Bouro.
1748 -	185lb.	281lb.
1749 -	200lb.	225½lb.
	385lb.	506½lb.
		385
		In all 891½lb.

The cultivation of pepper in Bouro ſucceeded no better, though the pepper-vine it is ſaid grows very well there, and produces a large corn; but which is not of ſo hard a ſubſtance, nor ſo ſtrong a flavour, as that of Bantam, or the Malabar coaſt.

I am much ſurpriſed that the government has not hitherto taken any pains to proſecute the cultivation of the ſugar-cane in the iſlands of Amboyna, for it grows as luxuriantly, and as full of ſap here, as in Java or any where elſe; which I know by having frequently ſeen and examined the canes which have been planted here and there by the ſlaves for their own uſe. This would not only alleviate the poverty of the Amboyneſe, as their clove trees are deſtroyed from year to year, but it would, on the other hand, be no leſs profitable to the Company, as the article would be conveyed hence, without any additional expence, by the clove-ſhips, on board of which it could be ſtowed as a lower tier, and ſerve for ballaſt. Perhaps, however, this has never been put in practice, in order that the competition of the ſugars from Amboyna might not be of prejudice to the ſugar-works of Jaccatra, in which perhaps the gentlemen in the direction of affairs are intereſted.

Coffee likewiſe grows here in ſufficient luxuriance to encourage the Amboyneſe in the cultivation of it; and the quality of it is by no means inferior to that of Java.

* About 11s. ſterling. Tr.

† About 4s. 4d. for the firſt, 3s. 3d. for the ſecond, and 2s. 2d. for the third ſort. Tr.

CHAP.

CHAP. XVII. — *Deſcription of the Sago-tree, and of the Manner in which the Sago is prepared. — The Ela. — Sago-bread. — Gabbe-gabba. — Atap. — Sago-woods of the Company. — Fruits. — The Sagwire-tree, and the Liquor drawn from it. — Animals. — Deer. — Wild Hogs. — Babi-rouſſa, or Hog-deer. — Fiſhes. — Wonderful Stories of the Amboyneſe. — A Fiſh called Jacob Evertſen. — Reptiles. — Snakes. — Domeſtic Animals.*

THOUGH the clove-tree yields the richeſt production of this iſland, the ſago-tree is of much greater utility to the Amboyneſe.

This production, which a wiſe Providence has beſtowed as an univerſal article of food upon the inhabitants of Amboyna, Ceram, and the ſurrounding iſlands eaſt of Celebes, (for on Celebes it grows not *, though it is again found in Borneo, where on the contrary, rice, as a primary article of food, is wanting) propagates itſelf by offsets, or ſhoots, which for a long time appear only like buſhes †, and which all proceed from the roots, or from the bottom of the trunk of a full grown tree.

I ſhall not ſet down all that appeared to me worthy of obſervation on the ſubject of this tree, as Valentyn, in his deſcription of the trees and plants of Amboyna, is ample in his account of it; but I ſhall only make mention of what he has not noticed.

The ſtem, when it begins to form itſelf out of the buſh, ſhoots up as ſtraight as an arrow, to the height of between forty and ſixty feet, without any lateral branches, juſt like the ſiri and cocoa-nut trees, to which genus it likewiſe belongs, forming a handſome crown at the top, which affords an agreeable ſhade.

A grove of theſe trees, with their erected ſtems, which, when arrived at maturity, conſiſt of nothing but a ſpongy and mealy ſubſtance, ſurrounded by a hard bark, of about half an inch thick, and their beautiful leafy crowns, have a very charming appearance, and form a pleaſant and cool retreat.

This white, ſpongy, and mealy ſubſtance is the ſago, which ſerves the natives in lieu of bread ‡.

As the manner in which I have ſeen the ſago poekeled, or made into meal, differs in ſome reſpects from that which Valentyn relates, I ſhall here ſhortly particularize it.

A tree is firſt made choice of, the pith of which it is certain has attained its full maturity, and this is perceived by its beginning to be of a yellowiſh white caſt juſt under the foliage §. The ſtem is then cut through as cloſe to the ground as poſſible, in order to loſe the leſs of the farinaceous contents.

When the tree is thus felled, it is cut through in the middle of its length into two or more pieces, and the hard bark of each piece is ſplit aſunder by the inſertion of wedges; the ſago then appears uncovered, juſt like the ſpongy ſubſtance in our elder-trees. They then make a certain inſtrument, reſembling an adze, out of one of the

* Other travellers inform us that the ſago likewiſe grows on Celebes, eſpecially, and in much abundance, at the bottom of Bugguefs Bay. Tr.

† Yet theſe buſhes are about fifteen or ſixteen feet in height. Tr.

‡ The ſago tree does not produce any fruit till it has loſt its ſtrength and is about to die, when the branches likewiſe appear covered with meal; it then produces at the top a bunch of ſmall fruit, like pigeon's eggs, which are firſt green, and afterwards yellow; the kernel is very aſtringent. It delights in wet and moraſſy ſituations, and will not grow except in low grounds. It does not live above thirty years. Tr.

§ They likewiſe ſometimes try it by chopping a hole in the tree, out of which they take ſome of the pith to examine whether it be ripe enough: if not, they cloſe the hole again; but elſe they immediately fell the tree, as if ſuffered to remain too long, and till it produces fruit, they know that the pith will turn entirely into green filaments, and yield no ſago. Tr.

branches of the tree they have felled, with which they looſen the ſago all round from the bark, and reduce it to the appearance of ſaw-duſt.

The whole tree being thus poekeled out the raw ſago is put by portions into a trough, like a canoe, and water is poured upon it, and well mixed with the ſago, by which means the meal is ſeparated from the filaments.

Theſe filaments, which might be denominated the bran of the ſago, are called ela, and are made uſe of to feed hogs, poultry, &c.

The water, thus impregnated with the ſago-meal, having ſtood ſtill for ſome time, the meal ſubſides by its own weight to the bottom, the water is then poured off, and it is a ſecond time purified in the ſame manner; after this the wet meal is laid upon flat wicker-baſkets to dry, and it is then kneaded together, and into little cakes of three inches long, two inches broad, and half an inch thick; finally, it is put into moulds of the ſame ſize and ſhape, and baked over the fire till it is done enough, and becomes dry and hard *.

The taſte of the ſago-bread does not much vary from that of the caſſava, or manioc, of the Weſt Indies, but it appeared to me to be more nutritive; it is not unpleaſant to eat when it has been firſt a little ſoaked, and afterwards fried in butter, yet it is very difficult of digeſtion.

The fineſt part of the meal is mixed with water, and the paſte is rubbed into little round grains, like ſmall ſhot, and dried. This preparation is not diſagreeable in ſoups, in lieu of Italian macaroni: the ſago that is produced in Borneo is eſteemed the beſt for this purpoſe.

A preparation is likewiſe made of this fineſt part of the meal which is called popeda, and has much reſemblance to the porridge of buck-wheat meal which is made in Holland, but it is much more gelatinous. This is eat off of little ſticks, which being dipped into the popeda, take with them a part of it which adheres to them; they are then dipped in fiſh-broth, and, together with a little fiſh, conſtitute the beſt diſh of the Amboyneſe, and even of thoſe who are deſcendants of Europeans.

A toma, or twenty-five pounds weight of ſago-meal, is ſold here in general for ſeven or eight ſtivers; and an ordinary tree, which can commonly be poekeled from its twelfth to its twentieth year, yields five or ſix hundred pounds of it.

Beſides the farinaceous part for food, the ſago-tree yields other things of utility to the Indians.

The ſtem or bark, after the meal has been poekeled out, is made uſe of by the natives to form little bridges over rivulets, or little creeks.

What are called the branches, which are channelled on the upper ſide, and convex on the under, ſerve alſo ſometimes for the ſame purpoſe; but the chief uſe which the Amboyneſe make of them is for the walls and roofs of their houſes, and for packing-caſes, &c. This article is called gabbe-gabba.

The leaves, laced together, form what is called atap, and ſerve inſtead of tiles for covering of houſes, and to preſerve things from the rain; but roofs of atap muſt be renewed every ſix or ſeven years †.

Although

* The mould, or oven, for baking ſago-bread is made of earthenware; it is generally nine inches ſquare, and about four deep, divided into two equal parts by a partition parallel to its ſides. Each of thoſe parts is ſubdivided into eight or nine, about an inch broad, ſo that the whole contains two rows of cells, about eight or nine in a row The oven is turned firſt on one ſide and afterwards on the other upon the fire, and the cakes are ſufficiently baked in about ten or twelves minutes. Tr.

† The ſago-tree has, like all the trees of the palm kind, a cabbage, which is eaten by the natives, though it is not ſo good or wholeſome as that of the aneebong, or proper cabbage-palm. When a ſago-tree

Although the ſago-tree grows on almoſt all the iſlands of this province, it is upon that of Hoewamoehil, or Little Ceram, that the largeſt woods of it are found, of which the Company reſerve the property to themſelves, and annually diſpoſe of their produce to their own emolument. The woods of Loehoe and Hanitello yielded to the Company, in one year, according to the report of Governor Roozeboom, the quantity of one thouſand and ſixty-ſeven pounds. It is diſtinguiſhed into three ſorts, which the Company have reſpectively ſold at the following prices:

The maha poetey, or beſt ſort, at 1 rix-dollar per lb.
The majou baroe, or ſecond ſort, at ½ rix-dollar per lb.
The ſeri boa, or third ſort, at ¼ rix-dollar per lb. *

In how far now theſe ſago-woods of Little Ceram are the ſource of revenue to the governor of Amboyna, I will not here examine into.

Fruits and vegetables for food or refreſhment are but ſcarce. The ſhaddock †, which is by no means as good as at Batavia, a few ſweet oranges, mangos ‡, mangoſteens §, the bilembing ‖, and water-melons, are almoſt the only fruits, and they are not very abundant. The few vegetables which grow here, require infinitely more attention in rearing them than at Batavia.

The ſagwire is a liquor drawn from a tree, which, according to the little knowledge I have of botany, belongs to the ſame genus with the cocoa-nut, ſago, ſiri, and date-trees. It is of the ſame nature as the toddy, or palm-wine.

When it firſt comes from the tree it is clear, and looks much like pure water. Its taſte is ſweet, but refreſhing. It becomes acidulated by degrees, and at laſt turns quite ſour, which, however, can be prevented by preparing it by means of a certain bitter wood ¶, which being put into it preſerves it good for a long time: although it then

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tree has been felled, the ela, or refuſe, is frequently left in the woods, and the wild hogs fatten upon it; a kind of muſhrooms, which are much eſteemed by the natives, grow upon the heaps of ela. The ſago-tree is even of benefit after it has been deprived of its pith, and left to rot where it was felled; for when rotten, a ſort of very fat white worms, called ſago-worms, with brown heads, are found in it, which the Indians roaſt, and think a great delicacy. A computation has been made by Forreſt of how many perſons may live on an acre planted with ſago-trees. A ſago-tree he allows to take up 100 ſquare feet; now the contents of an acre are 43,500 ſquare feet, which allows 435 trees to grow within that ſpace; but ſuppoſing only 300, and that, one with another, they give 300 weight of flour, then three trees, or 900 weight, would maintain one man for a year, and an acre to be cut down would maintain 100 men for the ſame time; now, as ſago-trees are ſeven years a-growing, 100 divided by ſeven will allow fourteen men to be maintained for a year on the produce of one-ſeventh part of an acre, immediately, or on the produce of a whole acre, progreſſively cut, one-ſeventh part at a time, allowing freſh trees to ſprout up. By Dr. Forſter's computation, ten or twelve perſons live eight months upon the produce of an acre planted with bread-fruit-trees at Otaheite. Tr.

* The inconſiſtency of this paragraph with what has gone before, muſt be aſcribed to ſome very material errors of the preſs, in numerical characters, in the original; the quantity of 10671b. of ſago is barely the produce of two trees, according to what has preceded, and therefore is palpably abſurd as applied to the produce of the largeſt woods; ſuppoſing it even ought to have been printed 106,700, it would fall conſiderably ſhort of what that expreſſion would lead us to expect, as it would then be no more than the produce of about 200 trees. How, too, ſhall we reconcile the prices of 1½, and ½ rix-dollar per pound, with that of ſeven or eight ſtivers for twenty-five pounds? No clue has been found in any of the writers conſulted to ſolve theſe difficulties, and there was therefore no alternative to leaving the text as it ſtands in the original.

† Citrus decumanus.
‡ Mangifera indica.
§ Garcinia mangoſtana.
‖ Averrhoa belimbi.

¶ For this purpoſe the roots of a tree called the ſoſoot-tree are uſed, which occaſion a fermentation in the ſagwire, and in about eight hours make it fit for keeping. Tr.

loſes

loſes its pleaſant taſte, and turns thickeſt, looking like orgeade, or almond-milk, it is eſteemed more wholeſome, and has an inebriating quality; it is afterwards kept in bottles well corked.

The tree which yields this liquor has always a faded appearance, with many yellow dead leaves, which look much like thoſe of the ſago-tree. One of theſe leaves, or rather branches, is cut off, and the ſagwire trickles out of it by drops, which are caught in a bamboo, hung under it for that purpoſe, and when this is full, the contents are drawn off by a tap at the bottom; this operation is called tyffering.

The woods are filled with deer, and with wild hogs, the fleſh of which animals is almoſt the only meat that is eaten here. It is uſed freſh, ſalted, and dried: in the laſt manner it is called dingding; it is broiled a little over the fire, and eaten with rice: it is a chief article of food of the Europeans, and the Amboyneſe eat it likewiſe when they can afford to purchaſe it.

Among the wild animals, which inhabit the woods of the iſland Bouro, there is one which bears the name of babi-rouſſa, or the hog-deer; it has been fully deſcribed by Valentyn, who has given us a repreſentation of it; but it appeared to me, when I compared the figure with one of the animals alive, that its legs were longer than they are there repreſented *.

The bay uſed formerly to abound in fiſh; but they are not ſo plentiful now, on account of the violent earthquake of the year 1754. Moſt of the fiſh that are found here are peculiar to theſe ſeas.

Many very ſtrange fiſhes muſt have been met with here, in the time of Valentyn †; and in this region of wonders, it is not ſufficient that the really ſingular productions of nature are beheld and admired, or feared, but ſuperſtition has multiplied wonders upon wonders. *Inter alia*, there is, ſay the Amboyneſe, and likewiſe the Macaſſers, a monſter that has its abode in theſe ſeas, which they deſcribe as having a thouſand legs, all of them ſo large, that if it lay but one of the thouſand upon any veſſel it muſt immediately founder; and yet this monſter is believed to be afraid of a common cock; whence theſe poor ſuperſtitious mortals will never put to ſea without having chanticleer for a guardian angel on board.

There is likewiſe, it is ſaid, a large fiſh near the pier-head at Amboyna, to which the name of Jacob Evertſen has been given, and they pretend that it takes away one man every year. I am not qualified to ſay whether any fiſh of the ſhark kind does, or does not particularly reſort to that ſpot, altough many reputable people at Amboyna believe the whole ſtory; but it is certain, however, that on the evening of my arrival here,

* The babi-rouſſa, which is a Malay appellation ſignifying hog-deer, partakes, as its name denotes, of the nature both of the hog and of the deer. The chief ſingularity of the animal conſiſts in two of its upper teeth being curved round, and, penetrating through the bone of the forehead, appear juſt above the ſnout like two ſemicircular horns; they are ſometimes ſo far bent round, that they grow into the bone of the head again; it has likewiſe two tuſks placed in the under jaw, like other wild boars: the female is without any of theſe projecting teeth: it has a ſoft thin ſkin, with ſhort hair, and has no brittles; the ſnout is more pointed than that of the other wild hogs, and the tail is longer, with a bunch of hair at the end; the ears are pretty ſhort, and the eyes ſmall; its feet have each two long and two ſhort toes, but the fore legs are much ſhorter than the hinder ones; theſe animals are eaſily hunted down, but they frequently hurt the dogs with their lower tuſks; the upper tuſks are too far recurvated to admit of their defending themſelves with them. Their fleſh more reſembles veniſon than pork; there is little fat upon it, it being moſtly ſolid meat. They do not live, like the other wild hogs, upon ſago and canari, a ſort of almonds, but chiefly upon graſs and the leaves of trees. They never aſſociate with the wild hogs, and when hunted they generally take to the water, where they are very expert in ſwimming and diving, and ſometimes ſwim over from one iſland to the other. Tr.

† Valentyn deſcribes and gives repreſentations of five hundred and twenty-eight different ſorts of fiſh, moſtly peculiar to theſe ſeas. Tr.

about nine o'clock, a ſailor of one of the ſloops that lay juſt behind my ſhip, on his ſwimming aſhore to fetch his pocket handkerchief which he had left, was ſo dreadfully bitten by ſome fiſh or other in the head that he died the ſame night; and he would probably have been dragged to the bottom and devoured, had not immediate aſſiſtance been given to him, upon his loud cries for help, as well from my ſhip as from the other veſſels.

From lions, tigers, wolves, and other beaſts of prey Amboyna is free. The moſt noxious animals are ſnakes, of which there are ſeveral ſorts in the woods and fields, which are amply deſcribed by Valentyn.

I one morning, walking in the garden behind my houſe, found the oelar biſa nepis, or thin poiſon ſnake *, ſo cloſe to me, that I ſhould probably have trodden on it, had it not firſt diſcovered and hiſſed at me, whereby I had juſt time to retire from the dangerous neighbourhood; I caught it a little while afterwards, and preſerved it in ſpirits.

The ſnakes with legs appear to me to belong rather to the lizard tribe, than that of ſnakes. Among the ſingularities here we may reckon the flying lizard.

I ſhall not ſpeak of the other animals and inſects, crocodiles, alligators, gek-koss, lizards, ſcorpions, centipedes, nor of the very curious inſect called the walking leaf, as they are all ſufficiently deſcribed by Valentyn †.

Of the domeſtic animals, among which are enumerated buffaloes, cows, horſes, ſheep, goats, and hogs, the laſt-mentioned only are natives of the country; the others have been brought hither, as well by the Portugueſe as by the Dutch, from Java, Celebes, and the ſouth-weſtern iſles.

The cows here give much leſs milk, and worſe butter than in Java; the price of the butter remains the ſame as it was eighty years ago, in the time of Valentyn, viz. one rix-dollar per pound.

CHAP. XVIII. — *Inhabitants of Amboyna. — The Alfoereſe; — Account of them by Rumphius. — The Amboyneſe; — Their Stature; — Appearance; — Temper. — The Women; — Their Laſciviouſneſs. — The Religion of the Amboyneſe; — Their Idolatry; — Vices. — Amboyneſe Chriſtians; — Their Superſtition; — Their Government. — The Chineſe. — Account of a Chineſe Marriage at Amboyna. — Deſcendants of Portugueſe. — Foundation and Extenſion of the Power of the Duchy here.*

THE inhabitants of Amboyna, and of the adjacent iſlands belonging to this government, may properly be divided into four claſſes, viz. the Alforeſe, the Amboyneſe, the Europeans, and the Chineſe.

The Alfoers or Alfoereſe are, in all probability, the firſt and moſt ancient inhabitants of theſe countries; at the preſent day they ſtill remain ſeparate from the other inhabitants, and dwell in the mountains of Bouro and Ceram, where they live accord-

* Nearly twenty different ſorts of ſnakes are deſcribed by Valentyn. Among them the oelar biſa biroe, or blue poiſon ſnake, is the moſt venomous; it is no more than a foot and a half in length, and about two inches thick; it is remarkably quick, and its bite is mortal. The olear biſa nepis, or thin poiſon ſnake, is ſcarcely a quarter of an inch thick, and about a foot and a half, or two feet in length; its bite is equally incurable. — TR.

† The ineſtimable work of Valentyn, to which the reader is ſo frequently referred, is ſcarce even in Holland; it conſiſts of five large folio volumes, containing upwards of one thouſand copper-plates. The tranſlator is in poſſeſſion of a copy, which he procured at much pains and expence; and would his limits allow of it, he would be more copious in his extracts from it, as it is a treaſure locked up in a cheſt, of which few have the key, no tranſlation having ever been made of it. TR.

ing

ing to their ancient cuſtoms, and avoid all intercourſe with the inhabitants of the ſea-coaſts, except when they are in want of ſuch articles as are not to be met with in the interior parts of the iſlands, which chiefly conſiſts in iron and ſalt, againſt which commodities they give in barter the productions of their mountains.

The few which I ſaw of this nation appeared to me not ſo dark in colour, and both handſomer and more ſinewy than the Amboyneſe.

I met with the following account of them, in the deſcription of Amboyna compoſed by Rumphius, which having been prohibited by the government at Batavia, has never been printed, but of which a manuſcript copy is preſerved in the ſecretary's office at Amboyna.

" Moſt of the Alforeſe inhabit the wild mountains and interior parts of Ceram. They are large, ſtrong, and ſavage people, in general taller than the inhabitants of the ſea-ſhores; they go moſtly naked, both men and women, and only wear a thick bandage round their waiſt, which is called chiaaca, and is made of the milky bark of a tree, called by them facka (being the ficamorus alba). They tie their hair upon the head over a cocoa-nut ſhell, and ſtick a comb in it; round the neck they wear a ſtring of beads.

" Their arms are a ſword made of bamboo, together with a bow and arrows.

" They are ſharp-ſighted, and ſo nimble in running, that they can run down and kill a wild hog at its utmoſt ſpeed.

" An ancient, but moſt deteſtable and criminal cuſtom prevails among them, agreeable to which, no one is allowed to take a wife, before he can ſhew a head of an enemy which he has cut off: in order to obtain this qualification for matrimony, ſix, eight, or ten of them go together to a ſtrange part, where they ſtay till they have an opportunity of ſurpriſing ſome one, which they do with great dexterity, ſpringing upon the unwary paſſenger like tigers: they generally cover themſelves with branches of trees and buſhes, ſo that they are rather taken for brakes and thickets than for men; in this poſture they lie in wait for their prey, and take the firſt opportunity that preſents itſelf of darting their toran or ſagoe (a ſort of miſſile lance) into the back of a paſſenger, or ſpring upon him at once, and cut off his head, with which they inſtantly decamp, and fly with ſpeed from the ſcene of their wanton barbarity.

" If they want to build a new houſe, or a new baleeuw, which is a kind of council-hall, they muſt equally firſt go and fetch ſome human heads. They are not to be broken of this horrid cuſtom; and it is the only objection they make to embracing the Chriſtian religion, that they muſt then abandon it; for no one attains a higher degree of fame and reſpect, than he who has brought in the moſt heads; and in proof of his proweſs, he wears as many little white ſhells round his neck and arms, as he has murdered men.

" The heads thus brought in are ſhewn upon a ſtone in the village, conſecrated to that purpoſe, and are afterwards heaped together in dark groves, in the receſſes of the mountains, where they practiſe their diabolical rites, for they do not perform the demonolatry they are addicted to in any temples, but here and there in ſolitary places, and in dreary woods, where the devil anſwers their interrogatories, and often carries away ſome of them, eſpecially children, for three or four months, after which time he brings them back again, after having preſented them with painted canes, to which ſeveral little ſtrings of Chineſe copper money are attached *.

" They

* Theſe circumſtances aſſume a more probable appearance in the more ample relation which Valentyn gives of the religion of the Alforeſe. " They have (he ſays) in Ceram, and elſewhere, temples which

" They ſubſiſt upon the wild animals which they catch in the woods; nor do they even diſdain ſnakes.

" Their women are of a tolerably fair complexion, well proportioned, and altogether by no means diſagreeable.

" Among theſe Alforeſe there is another kind of ſavage people, who do not dwell in any houſes or huts, but upon high warinje and other trees, which ſpread their branches wide round: they lead and intertwine the branches ſo cloſely together, that they form an eaſy reſting-place; and each tree is the habitation of a whole family: they adopt this mode, becauſe they dare not truſt even thoſe of their own nation, as they ſurprize each other during the night, and kill whoever they take hold of."

Thus far the relation of Mr. Rumphius, who being a man of ſome experience and much reputation, deſerves credit in ſome inſtances.

I could not meet with any other intelligence reſpecting theſe people at Amboyna, as they are but ſeldom viſited, and ſtill more rarely by people either able or willing to obſerve and record what is curious among them.

The Amboyneſe are alſo very ancient inhabitants of theſe iſlands; but the difference of their make, and the rather darker ſhade of their complexion, ſeem to point out that they are not deſcended from the ſame progenitors as the Alforeſe.

They are of a middling ſize, rather thin than otherwiſe; their colour is nearer approaching to black than to brown; both men and women have regular features, and among the latter there are very many who are handſome: it ſeemed very probable to me, that the country or the climate contributed much to this, though how or why I cannot tell, for the children of Europeans born here are almoſt all pretty, and much more ſo than in Java or at Batavia.

Neither the thick lips nor the depreſſed noſes, which, according to our ideas of beauty, deform the " human face divine" in other hot countries, are ſeen here; but on the contrary, and eſpecially among the females, perfectly ſymmetrical countenances are the general characteriſtic of the inhabitants.

They are indolent and effeminate, and both want and violence prove but feeble motives to incite them to labour. Yet this is no more than is almoſt univerſally the caſe with all nations who bow their necks under a foreign yoke, eſpecially in the Aſiatic regions, and other warm countries: and I think it probable, though the heat of the climate is alone ſufficient to produce inactivity, and a repugnance to every thing that fatigues the body, that they had been ſlaves inured to ſervitude under the dominion of ſtrangers, long before the Europeans came hither. The fervency of the climate, united to the eaſy mode of procuring ſubſiſtence from the ſago-tree, and from the copious ſupply of fiſh, which was formerly within their reach, in the bay of Amboyna, have been the cauſes that they have never been obliged to have recourſe to the fatiguing labours of agriculture, to adminiſter to the wants of nature. Hence they have eaſily fallen a prey to the nations who aimed at ſubduing them, as was manifeſt

they call marels, and likewiſe toctoe-wo, made of gabbe-gabba, which ſtand in the deepeſt part of the woods, and under the darkeſt trees. In them parents deliver their children, under twelve years of age, to the prieſts, to be inſtructed in the ſervice of their demon or god, and the prieſts receive the children, without the parents being able to ſee any thing in the temple, on acount of the almoſt utter darkneſs that prevails in it. Immediately after they hear the moſt diſmal cries, and ſee bloody pikes ſticking through the roof of the temple; and though this would ſeem to denote that their children are murdered, they receive them back in three months. Each of thoſe children then receives a painted ſtick of thin white cane, upon which ſome figures are burnt, and to which a few ſtrings of Chineſe copper coins are hung; they are then rubbed with yellow paint and aromatic oils, and ſent about the village to beg for gongs, clothes, and other things, for the chief prieſt." The remainder of the account he gives of the Alforeſe, though far more copious, is perfectly ſimilar to and conſiſtent with that of Mr. Rumphius. Tr.

in the war with the Ternateſe, the Portugueſe and the Dutch. Neither were they at all the cauſe that the princes of Celebes have not extended their dominion ſo far to the eaſtward, for the three abovementioned nations have always prevented it; although at that time the kings of Nouſſanivel took the high-ſounding and proud title of "Kings of ten thouſand ſwords."

The Company muſt not, therefore, ever think that the Amboyneſe would be of any help to them, in caſe a foreign power were to endeavour to wreſt theſe poſſeſſions from them; for, were there no other reaſons to induce them to look upon any change as being for the better, their indifferent, indolent, and timorous diſpoſition would be ſufficient to prevent them from joining either ſide. It is true, that thoſe of Hitoe formerly ſhewed a little more courage in the civil commotions which took place in the laſt century, when they fought for independence, as they could no longer bear the oppreſſion of their inhuman taſk-maſters; but in the caſe we have ſuppoſed, it would be the ſame to them beneath which European yoke they had to bend; as, let the event be as it might, they would always have to wear the chains of the conquerors; beſides that, as attached to the Mahomedan religion, they are the ſworn enemies of all Chriſtians.

The women, though they are not ſo indolent as the men, are, on the other hand, exceſſively laſcivious; they poſſeſs no chaſtity either in a married, or an unmarried ſtate, and there is nothing that can reſtrain them from ſatisfying their paſſionate deſires. It is very uſual among them that a girl gives proofs of her fruitfulneſs before marriage, which is never the leaſt bar to getting a huſband; and, on the contrary, frequently is a reaſon for being preferred to others, of whom it is leſs certain that they are capable of becoming mothers.

The Amboyneſe were in former times, as the Alforeſe are at preſent, idolators; but the Javaneſe, who began to trade hither in the latter end of the fifteenth, and in the beginning of the ſixteenth century, endeavoured to diſſeminate the doctrines of Mahomet here, and they ſucceeded ſo well, that in the year 1515, that religion was generally received.

The Portugueſe arriving here in the mean time, endeavoured likewiſe to make the Roman catholic religion agreeable to the inhabitants, and to propagate it amongſt them; which, in particular, took place, according to Rumphius, in the year 1532, on the peninſula of Leytimor, but thoſe of Hitoe have, to the preſent day, remained firmly attached to the Mahomedan faith, whence, in contradiſtinction to the Leytimoreſe, they are called Moors.

When our people came to Amboyna, and the Portugueſe were expelled from the iſland, the proteſtant religion was gradually introduced; yet the unpleaſing reſult of theſe frequent changes of religion has been, as might naturally be expected, that, from blind idolaters, they have firſt become bad Roman catholics and afterwards worſe proteſtants.

The practice of idolatry cannot yet be wholly eradicated; this, added to the prevalence of the ſuperſtitions which diſgrace chriſtianity among the followers of the Roman catholic perſuaſion, and the almoſt univerſal negligence and want of zeal of our eccleſiaſtics in theſe regions, almoſt entirely takes away the hope that the ſalutary doctrines of the goſpel will ever be deeply rooted here, and that the Amboyneſe will ever be cured of their deplorable blindneſs.

I cannot either ſay much good reſpecting their moral conduct; I have before mentioned that the women are univerſally unchaſte, and the men are, in this reſpect, no better. Theft is likewiſe one of the moſt prevalent vices among the Amboyneſe, and they are not a little dexterous in contriving the means of pilfering; I had twice experience

rience of their adroitneſs in this reſpect, during my reſidence among them. Malice and envy are predominant paſſions in their breaſts, and are carried to great exceſs; they envy each other the leaſt degree of benefit or proſperity; yet this is ſeldom productive of public aſſaſſination or private murder among them, for being a puſillanimous and ſuperſtitious race of men, death is to them, more than to any other nation, a king of terrors.

When theſe Amboyneſe Chriſtians go in their veſſels paſt a certain hill on the ſouth coaſt of Ceram, they make an offering to the Evil Spirit, which they believe reſides there, in order that he may not do any harm to them or to their veſſels. This offering is made in the following manner: they lay a few flowers, and a ſmall piece of money into empty cocoanut-ſhells, which they ſet a-floating in the water: if it be in the evening, they put oil into them, with little wicks, which they ſet a-light, and let burn out upon the water: they are perſuaded that by this means they have appeaſed the Evil Spirit, and that he will not raiſe any ſtorm againſt them.

Valentyn has been ſufficiently ample in deſcribing their dreſs, houſes, diſeaſes, cuſtoms, &c. * to preclude the neceſſity of my ſaying more about them; I wiſh only to obſerve that that writer has placed almoſt every thing in the moſt advantageous light.

The inhabitants of Amboyna ſeem, from time immemorial, never to have been united under one head; but, as the moſt ancient accounts and traditions relate, each negree, or village, was governed by its own chief. It is true, there have been, and there are at preſent, unions of four or five negrees under one chief; but they are the leaſt in number: among theſe, the principal is Nouſſanivel, whoſe rajah, or king, has three other negrees under his dominion.

Theſe chiefs are diſtinguiſhed into three claſſes, or ranks; thus, there are rajahs, or kings; pattis, who may be ſaid to be dukes or earls; and oran cayos, which ſignifies as much as rich men. Their chiefs, however, do not poſſeſs an abſolute authority: every negree has given as council to their chief, conſiſting of the oldeſt and moſt reſpectable men of the village, who are called oran touas, that is, elders; and the rajah, patti, or oran cayo, of the negree is bound to conſult with them at the caleeuw, or council-hall, on all the concerns of the community.

Every negree has likewiſe its marinhos, who do not aſſiſt at the councils, but are exalted above the commonalty, and ſerve for exhorters and encouragers of the people in every public work.

Beſides ſeveral little ſervices which the common people are obliged to perform for theſe chiefs †, the laſt have likewiſe an income proceeding from the crops of cloves, which the Company have beſtowed upon them.

The Company pay, for every bhar of five hundred and fifty pounds weight of cloves, fifty-ſix rix-dollars, or one hundred and thirty-four gilders, and eight ſtivers ‡; but of this, the planters receive only fifty-one rix-dollars, the remaining five being divided among the village-chiefs, three being allotted to the rajah, patti, or oran cayo, one and a half to the oran touas, or elders, and one-half rix-dollar to the marinhos.

* In chapter i, ii, iii, and iv. of the fourth, and chapter i. of the fifth book of vol. ii. of Valentyn's "Oud en nieuw Oſt Indien." Tr.

† They are obliged to build the houſes of their chiefs, and to furniſh all the timber, gabbe-gabba, atap and other materials neceſſary for the conſtruction, but the chiefs muſt maintain them while they are at work. Tr.

‡ The cloves coſt the Dutch Company, at Amboyna, full ſix ſtivers per pound, or about 6½d. ſterling. Tr.

For theſe and other reaſons, the offices above alluded to, are eagerly ſought after, and are only obtained for a certain ſum of money, of which ſome of the governors who have ruled here in behalf of the Company, have not a little availed; I could enumerate ſome who have come here with very little property, and in the courſe of a few years, by theſe, and other means, have accumulated conſiderable wealth, and who, immediately upon their return to Batavia, have, in conſequence, ſolicited leave from the government to tranſmit large ſums of money to Europe.

The ſale of theſe rejentſhips is not, however, an innovation of late date; for, from the beginning, every oran cayo paid fifty rix-dollars for his nomination, a patti, one hundred, and a rajah ſtill more; ſo that the rajah of Nouſſanivel was even once obliged to give a gratification of three thouſand rix-dollars.

The Chineſe who frequent this iſland, as well as all the others in the eaſtern parts of India, where the Company have poſſeſſions, are not, however, very numerous at Amboyna, becauſe there is very little trade, and ſcarcely any agriculture, two purſuits, to which, in general, that nation are very averſe to. If a calculation of their number were to be made from the head-money which they pay, all the Chineſe would ſcarcely be found to amount to one hundred individuals; but the frauds which are practiſed in the declarations made in this reſpect, are the cauſe that this cannot be conſidered as a proper rule.

They dwell here in a ſtreet, which is called after them, where they keep their ſhops, with all ſorts of proviſions, &c. for ſale.

They are under the authority of a chief of their own nation, who is called captain, and who has at preſent a lieutenant under him, which was not formerly the caſe; but one of the governors was induced to inſtitute this lieutenant's office, by means of a preſent of five hundred rix-dollars.

They do not intermarry with the Amboyneſe, but marry amongſt each other; and if it happen that they are in want of women, they take Macaſſer or Bougineſe girls for concubines.

In the month of April of the year 1775, a Chineſe youth came purpoſely from Batavia to Amboyna, to marry the daughter of one of his countrymen who was ſettled here, and was a man of property. I went to ſee the ceremonies that were made uſe of; I came too late to ſee the beginning of them, which, I was told, conſiſted principally in the throwing backwards and forwards of an egg into the wide ſleeves of the bridegroom and of the bride. I found them both ſitting next to each other in a parlour, with their eyes fixed on the ground, as if meditating on what had been done, without ſpeaking a word to, or looking at each other. An oblong little table ſtood before them, covered with red ſilk, which was embroidered with flowers of gold; upon it were ſet, before each of them, a little cup of tea, and three or four little china diſhes with confectionary and boiled birds' neſts. The bridal bed was in the ſame apartment; it was likewiſe hung round with red ſilk; but there was a partition made in it, ſeparating the place where the bridegroom was to lie, from that of the bride; the former, however, occupied about two-thirds of the bed. The bride, who was a plump jolly maiden, nearly white, and pretty enough, wore a robe of red ſilk, with long and wide ſleeves; a chain of gold hung round her neck, and down upon her boſom: on her head ſhe wore a black bonnet, tapering upwards to a point, and adorned with three rows of jewels. The bridegroom was dreſſed in a ſimilar robe of blue ſilk and cotton. They both kept their arms and hands conſtantly tucked into the ſleeves. When the bridegroom ſtood up, he did it ſo ſlowly aud cautiouſly, and without moving his eyes in the leaſt, that he appeared perfectly like an image of w ax, or an atomaton moved by inviſible mechaniſm.

The young couple were forced to endure the repetition of this tedious ceremony for three ſucceſſive days, and always in ſight of their nuptial bed, before they were allowed to perform the eſſential rites of marriage.

There are ſtill many deſcendants of the Portugueſe here, who, when their countrymen were forced to give up the dominion of the iſland to ours, choſe to remain under the government of the Dutch.

The principal Amboyneſe Chriſtians ſtill bear Portugueſe names, which their anceſtors received at their baptiſm; but the Portugueſe language is leſs ſpoken here than in any other part of India, and the number of the abovementioned deſcendants of Portugueſe is not large.

Our countrymen who, in the year 1605, under the command of their admiral Stephen Van der Hagen, took the caſtle of Victoria, which was the chief ſettlement of the Portugueſe upon the iſland, are now here abſolute maſters, as well over the peninſulas of Hitoe and Leytimor, as over the Uliaſſers, which comprehends the iſlands of Oma, Honimoa, Nouſſa, and Molaria, and likewiſe over Manipa, Kelang, Bonoa, the north coaſt of Bouro, Little Ceram or Hoewamoehil, and ſome places on Great Ceram; although a great part of the laſt century was elapſed before they were in full poſſeſſion of the coaſt of Hitoe, as well as of Little Ceram, on account of the oppoſition they met with from the Quimelahas, or Ternateſe governors, the king of Ternate looking upon part of theſe countries as his territory; and from the four chiefs of Hitoe, who refuſed to be deprived of their independence, and openly reſiſted the arms of the Company. But theſe obſtacles being now removed, the Company have little more to do than to oppoſe the attempts of foreign nations, and to prevent a clandeſtine trade with them, of which I ſhall ſay more hereafter.

CHAP. XVIII. — *Government at Amboyna. — Counſel of Polity. — Revenues of the Governors. — Vice-Governor. — Commandant of the Military. — Reſident of Hila. — Chief of Separoua. — Fiſcal. — Chief of Harouko. — Reſident of Larike. — Chiefs of Bouro and Manipa. — Other Servants of the Company. — Allowance to the Company's Servants out of the Crop of Cloves. — Repartition of it among them. — Council of Juſtice. — Great Influence of the Governor. — Shameful Abuſes. — Inſtance of unexampled Cruelty and Injuſtice. — Other Courts or Boards. — Clergymen and Eccleſiaſtical Matters.*

THE general adminiſtration of the affairs of this province is veſted in a governor, who is appointed by the council of India, and is commonly one of the ſecretaries of the council, or one of the Company's ſervants at other out-factories; the ſecond has ſeldom ſucceeded to the command, the reaſon of which I am ignorant of.

A council is appointed to aſſiſt the governor, conſiſting of the firſt qualified ſervants of the Company, whoſe advice and concurrence he is bound to have, in planning, arranging, and executing all matters of importance, as is the caſe in all the out-factories; but in how far the power of the governor is hereby circumſcribed, is eaſily deducible from the conſideration, that he poſſeſſes the power of diſmiſſing the counſellors from the Company's ſervice, and ſending them to Batavia, where it does not often happen that a ſuperior is caſt in any diſpute with an inferior; and the injured party ſeldom finds either redreſs or conſolation, unleſs he have powerful friends to make intereſt in his behalf. Beſides that ſuch a governor is able by a thouſand different means, and in indirect ways, to treat ſuch as he is diſpleaſed with in ſo mortifying a manner, and to curtail their income and emoluments to ſuch a degree, that they would rather thank heaven to be out of his hands.

But

But this evil has, alas! been of long ſtanding; it will always be one of the moſt corroding cankers that conſume the vitals of the Company, and will at laſt bring the ſociety to deſtruction.

The revenues of a governor at Amboyna being but ſmall, on account of the little trade which is carried on here, and the conſequent extreme degree of fraud and oppreſſion that prevailed here, induced the government at Batavia, with the approbation of the directors at home, to come to a reſolution in the year 1755, to provide againſt the growing evil; and they therefore determined to give the governor a yearly additional allowance of ſix thouſand rix-dollars, or fourteen thouſand four hundred guilders *.

This, added to other emoluments which long preſcription has legalized, is ſufficient to enable the governor to live according to his rank, without his being obliged to put ſuch means in practice as one of the governors, whoſe name I ſhall not here mention, uſed to employ to double his revenues.

The vice-governor, or ſecond perſon in rank, is a ſenior merchant, and at the ſame time head adminiſtrator, filling likewiſe, as is the cuſtom in all the out-factories, the office of commercial book-keeper; he is alſo preſident of the council of juſtice, and of the orphan-chamber.

The third in rank is the commandant of the military, who has the rank, title, and pay of captain. He is the chief of all the troops in the whole province, the promotion of all the ſubaltern officers uſed formerly to be ſolely effected at his recommendation; but the advantages of this office were conſiderably curtailed by Mr. * * *, who even publicly ſold the places of ſerjeants and corporals in the military for fifty, or one hundred rix-dollars, both to the Amboyneſe and to the Europeans, without the commandant daring to complain of his proceedings, and it now yields but a poor ſubſiſtence.

Upon this officer follows the chief or reſident of Hila, who has the greateſt part of the north coaſt of Hitoe, and Little Ceram Hoewamoehil, under his management; next to Saparoua, his diſtrict is the moſt famous for the collection of cloves: he has a good income, and the rank of merchant.

The fifth in order is the chief of Saparoua; this factory lies in the iſland Honimoa; not only that iſland but alſo Nouſſa Laut, and part of Great Ceram belong to his juriſdiction. The firſt named iſlands are very fertile, and yield more than half the annual quantity of cloves which are gathered in the province. The income of this reſident is computed to yield only in amount to that of the governor.

Next follows the fiſcal, who is equally a merchant in rank; his duty, as every where, is to take care that the property of the Company be not injured: he has likewiſe a concluding vote in the council of polity.

The ſixth is the chief of Haroeko, upon the iſland of Oma, to which alſo belongs a part of Ceram: he is generally a junior merchant.

The ſeventh is the chief of Larike. This factory ſtands on the ſouth-weſt coaſt of the land of Hitoe, and the iſland of Amblauw, which formerly belonged to Bouro, has lately been put under the juriſdiction of Larike.

The Soldyboekhouder, paymaſter, or garriſon book-keeper, is the eighth; who is, at the ſame time, *curator ad lites*, and preſident of the board of controul over marriages.

Theſe eight, together with the winkelier, or purveyor, who, as well as the laſt-mentioned officers, is a junior merchant, make the nine, who are appointed as a

* About 1300l. ſterling. Tr.

council

council of polity, to watch over the intereſts of the Company in conjunction with the governor.

They have a ſecretary, who has alſo the rank of junior merchant.

Upon theſe follow the reſidents of Bouro and Manipa, the caſhier, the ſecretary of the council of juſtice, who is at the ſame time firſt clerk in the office of the ſecretary of the council of polity, the negotie, en ſoldy-overdraagers, or the writers of the commercial and military ledgers, who are all book-keepers in rank; and laſtly, the comptroller of equipment, who had before the rank of ſea-lieutenant, but now that of ſea captain.

To this province further belong four lieutenants of the military, and eleven enſigns.

In order to afford a better means of ſubſiſtence to all theſe placemen, a yearly repartition is made among them, according to their reſpective ranks, out of the annual crop of cloves; and I ſubjoin a ſtatement of the repartition which was made in the year 1755, agreeable to the regulation eſtabliſhed by the government at Batavia, on the 31ſt of May of the ſame year, which will at the ſame time give an idea of the quantity of cloves annually collected.

In the year 1755.

Factories.	Cloves collected in all.	Amount of ditto paid by the Company.		20 per cent. on the weight allowed to the Company's ſervants.	Amount of ditto.	
At the chief ſettlements, New Victoria -	lbs. 115,767	Rix-d. 11,787	Stiv. 8¾	lbs. 23,153⅖	Rix-d. 2,357	Stiv. 21
At the factory, Saparoua	422,407	43,008	34⅕	84,480⅖	8,601	30¾
—— Hila	149,606	15,232	29¾	29,921⅕	3,046	25
—— Haroeko	39,231	3 994	20⅕	7,846⅕	798	42½
—— Larike	49,114	5,000	33½	9,826⅘	100	25½
Total	776,125	79,023	30½	155,228	15,805	00½

Repartition among the Company's Servants of the above, viz. of the 100 *Rix-dollars.*

	Per cent.	Rix-d.	Stiv.
To the governor and director - -	40 -	6322	0
To the ſenior merchant, ſecond -	12 -	1896	29
To the captain commandant - -	4 -	632	9¾
To the merchant, chief of Hila -	7 -	1106	16¾
To ditto ditto of Saparoua -	7 -	1106	16¾
To ditto fiſcal - - -	6 -	948	14½
To the junior merchant, chief of Harouko -	3 -	474	7¼
To ditto ditto of Larike -	3 -	474	7¼
To ditto, garriſon book-keeper - -	2 -	316	4¾
Carry forward	84	13,274	0

	Per cent.		Rix-d.	Stiv.
Brought over	84		13,274	0
To ditto garriſon purveyor - -	2	-	316	4¾
To ditto ſecretary of the council of polity - -	2	-	316	4¾
To the book-keeper, reſident of Bouro -	2	-	316	4¾
To ditto caſhier -	2	-	316	4¾
To ditto reſident of Manipa -	1	-	158	2½
To ditto ſecretary of the council of juſtice - -	1	-	158	2½
To ditto writer of the commercial ledger - -	1	-	158	2½
To ditto ditto of the military ledger	1	-	158	2½
To the comptroller of equipment -	2	-	316	4¾
To four lieutenants and eleven enſigns, together	2	-	316	4¾
	100	Rix-d.	15,805	00½

This method certainly gives a conſiderable ſupport to the ſuperior ſervants of the Company, and it is not at the charge of the Company, for it is the natives who pay it, and who are, at the ſame time, as it is ſaid, well ſatisfied with it; for they were formerly ſo much defrauded in the weights of the cloves they furniſhed by the chiefs of the ſeveral factories, that it is beyond belief, without the Company deriving any advantage from it; wherefore the ſupreme government, not knowing how to do otherwiſe to prevent the extortion of their ſervants, put the matter upon the preſent footing; by which it is ſettled, that of every bhar cloves furniſhed by the natives, only eighty ſhall be delivered to the Company, while the other twenty are to form the perquiſites of their ſervants, who, however, are obliged to ſell their cloves to the Company at the ſame price paid to the natives. In addition to this, the council of juſtice and the fiſcal are ſtrictly enjoined to watch againſt all injuſtice or fraud on the receipt and weighing of the cloves collected, in order that any infraction of their regulations in this reſpect may meet with an exemplary puniſhment.

The council of juſtice conſiſts of the ſecond, as preſident, and ſix members, who generally aſſemble every fortnight, in a lower apartment of the ſtadhouſe, or town-hall. All civil and criminal cauſes are decided here; but in the former, an appeal can be made to the council of juſtice at Batavia, and the execution of ſentences in the latter may be ſuſpended by the governor; yet if he approve them, whether they condemn the culprit to death, or to other corporal puniſhment, they are carried into execution; excepting, however, when the delinquent has the rank of merchant, and he is then ſent up to Batavia, with the papers relative to the proſecution, and copy of his ſentence; as is equally the caſe in all the other out-factories.

Although by an expreſs command of the ſupreme government, the governor here may not intermeddle in any matters which come under the cognizance of the council of juſtice, farther than to approve or ſuſpend their ſentences in criminal caſes, yet ſome of them arrogate to themſelves ſo much power in this reſpect, that, in the ſame manner as in the council of polity, they force a confirmation to their will, or bid open defiance to juſtice and honeſty, if the members of the council refuſe to abet their iniquity.

How much ſoever juſtice may be adminiſtered here with ſeverity towards the inferior claſſes, it is a lamentable circumſtance, and as worthy of abhorrence as it is notorious, that

that the greateſt and moſt ſhameful crimes of perſons of high rank, or of favourites, remain unnoticed and unpuniſhed. I ſhall adduce one inſtance of this rank abuſe of authority, from which a judgment reſpecting others may be formed.

The chief of a certain factory upon one of the adjacent iſlands, having for ſome time beheld, with eyes of deſire, a young girl, ſcarcely fourteen years of age, and remarkably beautiful, who had been adopted by a perſon at Amboyna, and brought up in his own houſe, gave him and his family an invitation to pay him a viſit. The man accepted it with confidence and pleaſure, and went thither with his wife, his daughter, and this girl. When, in the evening, the gueſts retired to reſt, it was ſo arranged by their hoſt, that the object of his licentious purſuit was conducted to a bed in a diſtant and ſolitary apartment; there being, as it was pretended, no beds, or room, in or near thoſe occupied by her friends.

In the dead of the night, when all but the wakeful eyes of luſt were cloſed in deep repoſe, this wretch ſtole to the apartment of the innocent maid, whom he had thus inveigled into his ſnares, and completed his long-concerted ſcheme of villany, by the moſt brutal violation of her charms. The poor victim of his luſt was found the next morning bathed in tears; and ſcarcely knowing that ſhe was undone, related the whole exactly as it happened. The perpetrator of this deed of violence moſt ſtrenuouſly denied the accuſation, but he pretended that he very well knew who was the raviſher; it was, he ſaid, one of his ſlaves, an Amboyneſe, who had frequently before made uſe of his maſter's name to attain his purpoſe, and cover his enormities. Neither the ſtrong denial of the ſlave, nor the moſt ſolemn aſſeverations of the girl, that the maſter, and no one elſe, had perpetrated the baſe action of the night, could ought avail: the monſter added murder to rape; and the wretched ſlave was tied up and whipped ſo unmercifully and inceſſantly that he expired in a few minutes.

As this man was a gentleman of rank, and one of the particular minions of the governor, the matter was never enquired into, and all reports concerning it were ſmothered as much as poſſible.

A kind of provincial court is likewiſe eſtabliſhed here, conſiſting in part of the Company's ſervants, and in part of the heads of ſome negrees, of whom the rajahs of Nouſſanivel and Soya are the firſt, and follow in rank upon the members of the council of polity.

The governor likewiſe convokes from time to time an aſſembly of the native chiefs, in which he makes ſuch orders public as he may have received from the government at Batavia, or which he may think neceſſary, and commands them to ſee them executed; for example, when a certain number of clove-trees are to be planted or deſtroyed, and other ſimilar matters.

Beſides theſe, there are an orphan-chamber, a court of aſſignees for bankrupt or inteſtate eſtates, a board of controul over marriages, and a court of common pleas.

The number of clergymen belonging to this government is, I believe, when complete, ſix *, viz. four at the chief ſettlement and fort of New Victoria, one at Hila, and one at Sapoura; but when I was there, there was but one, the others being gone on a church-viſitation to Banda, and the ſouth-weſtern iſlands belonging to that government.

He that remained had been for a long time a journeyman bricklayer in the province of Gelderland; but his trade not ſucceeding to his liking, he went out in the year

* On looking into the memorial of Governor Moſſel, reſpecting the general ſtate of India, of the 30th November 1753, I perceive that the number of clergymen in the province of Amboyna, was then ſettled at three. *S.*

1769, as krankbezoeker * to India; and, together with ſeveral others, he was ſent back to Holland at the expence of Governor Van der Parra, to be fitted for taking orders, and he had returned the preceding year as a qualified divine, and had ſhortly afterwards been ſent to Amboyna, where there was little likelihood of his evangelical miſſion being remarkably exemplary or ſucceſsful.

As this perſon did not underſtand the Malay language, and had alſo very little inclination to attain it, the divine ſervice at preſent adminiſtered in the Malay church, was confined to the reading of a ſermon written in that language, which was effected by a krankbezoeker, who performed the office of clerk, and who was, as the abovementioned clergyman was pleaſed to ſay, when he had been ſcarcely a day or two at Amboyna, the only religious man on the iſland. However uncharitable and raſh the expreſſion of this opinion was, it is, however, a fact, that I met with very few people here who had a tolerable knowledge of the doctrines of the reformed religion, or even of the moral duties preſcribed by it.

There is a very conſiderable number of nominal Chriſtians, and who have received baptiſm, as well on the peninſulas of Leytimor, as at other places. By an annotation in a reſolution of the council of polity at Amboyna, of the 11th of March 1774, it appeared, that the Reverend Mr. Van Einbrug found, on a church-viſitation (which he had, however, by ſome obſtacles been prevented from completing), in a part only of the places belonging to this government, the number of twenty-one thouſand one hundred and twenty-four nominal Chriſtians, but only eight hundred and forty-three church members.

The ſuperſtitious reſpect which theſe nominal Chriſtians pay to our clergymen, and a few outward ſigns of religion, are the principal marks by which they are diſtinguiſhed from the reſt of their countrymen.

Beſides the regular clergy there are kranbezoekers, and likewiſe ſtationary and itinerant ſchool-maſters, who are all paid by the Company, and inſtruct the children of the Amboyneſe in reading, writing, and pſalmody, for which purpoſe a ſchool is eſtabliſhed in every negree, to which each inhabitant ſends his children free of expence.

CHAP. XIX. — *The Europeans at Amboyna; — Their Mode of living. — The Women. — Dreſs. — Sedan-chairs. — Account of the Town; — Streets; — Churches; — Stadhouſe, or Town-hall; — Hoſpital; — Houſes. — Springs; — Rivers. — Garden of the Governor. — Fortreſs of New Victoria; — Its Advantages and Defects. — Natural Strength of the Bay. — Propoſals for new Fortifications. — Other little Forts in this Province. — Buildings in the Caſtle, not yet completed. — Expence of the Erection of the Fort, &c.*

THE number of Europeans, at leaſt of thoſe who have any quality in the ſervice of the Company, is ſo ſmall, that little can in general be ſaid with reſpect to any peculiar mode of living they may obſerve. One thing, however, is immediately an object of remark to ſtrangers, and that is, that in the forenoon more ſtrong liquor is drank, either arrack or geneva, than at Batavia, or in the weſt of India, though at Macaſſer it is almoſt the ſame; ten or twelve drams is not an uncommon whet in a morning at Amboyna; and on ſetting down to dinner, a glaſs of ſpirits is the firſt thing preſented to the gueſts to ſtrengthen the ſtomach, and raiſe an appetite.

* Krankbezoeker is perfectly ſynonimous with ziekentrooſter, for an explanation of which term ſee the note to page 515 of the firſt volume; the former is literally "a viſitor of the ſick," as ziekentrooſter is a "comforter of the ſick." TR.

I found little pleaſure or ſociability here; which, I was told, was to be aſcribed to the late governor, whoſe diſtruſtful temper made him look upon all ſocial meetings with jealouſy; this did not ſeem improbable to me, as I found that a ſhort time before he left the iſland, and when he was not an object of apprehenſion or hope, as before, both ſocial intercourſe and innocent gaiety became daily more prevalent, which afforded much ſatisfaction to the new governor.

The common Europeans, both ſoldiers and mechanics, have very little opportunity of earning any money here, and their pay affords them little elſe than ſago, and at moſt rice, with a little fiſh, for food, and water, ſagwire, or arrack, for drink. The ſoldiers make a very ſhabby appearance; their uniform is made of blue linen, and hangs in tatters about them, without ſhoes or ſtockings, excepting, indeed, the body-guards of the governor: they attend the parade bare-footed, and are badly diſciplined; to this picture may be added, an unhealthy, dropſical, and feeble habit of body, occaſioned by the immoderate uſe of ſagwire, to which, too, is attributed the circumſtance of their all having ſwoln and ulcerated legs; though this latter complaint is as rife among the ſailors and mechanics as among the military: their number is never complete, notwithſtanding the ſupplies that are ſent every year from Batavia.

There are very few women here born of European fathers and mothers; but there are a great number of a mixed race, as many Europeans take Indian women for concubines, whoſe children are afterwards legitimated, and incorporated into the European nation *.

Married women live here very retired; they do not often mix in company with the men, and ſtill more ſeldom enter into converſation with them; every thing that is addreſſed to them is anſwered by a ſingle affirmative or negative. I was told, that being always accuſtomed to ſpeak the Malay tongue, they felt awkward, and were apprehenſive of expreſſing themſelves wrong in the Dutch; yet I obſerved the ſame reſerve, and want of power to carry on a converſation when they were ſpeaking in the Malay language, as when they were addreſſed in Dutch. Society is, then, here divided into male and female, by which, in my opinion, all company is rendered dull, formal and diſagreeable.

The dreſs of the ladies is like that of thoſe at Batavia. The men dreſs in the European faſhion, with this peculiarity however, that the greateſt contraſt in colours is ſought after, for inſtance, blue ſilk breeches, with ſcarlet waiſtcoat, and black or dark brown coats, and *vice verſâ*.

No carriages are ſeen here; indeed there are no roads fit for them, for the country is every where both mountainous and rocky, ſo that it can even ſcarcely be traverſed on horſeback. A ſort of ſedan-chairs are made uſe of in the room of carriages, with which the Amboyneſe run up and down the moſt dangerous paths in the mountains, without there being hardly a ſingle example of their letting them fall, or overturning them.

The town of Amboyna, if a place without gates or walls may deſerve that name, lies on the peninſula of Leytimor, at the north-weſt ſide, about half way between the point of Nouſſanivel and the paſs of Baguewala, in a ſloping plain at the foot of the mountains of Soya, which ſurround it behind, and end at the Rooden-berg, or Red hill, about two hundred and twenty roods, eaſt-north-eaſt from the caſtle.

* At Amboyna, the children of European fathers and Indian mothers are called Mixtices, who are of an olive complexion; the children of a Mixtice and an European are called Poeſtices; and thoſe of a Poeſtice and an European are Caſtices, who are nearly as fair as Europeans; after which no diſtinction is made, but the children proceeding from further unions are reckoned among the Europeans. TR.

The town itſelf, without the adjacent negrees, which may be conſidered as ſuburbs, forms an oblong, irregular ſquare, bounded by the Bato gadja, or Elephant's river, on one ſide, and the Way tomo on the other. According to the plan of the town made and delineated in the year 1718, ſince which time no material alterations have been made in it, its length is full three hundred roods, from north-eaſt to ſouth-weſt, and its breadth full one hundred, from the bay, ſouth-eaſtward.

The interſections, called ſtreets, croſs each other at right angles; many of them are pretty wide, but none of them are paved.

Of the public buildings, the Dutch and Malay churches were both much damaged and nearly deſtroyed by the violent earthquake of the year 1755; the former in ſo far, that it was forced to be wholly pulled down, in order to be entirely rebuilt: in this work, however, little progreſs had been made, when I was there, and ſervice was, in the mean time, performed under a ſhed, built of gabbe-gabbas, and covered with atap: the Malay church was ſplit in ſuch a manner from top to bottom, that for many years it has not been feaſible to perform any ſervice in it, which is now done on Sunday afternoon in the ſhed appointed to ſerve as a ſubſtitute for the Dutch church.

The ſtadhouſe, or town-hall is likewiſe an old and ruinous building; behind it is a large ſquare area, round which are many little apartments, which ſerve for places of confinement for priſoners.

The hoſpital ſtands juſt out of the town, on the other ſide of the Way tomo. It was entirely rebuilt a few years ago. Near it is a houſe appointed for the reſidence of the ſuperintendant of the hoſpital. This hoſpital is one of the beſt, and fitteſt for the purpoſe, belonging to our Company, which I have ſeen in India: the building is a very good one, the ſick are well treated in it; and by the excellent attention of the preſent ſuperintendant, Mr. Hengeveld, they are kept extremely clean and neat.

The houſe of the governor, which was formerly the Company's cloth warehouſe, and is ſtill known by that name in their books, has not much to recommend it; its appearance is mean, and there are few, and thoſe very indifferent, rooms in it.

The houſes are, in general, of one ſtory, many of them are built of wood, and almoſt all are covered with atap; this mode of building is adopted becauſe of the dreadful and frequent earthquakes to which this country is ſubject. The houſes are commodious enough, according to the cuſtom of the country, but have not a very elegant appearance. Inſtead of glaſs, frames of matted cane are uſed for the ſake of air, and likewiſe, I believe, not a little in order to ſave expence. Moſt of them have little gardens, or large ſquare yards behind them, in which there is commonly a well of very good water.

Springs are very numerous here: going only along the ſhores of the bay, and ſcooping, where there is the leaſt bit of beach, a little hole with one's hand in the ſand, it is immediately filled with ſweet freſh water, and that even ſometimes at no greater diſtance than five or ſix feet from the ſalt water. This owes its cauſe, in all probability, to the nature of the ſoil, which is every where porous and ſandy, and imbibes the rain almoſt as ſoon as it has fallen. I have ſeen that in moſt places, after the moſt inceſſant and violent rains, which laſted three days, and raiſed torrents of water ruſhing through the town, there have been no viſible marks left, at the end of only two hours, of its having rained at all: and I was aſſured that it was exactly the ſame caſe, when the rains continued for three or four weeks, as frequently happened during the bad monſoons.

The rivers which run along or through the town, or the adjacent negrees, are the Bato gadja, or Elephant's river; the Way tomo, which runs between the town to the ſouth-

ſouth-weſt, and the negrees Soya and Mandhika to the north-eaſt; the Way nitoe, which divides the negree of Italong in two; and the Way atlat, which runs between this laſt and the Mooriſh negree.

The three firſt have their ſource in the mountains of Soya, and the laſt deſcends chiefly from the Roodenberg.

I have before obſerved that theſe rivers in the good monſoons, or dry ſeaſons, can only be looked upon as little rivulets, moiſtening but a ſmall part of their beds; but that in the bad monſoons, or rainy ſeaſons, they ſwell up to a conſiderable height, and run with ſuch force and rapidity, upon the rain continuing any time, that they carry away all before them, and even the bridges which are built over them.

Juſt above the town, upon the Bato gadja, a garden has been laid out, and a good houſe built by Governor Van der Stel, at the expence of the Company, which very much reſembles that called Vengleegen, which his brother, when governor at the Cape of Good Hope, made in Hottentot Holland, alſo at the expence of the Company. This is the only garden of conſideration that I ſaw at Amboyna, though there are here and there a few others which are called gardens, but which ſolely conſiſt of a wood of ſago trees, and a plantation of cocoa-nut trees; that, however, of Hative excepted, which at preſent belongs to the engineer Van Wagner, and which may be called a handſome piece of ground for Amboyna.

As the keeping of the firſt-mentioned garden was a conſiderable annual expence to the Company, the government at Batavia thought fit, in the year 1769, to transfer the ſame to the governor for the time being, for a certain ſum of money, for which his ſucceſſor is obliged, in his turn, to take it over: Mr. Van der V—— paid, if I am not miſtaken, two thouſand rix-dollars * for it to the Company.

Near it is a menagerie, in which are kept, among others, ſome very beautiful ſpeckled deer.

The governors generally reſide at this place, when there is nothing to call for their preſence at the town, or when there are no ſhips in the bay.

The chief, if not the only fortreſs which the Company have at Amboyna is the caſtle, or fort; which, after it was rebuilt, was called New Victoria, as the old fort, called Victoria, which had been erected by the Portugueſe, being an oblong ſquare, with four baſtions, was ſo much damaged by the earthquake of the year 1755, that it was thought more eligible to build an entire new fort, than to repair the old one.

It ſtands cloſe to the water-ſide, a little to the weſt of the mouth of the Way Nitoe, and exactly oppoſite to the road, where ſhips commonly lie at anchor.

I took much pains to procure a plan of it, but the ſtrict integrity of the preſent acting engineer, Mr. H. E. Von Wagner, was proof againſt the ſolicitations of friendſhip, and however much in other things he proved both willing and anxious to give me every teſtimony of his inclination to render me ſervice, I could not in this inſtance, perſuade him to lend me a plan of the fort for ever ſo ſhort a time, in order to take a copy of it; I cannot therefore ſay any thing reſpecting the dimenſions of the works, and ſhall only deſcribe the general appearance of the fort.

Its ſhape is very irregular: on the land-ſide it has three entire and one demi-baſtion, which, with their curtains, form part of a regular heptagon; on the water-ſide there are two baſtions, in the curtain between which ſtands the water-gate, in the ſame manner as the land-gate opens between the two oppoſite baſtions on the land-ſide.

* About 4400l. ſterling. Tr.

The

The curtain, or battery, which runs north from the eaſternmoſt land-baſtion, is met by a ſimilar one coming from the eaſternmoſt ſea-baſtion, making an obtuſe angle of between ninety and one hundred degrees, ſo that the line of defence of the eaſternmoſt land-baſtion runs exactly upon this angle; and the flanks of theſe baſtions are therefore without defence, which is an unpardonable fault in the firſt conſtruction of the fort, as the nature of the ground did not require this irregular mode of fortification: Mr. Von Wagner intended to remedy this fault, as much as poſſible, by making a detached baſtion before the angle made by the two batteries, by which theſe two flanks would be defended.

From the demi-baſtion on the weſt ſide, a battery runs northward, and being met by another coming from the weſternmoſt ſea-baſtion, they form together an inverted obtuſe angle.

The ſea-baſtions, which are liable to be attacked by the greateſt force, are carried up ſomewhat higher, and are rather larger than the others; they are covered with bonnets in the middle of their faces, in order to be the better provided againſt an enfilade.

A horn-work extends before theſe baſtions, and covers the curtain between them; its projecting angles command the ſhore both above and below the caſtle, by which a landing any where near it is rendered very difficult, if not impoſſible.

All theſe works are built of brick, for which purpoſe many brick-kilns have been erected here, where very good bricks are made.

They were then about making a covered way, to begin from the flank of the weſtern ſea-baſtion, and to run round the fortreſs to the other ſide of the eaſtern ſea-baſtion.

The whole is encircled by a wet ditch, which is the ſame that formerly run round the outworks of the old fort.

This is certainly the beſt fortification belonging to the Company, that I have ſeen, in India. Yet it is by no means favourably ſituated on account of the near neighbourhood of the Roodenberg, and the lowneſs of its ſcite, by which, in my opinion, it would not be able to make any long or effectual reſiſtance, if the enemy were once landed, and could get their artillery on ſhore, ſo as to erect batteries on the ſurrounding heights.

The ſame defect occurs likewiſe on the ſide that looks towards the bay; for ſhips, if properly moored, can enfilade moſt of the lines of defence at high water; the water riſing here in ſpring tides full ten feet; and the horn-work, which is full one-half lower than the main body of the place, is conſequently ſtill more expoſed.

I purpoſely add the ſuppoſition that the ſhips be properly moored; for the greateſt ſtrength of the place reſts upon the impracticability of bringing ſhips to attack it in a proper ſituation. As there is no anchoring ground except cloſe to the ſhore, the ſhips are expoſed to the fire of forty or fifty pieces of heavy artillery long before they are able to let go their anchors, and put ſprings upon their cables, in order to haul the veſſels round; and all this is not ſo eaſily done under ſuch a fire, if the artillery upon the batteries be but well ſerved.

The nature of the bay too, the prevailing winds which blow here, and the calms which are not unfrequent, together with the ſtrong currents ſetting continually in and out of the bay, are formidable obſtacles to prevent ſhips from forming their attack whilſt under ſail, and much more from making good a landing here; for which reaſon a landing muſt be attempted at a more convenient place, which might perhaps be found, either in the bight near Hamahoeſe, or in the Portugueſe bay.

And

And although the old fort of Victoria is not to be compared in point of ſtrength to the preſent one, I do not believe that our people would ever have ſucceeded in the year 1605, in getting poſſeſſion of Amboyna, or rather of the peninſula of Leytimor, attacking it at leaſt as they did at this place, had the Portuguſe defended this ſettlement with the ſame bravery as they did their other poſſeſſions, and not given it up in ſo cowardly a manner.

There is another great defect, at leaſt it appeared in that light to me, namely, the great extent of the fort. It is ſo large, that if all the works were to be properly manned, all the military to be found here would ſcarcely be ſufficient to defend one half of them. Moreover, no leſs than a hundred pieces of cannon are requiſite to provide all the batteries as they ought to be, and there are no more than fifty or ſixty cannoneers in the whole province.

In order to fortify the bay ſtill more, the engineer, Von Wagner, has propoſed to erect two new batteries, viz. one a ſhort mile ſouth-weſt of Victoria, at the mouth of the Elephant's river, to command the part of the bay called the Vryman's, or Free Merchant's Road, and to be able to rake the ſhips which may lie to the weſtward of the caſtle; and another upon the point of the Laha, for which all ſhips coming up the bay muſt ſteer in a ſtraight direction, in order to keep cloſe in with the windward ſhore; which propoſal has met with the approbation of the ſupreme government at Batavia.

Perhaps another battery near or upon the point of Alang, would be of ſtill greater utility; for ſhips entering the bay muſt equally ſteer ſtraight for and very cloſe along it, in order not to be in danger of being driven to leeward of the bay by the currents.

I did not ſee any of the other little forts which the Company have at Hila, Sapoura, Harouko, and Larike; but according to the information I received reſpecting them, they are of little conſequence, and at moſt ſtrong enough to keep the natives in awe *.

The buildings within the fort of New Victoria are not yet all finiſhed; there are, however, already two powder magazines, the rice and ſpice warehouſes, the naval ſtorehouſe, the proviſion-warehouſe, the dwelling-houſe of the comptroller of equipment, and the guard-houſe at the land-gate; but no beginning has yet been made with the government-houſe, or the dwellings for the ſenior merchant, and the captain-commandant of the military; the water-gate is likewiſe not entirely completed.

Mr. Van der V—— told me, that the erection of this fortreſs had already coſt the Company two million of gilders †: but the engineer Von Wagner ſtated the expence of it conſiderably lower.

* The other forts in this province are: upon the iſland of Amboyna, Fort Amſterdam, which mounts ſixteen guns, at Hila; Fort Rotterdam, at Larike; the redoubt Middleburg, at the paſs of Baguewala; and a ſmall triangular fort near Oetien, called Fluſhing: upon Bouro, the paliſadoed fort Defence, mounting fourteen iron guns: upon Manipa, the redoubt Wantrouw, or Diſtruſt, of the ſame force; upon Hoewamoehil, Fort Hardenberg at Cambello, and Fort Overburg at Loehoe: upon Nouſſalaut, a ſmall redoubt of four guns, called Beverwyck: upon Honimoa, the redoubt Velſen, having five guns, at the point of Tetawaroe; the redoubt Delft, of ſix guns, at Porto, and Fort Duurſteede at Sapoura; and upon Oma, Fort Zeelandia at Harouko. The capture of Amboyna and Banda by the Engliſh, will afford opportunities to us of becoming fully acquainted with every particular reſpecting thoſe remote but valuable and intereſting ſettlements. It is to be hoped that ſome of the gentlemen of the navy or army who went upon that expedition, will favour the public with an account of theſe acquiſitions; men of genius and obſervation are not wanting either among our naval or military officers, and a narrative of the expedition alluded to, may not only be ſaid to be deſired, but alſo to be expected, from ſome of them. Tr.

† About 181,200l. ſterling. Tr.

CHAP.

CHAP. XX. — *The Clove Trade; — Endeavours of the Dutch to retain it excluſively to themſelves; — Attempts of the Engliſh to participate in it. — Garriſons and Eſtabliſhment at Amboyna. — Profits and Charges of this Province. — Reflections on the Clove Trade; — Large Stock of Cloves; — Endeavoured to be diminiſhed by Extirpations, and by burning great Quantities. — The Hongitogt, or yearly Expediton of the Governor round Ceram, &c. — Earthquake at Amboyna.*

THE chief, if not the ſole advantage derived to the Company from the poſſeſſion of Amboyna and its dependencies, is the collection of cloves, and the maſtery of this article to the excluſion of all other nations, by which they are enabled at pleaſure to raiſe or lower the price.

This gave riſe, at an early period after the conqueſt of the iſland, to much jealouſy and animoſity between the Dutch and the Engliſh; and theſe diſputes did not terminate with the expulſion of the latter from the iſland, but were made a pretence many years afterwards for declaring war againſt the republic: they were not finally ſettled till the concluſion of the peace of Breda, in the year 1667.

The Company would not, however, ever have ſucceeded in ſecuring to themſelves the excluſive trade in this ſpice, which is ſpontaneouſly produced in all the adjacent Molucca iſlands, had they not endeavoured wholly to transfer and confine the cultivation of it to Amboyna; partly by ſubduing the princes of thoſe iſlands by force of arms, and preſcribing to them ſuch conditions of peace as they found convenient, the principal of which had relation to the clove-trade, eſpecially with reſpect to the Kings of Ternate, Tidore, Machian, and Bachian, compelling them not to ſell any of the cloves produced in their dominions to any other nation; and partly by forcing them, about the middle of the laſt century, to deſtroy all the clove-trees which grew in their territories, for which they were to receive an equivalent in money.

In the ſame manner the Company have entered into a contract with the King of Bouton, to whoſe dominion many places belong which yield ſpices, that he ſhall not only allow the extirpator, whom they diſpatch every year on an expedition through the iſlands, to perform the ſervice on which he is ſent, but ſhall alſo afford him every aſſiſtance in doing it.

Yet, notwithſtanding all this, and how far ſoever they may be able to extend their extirpations in the circumjacent countries, they will never be able wholly to prevent other nations from procuring ſpices without their intermediation. There are too many iſlands, and too widely diſperſed, that produce theſe commodities, of which neither they nor their allies are in poſſeſſion, or poſſibly can be, without entirely exhauſting themſelves by the erection of numerous fortreſſes, which are indiſpenſably neceſſary, if all intercourſe with foreign nations muſt be prevented*.

Thus

* However aſſiduous the Dutch are in the deſtruction of ſpice-trees, they never have or can ſucceed in extirpating them all. It is only in places of eaſy acceſs, and near the ſea, that they are generally cut down, but they grow abundantly in many retired ſpots of the large and woody iſland of Gilolo, in the receſſes of Ceram, upon Ouby, Myſol, in the foreſts of Bachian, as well as upon Cadoepan, and many other iſlands, where they are inacceſſible to the deſtructive ax of the extirpator; and what is actually deſtroyed, is not, perhaps, the hundredth part of the trees producing the precious ſpices. The parties ſent out on ſuch buſineſs generally conſiſt of a military officer, or ſome civil ſervant belonging to the Dutch, with three or four European attendants, and perhaps twenty or thirty Bugguеſs ſoldiers, with their officer. They generally make it a party of pleaſure; and the Bugguеſs officer (while the chief is regaling himſelf in the heat

Thus the Engliſh formed a ſettlement ſome years ago upon the iſland Xullock, lying north of the Moluccas; but as the indifferent quality of the ſoil, and other circumſtances, did not anſwer their purpoſes in forming ſuch an eſtabliſhment, they changed it for Balambangan, an iſland on the north-eaſt coaſt of Borneo, in order to lay the foundation there for a place of trade, whither the clandeſtine dealers in ſpice might bring their goods, and thus furniſh our rivals with the articles out of which we endeavour to keep them.

The garriſons which the Company keep in this province, were fixed, in the year 1752, at nine hundred men, including the ſeamen and the penniſts. His Excellency, Governor Moſſel, ſays, in his further memorial, written in the year 1753, that this number is ſufficient, ſince Amboyna has nothing to fear from an European enemy*.

By that memorial, the profits which accrue annually to the Company upon the ſale of goods, are eſtimated at forty thouſand gilders; the proceeds of the rent of lands, exciſe duties, a duty of five per cent. upon the ſale of real property, the ſtamp duties, and the produce of the permits granted for the importation and exportation of private merchandize, are computed to be thirty thouſand gilders; and all the receipts are, conſequently, taken at ſeventy thouſand gilders; which ſum, by a further memorial of economy, was reduced to ſixty-ſix thouſand gilders: and even this latter ſum is not now drawn from thoſe objects; ſixty or ſeventy bales of coarſe piece-goods, which are annually diſpoſed of here at an advance of from ſeventy to eighty per cent., the good vent whereof likewiſe depends much upon the ſucceſs or failure of the crop of cloves, do not ſuffice, with the other revenues, to make up that amount.

According to the abovementioned memorial of Governor Moſſel, the annual charges of this government ought not to exceed one hundred and eighty-five thouſand gilders, in order that the defalcation on the four eaſtern provinces ſhould not be more than four hundred thouſand gilders a year; but, by the lateſt memorial, the charges of Amboyna were ſtated at *f.*176,518. 0. 0; and, in the five laſt years, they have averaged yearly *f.*265,549. 10. 11, ſo that they actually amount to *f.*89,031. 10. 11 every year more than Moſſel ſtated them at †.

Theſe

heat of the day) ſets off to the woods with ſome of his men, where he executes his commiſſion juſt as it ſuits his convenience; taking care to bring back plenty of branches, to ſhew his aſſiduity, when, perhaps, they are all from one tree. Sometimes a ſerjeant at an outpoſt, to get into favour with his chief, ſends an account of his having diſcovered, on a certain ſpot, a parcel of ſpice-trees, with news, perhaps, at the ſame time, that he has deſtroyed them all: poſſibly the chief's domeſtic might inform him of many more ſuch ſpots at hand, but they are too wiſe to ſay much on ſo delicate a ſubject. Tr.

* In 1776-1777, the whole eſtabliſhment at Amboyna conſiſted of fifty-two in civil employments, three clergymen, twenty-eight ſurgeons and aſſiſtants, forty-ſix belonging to the artillery, 174 ſeamen and marines, 657 ſoldiers, and 111 mechanics, in all 1071 Europeans; beſides fifty-nine natives in the Company's ſervice. Tr.

† The calculations of General Moſſel of the revenues and charges of the ſeveral eſtabliſhments of the Dutch Eaſt-India Company, are always particularly mentioned in this work, and contraſted with the actual amounts of each in the year 1779 (that is, from the 1ſt of September, 1778, to the 31ſt of Auguſt, 1779), that year being in the books of the Company one which they call het boekjaar, or year in which a general review is taken of all their concerns, as is done every ten years; becauſe the calculations of that gentleman have not only formed the baſis upon which the revenues and charges of each ſettlement, as ſtated in the famous "Hiſtoire Philoſophique et Politique," of Abbé Raynal, have been computed, but have alſo obtained a great and almoſt deciſive authority in eſtabliſhing the advantages or diſadvantages reaped by the Dutch from their Indian poſſeſſions. In the courſe of this work they frequently appear to be conſiderably different from the actual amount of the receipts and expenditure, and are, in fact, rather

Theſe, as well as the charges of the government of Macaſſer and Ternate, muſt be defrayed out of the profits upon the cloves, nutmegs, and mace, which muſt, likewiſe, contribute towards making good the expences of the Company at Batavia and at home; but can any favourable expectations of future advantage be entertained on this head, when we conſider the great decreaſe which is experienced in the ſale of the firſt named ſpice? Three millions of pounds remaining ſtill in the warehouſes at Batavia, of which no more than one-fifteenth part can be annually diſpoſed of in the Indies, together with a ſtock on hand in Holland, large enough to ſupply the conſumption of Europe for the ſpace of ten years, and the quantities of cloves that from time to time are committed to the flames by the Company, in order to leſſen their ſuperabundant ſtock, form proofs enough of the decreaſe of the clove-trade, and do not require further animadverſion than the bare mention of them *.

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calculations of what theſe ought to be, than what they really are. In 1779, the charges of Amboyna were *f.*201,082; and the whole of the revenues, including the profits upon the ſale of goods (five per cent on the ſale being allowed to the governor and ſecond, two-thirds to the former, and one-third to the latter), amounted to no more than *f.*48,747, leaving a balance againſt the Company of *f.*152,335, or about 13,850l. ſterling. Tr.

* Every clove-tree is calculated to produce annually, upon an average, two, or two and a half pounds of cloves, ſo that the yearly crop is at leaſt one million pounds per annum from the 500,000 clove-trees allowed to be cultivated; much larger crops are frequently made, though in ſome years they fall materially ſhort, and yield but a trifling quantity. One of the largeſt ſales of cloves made in Holland, was in the year 1714, when 435,427 pounds were ſold; in 1758, no more than 200,000 pounds were ſold; in 1778, 234,271 pounds; and in 1788, 400,000 pounds; and about 150,000, or 200,000 pounds are annually diſpoſed of in the Indies. The quantities of cloves always remaining over in the hands of the Company, notwithſtanding their continual extirpations, muſt, therefore, be immenſe; they endeavour to moderate this ſuperfluity by burning large quantities of ſpices from time to time; Sir William Temple ſays, in his Obſervations upon Holland, that a Dutchman, who had been at the Spice-iſlands, told him, that he ſaw, at one time, three heaps of nutmegs burnt, each of which was more than an ordinary church could hold; in 1760, M. Beaumare ſaw at Amſterdam, near the admiralty, a fire of ſpices, the fuel of which was valued at 1,000,000 of livres, and as much was to be burnt on the day following; the tranſlator of this work has himſelf been witneſs to the burning of large quantities of cloves, nutmegs, and cinnamon, upon the little iſland of Newland, near Middleburgh, in Zealand, the aromatic ſcent whereof perfumed the air for many miles around. Although the Dutch have thus, by all the means in their power, endeavoured to counteract the indulgent bounty of heaven, they have not, in any inſtance attained their object; for, excluſive of the impoſſibility of preventing the ſpontaneous production of ſpices in the extenſive woods of hundreds of iſlands, of which they ſcarcely know the names or ſituation, and the conſtant clandeſtine trade carried on in ſpices, by the Papuas Ceramers, Bougineſe, and Chineſe, the conſumption of, and demands for cloves have ſo much decreaſed, that the monopoly is no more worth the expences of retaining it excluſively: and in regard to nutmegs, they have been the dupes of their own avarice; for, confining as much as poſſible, the cultivation of that ſpice to the iſlands of Banda, it was nearly annihilated there in the year 1778, by a violent hurricane and earthquake, and few ſupplies of conſideration have been obtained for ſeveral years afterwards. When Admiral Rainer took poſſeſſion of Amboyna, in 1796 he found in the treaſury, 81,112 rix-dollars, and in ſtore 515,94clb. of cloves. The importations into England, by the Eaſt-India Company, ſince the capture of the Spice-iſlands, till the preſent time (October 1798), have been as follows:

cloves,	817,312	pounds,
nutmegs,	93,732	do.
mace,	46,730	do.

beſides conſiderable quantities of each in private trade and privilege goods, namely,

100 caſes 20 caſks	cloves,	weighing, we ſuppoſe, about	30,000lb.
81 caſes 76 caſks 29 cheſts	nutmegs,	do.	36,000
7 boxes 12 caſes 167 baſks 1131 cheſts	mace,	do.	240,000

On

On a ſuperficial view, when we are told that every pound of cloves only ſtands the Company in $4\frac{3}{4}$ ſtivers, the mace in $9\frac{1}{2}$ ſtivers, and the nutmegs about half as cheap as the cloves, it ſhould ſeem that the ſpice-iſlands afford an inexhauſtible ſource of riches, ſince the ſelling price exceeds the coſt in ſo uncommon a degree; but if we go farther, and conſider that theſe three articles of trade muſt bear the whole expence of all the four eaſtern provinces, to which muſt be added the charges of ſeven or eight ſhips, employed in fetching them, it will be found that they, in fact, coſt very dear *.

The great ſuperfluity of cloves has, indeed, been endeavoured to be prevented by diminiſhing the number of clove-trees, from time to time, by extirpations; but by this means the Company ruin their Amboyneſe ſubjects; and if fortune ſhould ever again favour them, and the vent of this article be again as large as heretofore, they would find that they were poſſeſſed of the ſoil for producing them, but not of clove-trees, which require more years to arrive at maturity, than moments to be deſtroyed.

I ſhould now have to make ſome mention of the hongitogt, or yearly expedition of the governor of Amboyna, with a fleet of corrocorros, round Ceram, and the neighbouring iſlands, if Valentyn had not ſo amply related every particular of it, that I can only add, that it did not take place during the time I was at Amboyna, the month of October being the period appointed for it †.

Between

* See "Secreete bedenkingen over den waaren ſtaat der Nederlandſche Compagnie," by J. Moſſel, Sections liii. and liv. S.

† The hongi, or fleet of armed corrocorros of Amboyna, was inſtituted by Governor Houtman, in the beginning of the ſeventeenth century. In the month of October, the faireſt ſeaſon of the year, they aſſemble in the bay of Amboyna; all the different rajahs, and orancayos, are then bound to appear with corrocorros, in order to accompany the governor in this annual expedition round the iſlands under his juriſdiction. It is undertaken for the purpoſe of examining into and deciding upon all diſputes that may ariſe among the Indians that are ſubject to the Company; of preventing and diſcovering all illicit trade; and of deſtroying ſuch ſpice-trees as are found growing in places where they are not allowed: one chief purpoſe, however, is, that numbers of the common people, who are obliged, by their tenure, to ſerve the Company during one month in the year, are by this means taken away from the collection of the crop of cloves which falls in about this time, and which is, in conſequence, much leſſened for want of hands, it being, as we have before ſeen, a great object of policy in the Company to prevent a too abundant ſupply. They are obliged to maintain themſelves during this expedition, which laſts five or ſix weeks, except that the Company allow each man one and a half, or two pounds of rice per day; and to the orangcayos, when they ſet out, three gallons of arrack, twelve pounds of pork, or beef, and a meaſure of rice. This expedition has, at different times, been neglected; but the annual performance of it has been frequently enjoined by the government at Batavia, and in particular in the years 1680, 1688 and 1693, when the coaſts of Ceram were greatly infeſted by the incurſions of the Papuas. The Hongi-fleet generally conſiſts of forty, fifty, or ſixty veſſels; when complete, it ſhould conſiſt of ſixty-one corrocorros, viz.

6	from the iſland of Oma
3	from the coaſt of Ceram, under Oma
4	from the iſland Manipa
14	from the diſtrict of Fort Victoria, upon Amboyna
6	from the peninſula of Hitoe
1	from the coaſt of Ceram, under Hitoe
8	from the iſland Honimoa
3	from the iſland Nouſſa-laut
8	from the iſland Ceram
3	from the diſtrict of Larike
and 5	from the iſland of Bouro.
61	

Between the 18th and 19th of April, we felt here an earthquake, which laſted full five minutes. The dull rumbling noiſe that accompanied it, and the undulating motion, ſeemed to run in a direction from ſouth-weſt to north-eaſt. The thermometers did not undergo any change before, during, or after the ſhock. The air was clear, and the weather was dead calm. The water in the bay was alſo much agitated: my ſhip, which lay, at that time, at the pierhead, received a very violent ſhock, being impelled forwards, and driven back again, with great force. The north-eaſt wall of the newly-erected rice-warehouſe in the caſtle was rent by this earth-

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If any village is unable to join the fleet with their appointed corrocorros, or is excuſed from the ſervice by the governor, they muſt burn a kiln of lime for the Company; and if they wilfully neglect it, they are ſubject to arbitrary puniſhment. The governor uſed formerly to carry his flag on the corrocorro of the rajah of Nouſſanivel, but the rajah of Titaway has now that privilege; this corrocorro is one of four gnadjos, or ranks of paddlers, and is provided with two or three handſome apartments for the accommodation of the governor, who is attended by a guard of fifty or ſixty ſoldiers. The fleet is divided into three diviſions, the firſt being all corrocorros of Chriſtian chiefs, the ſecond of Mahomedans, and the third partly of Chriſtians and partly of Pagan chiefs. In order to give an idea of the force of ſuch a fleet, we ſubjoin a ſtatement, from Valentyn, of that which went on the Hongi expedition of the year 1706, under Governor Van der Stel; it conſiſted of fifty-ſix corrocorros, namely,

Seven of four gnadjos, or banks of paddlers (quadriremes).

Corrocorros.	Manned with Paddlers.	Manned with Other men.	Armed with Swivels.	Armed with Muſquetoons.	Corrocorros.	Manned with Paddlers.	Manned with Other men.	Armed with Swivels.	Armed with Muſquet.
1	77	24	2	1	1	64	20	0	15
1	71	36	1	5	1	60	20	2	0
1	67	36	0	2	1	60	16	2	2
1	64	22	0	0					

Forty-nine of three gnadjos (triremes).

1	95	18	1	2	1	55	12	1	0
1	70	20	3	3	1	55	10	0	1
1	70	20	0	1	1	54	22	0	0
1	70	12	1	0	1	54	7	0	0
1	70	10	1	1	1	53	18	2	3
1	65	25	0	2	1	53	18	1	1
1	65	21	1	1	1	53	10	2	1
1	62	20	4	0	1	53	10	1	1
1	61	24	3	0	1	50	25	1	4
1	61	16	1	1	1	50	20	1	3
1	60	20	2	3	1	50	20	0	2
1	60	20	2	2	1	50	20	0	0
1	60	20	1	3	1	50	20	0	0
1	60	10	1	1	1	50	13	0	5
1	60	10	1	0	1	50	13	0	0
1	60	10	0	1	1	50	10	0	0
1	59	15	0	0	1	48	16	1	0
1	58	26	2	1	1	47	25	1	1
1	58	20	0	0	1	44	18	1	2
1	58	15	1	6	1	38	16	2	2
1	58	12	0	4	1	38	7	1	0
1	56	14	0	1	1	31	10	1	0
1	55	22	2	2	1	27	8	1	1
1	55	20	2	2					
1	55	20	2	0	Total 56	3182	978	59	89
1	55	16	4	0					

Tr.

quake

quake in an horizontal direction, juſt below where the rafters were inſerted that ſupport the roof, forty feet in length; and a ſummer-houſe made of bamboos, cloſely covered with ſhrubbery, which ſtood behind my houſe, was thrown down; beſides which, no damage was found to have been done any where.

CHAP. XXI. — *Departure from Amboyna. — View of the Iſland Amblauw. — Of the Iſlands of St. Matthew. — Of the Toucan-beſſis. — Of Cadoepan. — Of Bouton. — Of Caybyne and Lizard-iſland. — Of Saleyer. — Celebes. — Paſſage of the Budgeroons. — The Iſland Tanakeke. — View of the Tonyns, or Tunny Iſlands. — Of Great Solombo. — Of Madura. — Mandelique. — Anchorage off Japara. — Navigation along the Coaſt of Java. — Anchorage in the Road of Batavia. — Obſervations reſpecting the Navigation to Amboyna. — Great Inaccuracy of the Charts. — Strong Currents. — Calms.*

AFTER my ſhip had been unladen, and had taken in a new cargo, we left the road; we were the whole of that day and the following night in working down the bay, keeping always on the windward ſide, which was the ſhore of Leytimor, as, on entering, it had been that of Hitoe.

On the 9th of June, at ſunriſe, we were abreaſt of the Portugueſe bay, and at ten o'clock A. M. we were out at ſea.

At ſunſet we got ſight of the iſland Amblauw, and on the next morning, of the iſland Bouro, abreaſt of us, to north-north-eaſt.

On the 11th, in the evening, we ſaw the iſlands of St. Matthew, from the maintop, and lay-by during the night, on account of our vicinity to the Toucan-beſſis.

In the morning of the next day we again purſued our courſe, but made but little ſail, as the air was very thick, by the rain, and we had no good view, in order not to fall unexpectedly upon the Toucan-beſſis; at ſeven o'clock, however, we ſuddenly ſaw them before us, about a league a-head; we inſtantly tacked and ſtood off, till the weather cleared up a little, and till, at eight oclock, we could purſue our voyage again. We paſſed thoſe dangerous iſlands, and had likewiſe a view of the iſland Cadoepan, where it is ſaid that many cloves are produced; ſteering for the eaſt point of Bouton, which we doubled about midnight.

On the 13th, at ſunſet, we ſaw the iſland Cabyne and Hagediſſen, or Lizard-iſland; on the morning of the next day, the iſland Saleyer, and two hours afterwards the coaſt of Celebes, with the little iſlands the Budgeroons lying between them; at ten o'clock, A. M. we paſſed this narrow ſtrait in ſafety, running between the ſouthernmoſt and middlemoſt of the Budgeroons, at the diſtance of one-eighth of a league from the former.

In the afternoon we ſounded, for the firſt time, in thirty-four fathoms, ſtiff clay, being then abreaſt of Boela-comba, about three leagues off ſhore.

Sailing by the lead, during the night, along the coaſt of Celebes, we were, on the morning of the next day, by the iſland of Tanakeke; whence we ſteered our courſe ſo as to paſs the Laars, or Boot, at a proper place. At noon we ſaw the Tonyns, or Tunny iſlands, and at ſunſet the iſlands of Salinas, bearing north, five leagues, ſounding continually with a line of twenty-five fathoms, without ſtriking ground upon the Laars.

On the 16th we again ſtruck ſoundings, which we afterwards kept.

On the 17th we got ſight of the iſland Great Solombo, which we found to be of a moderate height, and placed too far ſouth in the charts, by thirteen minutes, or three leagues

leagues and a quarter. Hence we ſteered, in order to make the iſland Madura, of which we came in ſight the next day at noon.

On the 20th, at ſunriſe, we paſſed Mandelique, and anchored at two o'clock, P.M. in the outer road of Japara, and ſending our boat on ſhore for refreſhments, we received a plentiful ſupply the next day from the worthy reſident, Mr. Van der Beke; at the ſame time I received information that my ſhip, Ouwerkerk, was appointed, by the government of Batavia, to go a voyage to Surat.

In the afternoon we ſaw the point of Pamalang, and the lofty ſummit of Mount Tagal.

On the 23d, the hill of Cheribon was abreaſt, and the point of Indramaye nearly a-head of us; in the afternoon we ſaw the Boomptjens iſlands; and in the evening we reckoned that we had paſſed the rock upon which the ſhip called the Caſtle of Woerden was loſt.

The following day, in the morning, we ſaw the high trees of Sedary, and at ſunſet we came to an anchor off Murderer's Point, and in ſight of the iſland Edam.

On the 25th, at eleven o'clock, A.M. we got under ſail, and paſſing between the little iſlands of Leyden and Enkhuizen, we ſteered for the road of Batavia, where we caſt anchor at three o'clock, P.M.

Before I go any farther, I think it neceſſary to ſay ſomething reſpecting the navigation to Amboyna, as it is deſerving of much attention, and has always been held a very dangerous voyage.

There are three circumſtances which often unite to make it very hazardous, and are the chief cauſes of the difficulty and peril which are complained of:

Firſt, the bad and inaccurate charts of this paſſage, which are made uſe of, and which are certainly extremely defective, notwithſtanding the governor general, Moſſel, alleges, in his further memorial, that at that time (the year 1753) the charts had been ſo improved, that, for two or three years before, none of the ſhips trading to the eaſt had been loſt. I am therefore not at all ſurprized that, before that time, ſhips were loſt every year, if they were without any other aid than that of ſuch deceitful guides. If I may judge from the charts which are thus pretended to be improved, and which are at preſent given to the ſhips that perform that voyage, they muſt undoubtedly have plunged many an intrepid ſeaman, who had not before ploughed theſe dangerous ſeas, into uncertainty and deſpair, and have driven him headlong into the midſt of unknown and unavoidable dangers.

The firſt and chiefeſt requiſite of a good ſea-chart is, that in it the iſlands and coaſts be accurately laid down in their proper latitudes; and all the charts from Java to Amboyna, are glaringly defective in this particular: one iſland is placed too far north, another too far ſouth; and this is occaſioned by the obſervations, whence theſe charts have been made, not being exact. This might be adduced as a diſculpation of the hydrographer, were it not that the navigators of later times have conſtantly noted down, and pointed out theſe defects in the journals of their Amboyna voyages. My obſervations agreed with three of them, which I took with me for reference, when I went to Amboyna. Yet has not all this ſufficed to produce the removal of this hurtful defect.

The ſecond neceſſary requiſite of a chart is, that the true direction of the coaſts, and the exact poſitions of the iſlands, and their bearings with reſpect to the neareſt land, be duly and accurately attended to. The defective ſtate of the charts in queſtion, in this particular too, is not a little complained of, and remains equally unrectified, although many reports have been made by navigators on the ſubject. And laſtly,

that the reſpective diſtances be laid down as exactly as poſſible, which has, in theſe charts, been totally neglected; of which glaring defects I have from time to time made mention in my journal.

The ſecond cauſe of the danger and difficulty of the eaſtern navigation are the currents, which ſet with ſo much violence between the iſlands and along the coaſts of this archipelago, that if I had not experienced it myſelf, I ſhould ſcarcely credit the account: in addition to this, they have no regular courſe, and ſometimes run contrary to the wind, and at uncertain times.

Add to theſe, as a third cauſe, the calms which prevail ſo much in theſe climates, and the dangers which ſurround navigators in this paſſage will be very manifeſt; for veſſels are driven, in dead calm weather, by the violent currents, upon unknown ſhoals and rocks, ſo that the moſt experienced ſeaman is unable, in ſuch caſes, to ſave the ſhip and cargo entruſted to him.

It has likewiſe been obſerved, that ſuch of the Company's captains as have performed ſeveral voyages to the eaſtern provinces are, for this reaſon, continued in that navigation, which is not diſadvantageous for the intereſt of the Company, but unfortunate for thoſe captains, as theſe voyages afford but little profit, and they do not, in conſequence, feel much attachment for the ſervice of the Company.

PIGAFETTA'S VOYAGE ROUND THE WORLD.

THE FIRST VOYAGE ROUND THE WORLD,

Effected in the Years 1519, 1520, 1521, and 1522,
By the Chevalier PIGAFETTA, on board the Squadron of MAGELLAN;

WITH

An Extract from the TREATISE ON NAVIGATION, by the ſame Author; ſome OBSERVATIONS on the Chevalier MARTIN BEHAIM, and a DESCRIPTION of his TERRESTRIAL GLOBE. Paris, An IX. (1800.)

INTRODUCTION,

By the *French Tranſlator*, the *Editor* of the Edition in modern Italian.

I. IN the fifteenth century the Italians poſſeſſed, almoſt excluſively, the trade in thoſe articles which Aſia furniſhes to Europe, eſpecially ſpices; that is to ſay, pepper, cinnamon, cloves, ginger, nutmegs, &c. vegetable productions, formerly as now in conſtant demand, leſs on account of their agreeable flavour than their intrinſic virtues. Theſe aromatics were brought from ſome iſlands near the equator, either by the inhabitants of thoſe iſlands themſelves, or by their neighbours, to that part of India intermediate between the place of growth and Europe, whither the European merchants went to purchaſe them *. Before the Arabs overran and laid Egypt waſte, commerce with India was carried on by the way of the Red Sea, as in the time of the Phœnicians. From the ſhores of this ſea the merchandize was tranſported on the backs of camels to the Nile, after vain attempts to form navigable canals between that river and the Red Sea. Down the Nile theſe goods were carried in boats to the ports of Egypt, where they were laden on veſſels belonging to Venice, to Genoa, Amalfi, and Piſa. But, when the Arabs, whether in conſequence of religious motives, the policy of deſpotiſm, or that anarchy always favourable to pirates, drove commerce from its channel by the gulf of Arabia, the merchants of India reſorted to the Perſian Gulf and

* The Europeans were not accuſtomed, at the period adverted to, to fetch the ſpices in which they traded from any part of India: from that country, either by the Indians themſelves, or by Perſian merchants who went to India for the purpoſe, theſe valuable commodities were tranſported on the backs of camels to the Caſpian Sea, and were there put on board veſſels, navigated indifferently by Indians or Perſians, to be landed, part at the mouth of the Kur, whence overland they were conveyed to the Black Sea, and there received by the Genoeſe and Venetians eſtabliſhed in the Crimea; and part at Aſtracan, whence by the merchants of Novogorod they were conveyed overland to the Baltic, and afterwards diſtributed over Europe by the members of the Hanſeatic league connected with the merchants of Novogorod. ENG. TR.

Indian

Indian Sea, whence, by the Euphrates, and by the Indus and Oxus, the productions of India were conveyed to the Caſpian, or the Black Sea, and thence into the Mediterranean, whither the Italians went to purchaſe and tranſport them to all the ſhores of Europe, and even to the interior of the continent as far as to the frozen regions of Muſcovy and Norway where they had their factories *.

II. It will readily be inferred that the price of theſe commodities at firſt hand, compared with the price at which they were ultimately retailed, muſt have been very low; the coſt to the conſumer being neceſſarily much enhanced by the charge of tranſport and the great riſks run, whether in navigating the Red Sea, or in paſſing the deſerts; to which muſt be added the profit exacted by the different individuals through whoſe hands they paſſed. We are informed by one Barthelemi, a Florentine merchant, who, towards the cloſe of the fifteenth century, had reſided the ſpace of four-and-twenty years in India †, that they paſſed through twelve different hands before they reached the conſumer, and that the ultimate price of them was increaſed tenfold from the firſt coſt ‡; this great increaſe however was much aſſiſted by monopoly. When the anti-ſocial Arabs had perfectly annihilated the commerce of the Red Sea, the Genoeſe combined with the ſchiſmatic Emperor of Conſtantinople in eſtabliſhing an excluſive commerce by the way of the Black Sea, by Tatary [Samarcand], and Perſia; and when the Sultan of Egypt, after ſubduing the Arabs, re-opened to trade the channel by the Nile, his allies the Venetians ſupplanted the Genoeſe, and excluſively ſupplied the nations of Europe with the rich merchandize of India ‖. Finally, by one means or other, the Italians ſo perfectly engroſſed the trade with India, as to render all other nations of Europe their tributaries; and the price for ſpices, towards the middle of the ſixteenth § century, from another circumſtance, became farther enhanced: at this epoch the Moors rendered themſelves maſters of the iſlands which almoſt excluſively produce the valuable ſpices; and, better acquainted with the value they bore in Europe than were the natives, would no longer part with them without an increaſe of price ¶.

III. The

* This is an error, the diſtributors of the commodities of India to the north of Europe, (as may be ſeen in Tooke's View of the Ruſſian Empire, in Coxe's Northern Tour, in Guthrie's Travels to the Crimea, and in Pallas's Southern Tour,) at the period of the eſtabliſhment of the Venetians at Conſtantinople, and of the Genoeſe at Caffa, as is obſerved in the preceding note, were the merchants of Novogord, connected with the Hanſeatic league. Their predeceſſors in this lucrative commerce were the Golden Horde, and theirs again the Permians, inhabitants of the country weſt of the Ural mountains; theſe people, even earlier than the days of the great Alfred, maintained a profitable intercourſe with India. ENG. TR.

† Rather, perhaps, in Turkey, as Benedetto Dei in his chronicle, (extracts of which are before the writer,) on noticing the different ſtates with whom the Florentines traded direct at this time, does not mention India. Benedetto Dei was contemporary with Barthelemi, had been deputed repreſentative of the ſtate of Florence to the Sultan Ottoman, and in his chronicle throws great light on the trade of Florence as well as of Venice at this period, a period ſo diſaſtrous to the Venetians, and at which Florence ſhone with its greateſt ſplendor. ENG. TR. from Della Decima e delle altre gravizze, della monita, e della mercatura degli Fiorentini, tomo ſecondo, Liſbona e Lucca, 1765.

‡ This alſo is corroborated by the remarks on the map of the world of Behaim, of which I ſhall ſpeak in the twelfth paragraph. FRENCH TR.

‖ Again, this is not perfectly the fact; at the period alluded to, the Genoeſe continued to compete with the Venetians, as did the Florentines by means of the port of Piſa. The treaty made die 6 menſis Moharra, anno Egira 894 (an. Chr. 1474-5) between the Florentine nation, by means of their ambaſſador Luigi di M. Agnolo della Stufa, and the Sultan of Egypt Kaſſim Aboo Elooazer, the Florentines were admitted to trade with Egypt, equally with the Venetians, had protection aſſured to ſuch as choſe to reſide in the country, and were ſecured in their rights and privileges in not only the ſame, but even a more ample degree than the Venetians. ENG. TR. from Della Decima, &c. before quoted, tomo ſecondo, p. 213.

§ Fifteenth it ſhould be.

¶ Hiſtorians relate the fact of the invaſion of the Moluccas by the Moors; and our author himſelf adverts to the circumſtance in the following words, which are literally copied from the manuſcript that the

III. The love of gain, and a diſpoſition to leſſen the difficulties and expences incident on the traffic with India, originated ſchemes for obtaining its merchandize directly from the firſt hand; theſe ſchemes were planned at the epoch of the regeneration of literature, that at which the art of printing, newly diſcovered, had already diffuſed through a greater number of hands the knowledge tranſmitted to poſterity by ancient writers on navigation and the figure of the earth. It became known that certain Phœnician navigators, ſailing from the Red Sea, entered the Mediterranean by the Strait of Gibraltar *; it conſequently was conjectured, it would be poſſible to ſail from the Atlantic to the mouth of the Red Sea, and, by purſuing an eaſtern courſe, to reach the Spice Iſlands. Moreover, it ceaſed any longer to be doubted that the ancients were acquainted with the ſpherical form of the earth, and the exiſtence of our antipodes, an opinion which, in the age of ignorance, was not only conſidered to be antiphiloſophical, but alſo a hereſy. Travellers who, treading in the ſteps of the Venetian Marco Polo, had traced all the ſea-coaſt of Aſia, affirmed that the earth deſcribed a curve from eaſt to weſt; and the Portugueſe who, in the beginning of the fifteenth century, had viſited all the ſhores of Guinea, by uniting their information to that of the navigators of the north of Europe, made evident, from their account of the elevation and depreſſion of the polar ſtar, that the earth, from north to ſouth, in a ſimilar manner was marked by a curve. From theſe two data it conſequently followed that the earth was of a ſpherical form, and that it would be poſſible to make the circuit of it. The deduction correſponded well with the obſervations of aſtrologers, who, notwithſtanding the ridiculous object by which they were actuated in their obſervations, that of devining the future, had yet much advanced the ſcience of aſtronomy. Narratives alſo were current, though of a vague deſcription, of certain ſailors ſaid to have been tranſported to the iſlands between Europe and America, and thence to the new continent then unknown. On theſe grounds were built the hope of reaching Malucho (the name then given to the Spice Iſlands, now termed the Maluccas,) either by coaſting along the ſhores of Africa and afterwards ſteering eaſt, or by keeping a weſtern courſe acroſs the Atlantic Ocean. So little obſtacle was expected to this latter courſe, that the moſt celebrated geographers, in their charts, placed only a few iſlands between the weſtern ſhores of Europe and Africa and the eaſtern coaſt of Aſia, as will be ſeen in paragraph XII. This was indeed an error, but an error very excuſable in the geographers of that time; for, though the ancients had pretty correctly aſcertained the circumference of the earth †, and had even laid down certain rules to determine the longitude of places,

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reader may be qualified to judge of the ſtyle of Pigafetta; and for the ſame reaſon as often as occaſion may preſent itſelf to quote his words the ſame plan will be followed. The words of Pigafetta are, *Sono forſi cinquanta anni, che queſti mori habitano in Malucho: prima li habitano gentili:* p. 203. "The Moors have inhabited Molucca about fifty years; before them it was peopled by Pagans."

* Herodotus, l. iv. c. 4.; Strabo, l. i.; and others enumerated by Riccioli Geogr. l. iii. c. 20. FRENCH TR.

† Ariſtotle (de Cœlo, lib. ii.) ſpeaks of it as an eſtabliſhed fact. It appears that the mathematicians of Egypt meaſured a degree in the latitude of Memphis, that is to ſay in thirty degrees north, upon their determining on the poſition and ſize of the pyramids; for each of the ſides of the largeſt pyramid is $\frac{1}{360}$th part of a degree in length, whence it may be fair to conjecture, that they divided the degree into a thouſand parts, and gave to each ſide of the pyramid the length of $\frac{2}{720}$th parts of a degree. (Venini Delle Miſure Franceſe. Opuſc. Sulti, tom. xx. p. 98.) FRENCH TR.

A degree in latitude thirty degrees meaſures 363,724 Engliſh feet, according to the tables of Profeſſor Pond. The 500th part of a degree is conſequently 727$\frac{2}{3}$ Engliſh feet. Now, as will be ſeen in the notes to the relation reſpecting Egypt of Abd Allatif, in that portion of this work which comprizes the Travels in Africa,

places, for want of theſe rules being thoroughly comprehended they were but little regarded. To the general ignorance at this time therefore of the dimenſions of the earth, and of the longitude of places, is to be aſcribed the expectation of reaching in a ſhort time, by a weſtern courſe, thoſe iſlands, the diſtance of which from Europe was only known towards the eaſt and the ſouth.

IV. The mind of Chriſtopher Colon was wholly occupied by reflection on this matter; this great man, who combined with a theoretic and practical knowledge of navigation all the information that could be gathered from preceding navigators, and the intrepidity requiſite for a grand enterprize, this great man, convinced of the ſpherical form of the earth, ſaw no difficulty in croſſing the Atlantic Ocean by means of the compaſs, with the variation of which, and with the means of correcting it he was acquainted *. He applied to the Genoeſe, who had no other means of reviving their commerce, for ſhips and means of putting his plan into execution; but the Genoeſe, occupied on trivial ſpeculations, and perpetually embroiled by domeſtic factions, which rendered them now ſubject to the Kings of France, and at other times to the Dukes of Milan, refuſed him aſſiſtance. To the King of Portugal he next made application, but ineffectually, as, intent on reaching the Moluccas by doubling the ſouthern cape of Africa, his propoſition was not regarded by this monarch; at length, after long and repeated memorials, the court of Spain reſolved on truſting him with ſome ſhips. Still Colon merely touched at the iſlands of America (the diſcovery of that continent being reſerved for his ſucceſſors), and flattered himſelf in vain with finding a paſſage to the weſt of Mexico, and by the iſthmus of Panama.

V. The voyage of Colon engendered diſputes between the Spaniards and Portugueſe reſpecting certain iſlands diſcovered by them, and ſtill more reſpecting the lands which they hoped to diſcover in future. The latter, on undertaking their voyages along the coaſt of Africa, had the foreſight to avail themſelves of the general opinion of the time, that the ſucceſſor of St. Peter, as the vicar of Jeſus Chriſt, had the power of diſpoſing of ſuch kingdoms as did not pertain to Chriſtian potentates. The Popes, Martin V. Eugenius IV. and Nicholas V. had already inveſted Portugal with the empire of all the countries they had hitherto diſcovered on the coaſt of Africa. Alexander VI. to whom, after the voyage of Colon, Spain and Portugal preferred at the ſame inſtant their different pretenſions, marked out a line which traverſing the two poles, divided the terreſtrial globe. The iſland Ferro, one of the Canaries, through which paſſed the firſt meridian of Ptolemy, was the point through which this line, called the Line of Demarcation, ran to either pole. From this line all eaſtward was granted by the Pope to the Portugueſe, to the Spaniards all they ſhould diſcover weſt. But when the

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Africa, the ſides of the great pyramid, according to the French geometricians, meaſure at preſent 716 French feet 6 inches, or 764$\frac{1}{7}$ Engliſh feet, without the caſing of marble with which it was formerly covered; with that caſing it is computed to have meaſured 734 French feet 6 inches, or 782$\frac{9}{10}$ Engliſh feet. Now, taking the latter meaſurement, the proportion of the ſide of the great pyramid to a degree in latitude thirty degrees will be nearly as 1 to 464, and not as 1 to 500. ENG. TR.

It is moreover known that Hypparchus, three centuries before the vulgar æra had determined the latitude and longitude of ſeveral ſtars; and that Ptolemy in the ſecond century aſcertained by his method the geographical poſition of ſeveral places on the earth with a nicety from which we may infer that they were the reſult of aſtronomical obſervations. *Robertſon.* An Hiſtorical Diſquiſition reſpecting Ancient India. Sect. II. FRENCH. TR.

* Teraboſchi. Storia delle Lettere Ital. Tomo vi. However, the knowledge of the variation of the needle muſt at this time have been far from generally diffuſed, ſince it was unknown to the pilots of the ſquadron of Magellan. (See forward Book II.)

Portugueſe made themſelves maſters of the Brazils, and inſiſted on comprehending this country within the eaſt of the line, the line of demarcation was extended thirty degrees weſtward from the firſt meridian of Ptolemy.

VI. While Spain in the weſt was extending her conqueſts, and her chiefs multiplying their cruelties and crimes, the Portugueſe, under Vaſco de Gama, in 1497, doubled the Cape of Good Hope*, diſcovered in 1455 by Cadamoſto a Venetian navigator. They coaſted along the eaſtern ſhores of Africa and the iſlands which lie between that portion of the world and Aſia, and arrived at Calicut, which then was the mart for ſpices. After wars and battles, as well with the natives as with the Moors, who had invaded a conſiderable portion of this country, they extended their voyage to the Molucca iſlands; and here, in 1510, they formed an eſtabliſhment, and engroſſed almoſt an excluſive traffic in pepper and cloves, ſpices chiefly exported from theſe iſlands †.

VII. The duke of Albuquerque was at this time governor and viceroy of the Portugueſe eſtabliſhments in India, and by his genius and intrepidity had rendered abortive the machinations of the Venetians, who, being at that time the allies of Soliman the Magnificent, exerted all their means to preſerve in its channel, by the Red Sea, the commerce which the Portugueſe were anxious to tranſport to Liſbon ‡. In the ſuite of this viceroy it was that Magellan remained five years in India §. He was a Portugueſe gentleman, had cultivated the ſciences, but eſpecially thoſe branches which relate to navigation (a ſtudy then much in vogue among the nobility of Portugal), and had undertaken this voyage that he might make himſelf known at court, and ſecure to himſelf an employment ſuited to his genius. From Calicut he went to Sumatra, where he captured a ſlave. It does not appear that he extended his voyage to the Moluccas, notwithſtanding the aſſertions of Angera, Ramuſio, and other writers ‖; for if he had proceeded to them he would have known that they are under the equinoctial line, and conſequently would not have gone in ſearch of them to the fourteenth degree of north latitude, as he is ſeen to have done in his chart. From the Indies he returned to Liſbon. In the mean time Albuquerque ſent to the Moluccas Francis Serano, a friend and relation of Magellan, with directions to conſtruct a fort there; but this he was unable to effect, as, from an inſenſate pride, each of the kings of the iſlands contended for its being built on his own territory; and as Serano himſelf, anxious to ſubdue them all at once, acted rather as a ſovereign than a peace-maker, which title he aſſumed. In courſe of the work will be ſeen in what manner he became the victim of his ambition.

VIII. I am ignorant what pretenſions Magellan may have had to favours from court; but his whole conduct ſeems to ſhew that he was equally intrepid and well informed, notwithſtanding the aſſertions of the Jeſuit Maffei ¶, who charges him with poſſeſſing a

* This cape was laid down in 1450 by Brother Mauro, camaldule of the convent of Murano near Venice, on a map of the world which I ſaw in 1790, and which, as is ſaid, is ſtill there to be ſeen. FRENCH TR.

† At leaſt if credit be due to our author, who, at page 176, ſtates his having met, in 1521, with Pedro de Loroſa, and learnt from him, *Como ja fedizi anni ſtava ne la India, ma x in Malucho, e tanti erano che Malucho ſtava diſcoperto aſcoſamente.* "That he had then been ſixteen years in India, but ten in the Moluccas, as long back as which they had been diſcovered, though the diſcovery had been kept ſecret." FRENCH TR.

‡ Robertſon. Loco citato, ſect. iv.

§ Petri Anglerii, Opus Epiſt. Epiſt. 767.

‖ Hiſtoire Generale de Voyages, tom. i. p. 126. Edit. de Paris.

¶ Hiſt. Rer. Ind. lib. viii.

larger

larger ſhare of vanity than of real merit; though, if our author be believed, we muſt allow his claims to have been exceedingly moderate, ſince they were limited to an increaſe of pay of nearly ſix franks (five ſhillings) per month. As, moreover, the King of Spain inveſted him with the order of St. James of the Sword, and entruſted him with the command of a ſquadron, there is reaſon to believe that, in the ſervices rendered by him to Portugal, he had exhibited evident proof of valour and ſkill.

IX. During the ſtay of Magellan in Portugal, as Maffei relates *, he kept up a conſtant correſpondence with his friend Serano, who invited him to return to India, and even to repair to the Moluccas, the diſtance of which iſlands from Sumatra, an iſland well known to him, he pointed out. But if conjecture be allowed, and the tracing of cauſes from reſults, it is not unlikely that Magellan will have complained to Serano of the injuſtice of the court of Liſbon towards him; that Serano, poſſibly menaced by the viceroy for not having followed his orders in building the fort, will have offered to ſurrender theſe iſlands to Spain; and at the ſame time have given information to Magellan, acquired from the inhabitants of the moſt eaſtern iſlands, of the poſſibility of falling in with the cape of the continent diſcovered by Colon, of doubling it, or of finding ſome ſtrait in that direction; and this the more from the Portugueſe being at that time in poſſeſſion of the Brazils, diſcovered in 1500 by Cabral, a country in which John Carvajo, of whom Pigafetta frequently ſpeaks, had reſided for four years, and in which John de Solis, while ſeeking a paſſage to the Indies, was aſſaſſinated and devoured by cannibals, together with ſixty of his crew.

X. It is not altogether improbable that Magellan was enabled by theſe means to obtain ſome intelligence reſpecting a paſſage from the Atlantic to the Indian Ocean; but it was by other modes that he became ſatisfied of the actual exiſtence of this paſſage, as he informed Pigafetta and the companions of his expedition when he found himſelf in the ſtrait. While ſoliciting advancement at the court of Liſbon, he paid ſuch cloſe attention to the ſtudy of geography and navigation as to render himſelf one of the beſt geographers and navigators of his time †. In conſequence of this character he was allowed to examine all the charts which had hitherto been collected, and which were preſerved with great care in the royal treaſury. The infant Don Henry, who firſt planned the undertaking of voyages for the diſcovery of new countries, and thoſe who ſucceeded him, had here collected all the ſpeculations on this ſubject, and all the geographical maps they could obtain, by means of thoſe geographers, navigators, and aſtronomers who, in hopes of reward, came to tender their works at Liſbon. In this treaſury it was that Magellan found a chart of Martin of Bohemia, on which the ſtrait was marked which communicates with the Atlantic and Pacific Ocean.

XI. In order to be convinced that Magellan really ſought this paſſage in conſequence of ſeeing it marked on the chart of Martin of Bohemia, one need only read what Pigafetta ſays on this ſubject, whoſe words are here exactly copied from the manuſcript in our poſſeſſion ‡. It is ſingular this fact ſhould be denied, as it might have been found in the extract from Pigafetta, publiſhed in French by Fabre, and in Italian by Ramuſio; but it is ſtill more ſingular that this fact, ſo honourable for Martin of Bohemia, or

* Hiſt. Rer. Ind. lib. viii.

† *Egli piu giuſtamente che homo foſſi al mondo carteava, et navigava.* "He drew charts and navigated with more exactitude than any one living."

‡ *Il capitano-generale, che ſapeva de dover fare la ſua navegazione per uno ſtreto molto aſcoſo, como vite ne la theſoraria del re de Portugal in una carta fata per quello excellentiſſimo huomo Martin de Boemia, mando due navi, &c.* Page 40. "The captain-general, who knew he had to navigate through a very ſecret ſtrait, which he had ſeen, in the treaſury of the King of Portugal, marked in a chart drawn up by that moſt excellent man Martin de Boemia, ordered two ſhips," &c.

rather

rather Behaim *, ſhould have been denied by Mr. de Mur, on publiſhing a work in honour of him †. An examination into this diſputed point, materially connected as it is with the moſt intereſting part of the voyage I am about to publiſh, will not here be miſplaced. M. Otto, in a memoir inſerted in the ſecond volume of the Philoſophical Tranſactions of the Society of Philadelphia, has ſought to prove that Colon was not the firſt who diſcovered America, nor Magellan the firſt explorer of the ſtrait which bears his name; and that the honour of both theſe diſcoveries is peculiarly due to Martin Behaim of Nuremberg. In fact, this Martin Behaim was one of the firſt geographers of his age; and one of the firſt who, in 1492, formed a map of the world, which he bequeathed to his country, and in which it is yet preſerved; was one of the firſt who croſſed the line with the famous navigator Jaques Cano in 1482; who, having married the daughter of Huerter, a feudatory of the iſland of Fayal, one of the Azores, paſſed ſeveral years on that iſland, occaſionally at different times making voyages to Europe; and who, eſteemed and conſulted by the learned men of his time, as well as by the court of Liſbon, had ample means of acquiring the moſt rare, as well as, for that age, the moſt extenſive information with reſpect to what relates to geography. Still there is no foundation for pretending that Colon diſcovered America poſteriorly to Behaim, as was clearly demonſtrated by the preſident Count Carli, loſt to the republic of letters and Milan, in 1795 ‡. M. Otto reſts his opinion on a chronicle of Nuremberg, which ſtates that "he diſcovered the iſlands of America before Colon, and the ſtrait, which afterwards was called the Magellanic, even before Magellan himſelf;" and on the teſtimony of Hartman Schedel, who ſays, that Magellan and Cano in courſe of their ſailing found themſelves in another world. But the preſident Carli obſerves that the chronicle of Nuremberg is not contemporary; and Mr. de Murr convinced himſelf that the ſtatement aſcribed to Schedel is interpolated in the manuſcript in different hand-writing. In fact it is not found in the firſt edition of his work, which is in our library. Add to this, the expreſſion, "In alterum orbem accepti ſunt," may indicate their having paſſed the line.

XII. With ſtill leſs reaſon does Mr. Murr aſſume that Martin Behaim never had the leaſt idea of the Strait of Magellan. "Having had the means," ſays Mr. Murr, "of examining the archives of his heirs, I found among them no trace of this dicovery. Moreover, the terreſtrial globe which he preſented to the city of Nuremberg ſufficiently proves that Martin Behaim did not even ſuſpect the exiſtence of America." This globe, the hemiſphere of which, compriſing the weſtern part of Europe and Africa and the eaſtern part of Aſia, was publiſhed by Mr. Murr, this globe, I ſay, ſhews, that at that time it was conceived a veſſel might proceed directly from the Azores to the kingdoms of Tungut, Cambalu, and Thibet, without meeting with any other land than the iſland of Cathay, in the whole extent of ocean to be croſſed in the voyage. From the Canary iſlands likewiſe it was imagined a courſe was open to the iſland Antilia, and on this account Colon gave the name of Antilles to the iſlands in front of America. From the Cape Verd iſlands, on the globe of Behaim, the courſe was deſcribed as open and with no land intervening to Cipangu (Japan), made known to Europe by Marco Polo, and mentioned by Pigafetta, who fancied he paſſed at but a ſhort diſtance from

* It is well known that his real name was Behaim. Cluverius ſays he was called of Bohemia becauſe his anceſtors came originally from that country, or had ſettled there for the purpoſe of carrying on traffic.

† Notice ſur le Chevalier Martin Behaim, celebre navigateur Portugais; avec la deſcription de ſon globe terreſtre. See the Diſſertation at the cloſe of this work.

‡ See Opuſcoli Scelti di Milano, tomo xv. p. 72.

it.

it. From Japan the ſea was open to Cambaya, and, turning ſouthward, to the larger and ſmaller iſlands of Java, placed under the ſame meridian. It is therefore plain that the globe alluded to does not notice America. As therefore Behaim in 1492, knew nothing of America, he could impart no information to Colon, who ſailed in that year; but this fact by no means proves that, between that epoch and the year 1506, which was the laſt of the life of Behaim, he had not become acquainted with all that was known up to that time, and marked the ſame on a geographical chart. His different voyages, his extenſive correſpondence with all the learned men of the day, his various occupations at the court of Liſbon, and, above all, his reſidence at the Azores iſlands, furniſhed him with means of acquiring all the information which chance or reſearch had produced among navigators. Varenius* pretends that Nunez de Valboa, in 1513, was convinced of the exiſtence of the ſtrait in queſtion from currents, which are only found in channels open at the two extremities, and never in a bay. Why in this caſe ſhould it be deemed unlikely that ſome other navigators ſhould have made the ſame obſervation in the time of Behaim, and have communicated it to him? Mr. de Murr indeed allows the poſſibility of ſuch an incident, but pretends that it did not take place; and that it was Marc-Antonio Pigafetta, who in his Itinerary, publiſhed in London in 1585, firſt ſpread the fable of the diſcovery of America by Behaim; "and I am ignorant," adds he, "whether Philip Pigafetta, in his Relation reſpecting Congo, does or not allude to Martin Behaim." We may gather from the manner in which Mr. de Murr expreſſes himſelf, that he ſcarcely knew the names and titles of the books of the two other Pigafettas (Marc-Antonio and Philip); and that he was altogether uninformed reſpecting our knight Antonio Pigafetta, of his "Relation of the Diſcovery of India;" or of the extracts publiſhed from that work; nay, that he had not himſelf read the Itinerary of which he ſpeaks, for it contains no mention whatever of Martin Behaim. Neither does Philip Pigafetta, in his Relation reſpecting Congo, printed at Rome in 1591, or in his Itinerary of Egypt, make any mention of him, as I learn in the latter inſtance from my friend Mr. Malacarne, profeſſor of ſurgery, in whoſe poſſeſſion this manuſcript is. There is therefore little room to doubt that Magellan had ſeen the ſtrait to which he gave name marked on the chart of Martin Behaim: but it muſt at the ſame time be allowed either that he placed no implicit reliance on the chart, or that the chart in queſtion was very incorrect; as otherwiſe, when in latitude forty-nine degrees thirty minutes north, he would not have diſpatched his veſſel the San Jago to reconnoitre the coaſt on which it was ſhipwrecked while ſeeking the ſtrait in fifty-two degrees; nor would he have determined on proceeding ſouth as high as ſeventy-five degrees in caſe he ſhould not find it.

XIII. Let us now return to the hiſtory of Magellan, and of our author. Whether in view of avenging his fancied wrongs, whether to obtain that promotion he ſought, Magellan repaired to Spain, and offered his ſervices to Charles V. in taking command of a ſquadron to ſail to the weſtward of the line of demarcation as far as to the Spice-iſlands, which were better known from the report of the Italians, who had proceeded thither eaſtward, than from the narratives of the Portugueſe, who had then been ten years eſtabliſhed there, but who kept in greateſt ſecrecy the diſcoveries they made; ſo much ſo indeed, ſays Caſtagnada, that in the courſe of time the memory of the voyage of Gama would have been loſt, had he not himſelf taken the trouble of writing and committing it to the preſs†. Charles V., or rather Cardinal Ximenes, his prime

* Geog. gener. c. 12.

† Hiſtoria della conquiſta delle Indie Orientale, preface.

miniſter, who governed Spain during his abſence, paid great attention to the project of Magellan, who not only convinced him of the poſſibility of reaching the Spice-Iſlands by ſailing towards the weſt, but aſſured him that they were compriſed within that portion of the globe which, in virtue of the line of demarcation, belonged to Spain; for, had it not been for this repreſentation, the Cardinal would aſſuredly not have ſanctioned the invaſion of a country veſted in another by the Pope. In order to ſatisfy him that the Moluccas were in the Spaniſh hemiſphere, Magellan brought forward the teſtimony not only of Criſtoval Hara, who ſtated that he was convinced from the information given him by factors belonging to different eſtabliſhments he had in India of the real geographical poſition of theſe iſlands *, but alſo of the famous aſtrologer Rodrigo Faleiro, who ſhewed, by a map of the world and by the compaſſes, that theſe iſlands were ſituate within the one hundred and eightieth degree of longitude weſt. And as the Cardinal continued yet to entertain ſome doubt of the fact, Faleiro inſtructed Magellan in a method to calculate the longitude, ſo as not to overpaſs the line † of demarcation. In order to clear the point, it was indeed propoſed that Faleiro ſhould accompany Magellan; but, as the former was an aſtrologer, he excuſed himſelf from being a party in the voyage, pretending he had computed it, and found, if attempted, it would prove fatal to him. It did indeed prove fatal to Martin de Sevilla, who went in his ſtead, but who had not foreſeen that he would be aſſaſſinated, as will be ſeen he was at the iſland Zubu.

XIV. We have a proof of the importance of inquiries into the longitudes, during this voyage, in the deſcription I am about to publiſh. Scarcely had the ſquadron reached the Pacific Ocean ere the Cavellero Pigafetta made a point of noting on his journal, not only the latitude, but alſo the longitude of the line of demarcation; and in order to obviate any miſconception, he remarks that this line is thirty degrees weſt of the firſt meridian, which itſelf is three degrees weſt of Cape Verd ‡. After having expreſſed himſelf with ſuch exactitude, it is highly ſurprizing that Fabre, who has given an extract of his narrative, ſhould not have comprehended him, and inſtead of degrees of longitude "from the line of demarcation," have conſtantly written "from the line of departure," or "the degree of longitude whence they departed;" and in that part where he ſhould have marked the poſition of the line, the ſame as our author has done, he ſays, "and thirty degrees from the meridian, which is three degrees more towards the eaſt than the Cape of Good Hope." It is evident his mode of expreſſion is marked by a want of ſenſe, and in conſequence Ramuſio, on tranſlating the work of Fabre, has wholly omitted this paſſage; that in copying the author before him, in lieu of "Longitudine dalla linea di diviſione," he ſhould have given "Longitudine dal luogo donde ſi eran partiti," is certainly excuſable; but by thus writing he encreaſes the errors of the longitude noticed by Pigafetta by forty degrees.

XV. But the Portugueſe, intereſted in determining the real latitude of the Moluccas, accuſed the Spaniards not only of being in error, but with perfidy; and Pietro Martir D'Angera, a Milaneſe gentleman, and hiſtoriographer of the court of Spain, pleaſantly ſtates in one of his letters §, that twenty-four pilots and aſtronomers were choſen, Spaniſh and Portugueſe, who, after numerous ſyllogiſms, at length decided

* Epiſtola di Maſſimili ano Tranſilvano, preſſo Ramuſio, tom i. p. 348.

† Caſtagnede, loc. cit.

‡ La linea de la repartitione e trenta gradi longi dal meredionale; el meridionale e tre gradi al levante longi da Capo Verde, page 56.

§ Epiſtle 797.

that

that the queſtion could no otherwiſe be ſettled than by the mouths of cannon; Charles V. however, computed that it would be preferable he ſhould accept the offer made him by John III. of Portugal of one hundred and fifty thouſand piſtoles in lieu of all claim; and he conſequently ceded his pretenſions. It is moreover clear that theſe iſlands, placed by Pigafetta between the one hundred and ſixtieth and one hundred and ſeventieth degree weſt of the line of demarcation, are in reality ſituate beyond one hundred and eighty degrees weſt of that line, and that they of courſe, by the bull of Alexander VI., belonged to Portugal. Putting out of queſtion their exact poſition, the King of Spain, ſatisfied that Portugal uſurped a property inherent in himſelf, and already diſpoſed to grant a ſquadron of caravellas * to Eſtefano Gomez for a voyage of diſcovery, confided the command of it to Magellan, who, in order to remove all obſtacles, entruſted one of the veſſels to the pilotage of the ſame Gomez, a confidence which he ſoon had reaſon to repent.

XVI. While this matter was in agitation at the court of Madrid, Antonio Pigafetta, a gentleman of Vicenza, was at Rome, whither all Italians of genius, or who ſought to make their fortunes repaired, eſpecially in the brilliant æra of Leo X. He was of a tolerably noble family, originally from Tuſcany, and probably was the ſon of that Matteo Pigafetta, a doctor and knight, who at ſeveral epochs was employed in the miniſtry of the affairs of his country †. Alike anxious for fame and fortune, he felt inclined to ſeek both in diſtant countries, and even in the new world recently diſcovered by Colon and Americo Veſpucci, and in which a number of Italians had already acquired wealth and renown. He went to Spain in the ſuite of Signor Franceſi Chiericuto, his fellow citizen, who was deputed from Rome as orator or embaſſador to Charles V. in order thence to commence his travels. Every thing ſucceeded with him to the full extent of his wiſhes; and in the epiſtle in which he dedicates his work will be ſeen the manner in which he obtained permiſſion from the Emperor to accompany the ſquadron of Magellan.

XVII. Pigafetta certainly was not very well informed, notwithſtanding the aſſertion of Marzari, a Vicentine hiſtorian, "that he was famous throughout Europe for his ſkill in philoſophy, in the mathematics, and aſtrology ‡;" but he had ſtudied geography

* Caravella was a term given by the Portugueſe, at this time, to veſſels which carried on the trade with India, and is a diminutive of caravan. The ſpices and ſilks of India, as before has been noticed, were formerly conveyed by camels, over-land, from S...arcand, the Gulf of Baſſora, or the Red Sea. For ſecurity's ſake the merchants travelled in large bodies, denominated caravans: as therefore the word caravan was applied to the aſſemblage which brought Indian commodities to the hands of Europeans, the ſhips employed on a ſimilar object, appropriately received the diſtinction Caravellas. ENG. TR.

† Angel Gabrieli de Sta. Maria, Biblioteca e Storia de' ſcrittori Vicentini, vol. iv. p. 1.—I have made ſome enquiries at Vicenza reſpecting the perſon and family of our traveller, but have been able to obtain but little information. In a manuſcript entitled Genealogica Storia delle famiglie nobile Vicentini, vol. ii. it is ſaid he was the ſon of Domitio qm. Antonio and Bartolomea Maroſtica; and that he was elected Juriſconſultus in 1470, which ill accords with the Cavallero Antonio, unleſs indeed his father was the Juriſconſultus. For what regards the Cavallero Antonio, there are only two lines of an epitaph placed in the church of the nuns of St. Dominic by the Cavallero Capra, who inherited the eſtate of Philip Pigafetta. "Philippus Pigafeta—Perigrinandi cupidus, et Antonii gentilis ſui eq. hieroſolim, qui primus terrarum orbem circumiit, gloriæ æmulus, abditiſſimas regiones adivit," etc. His houſe is ſtill viſible at Vicenza in the ſtreet Della-Luna; it is of Gothic architecture, and was built by his family in 1481; but on his return he cauſed the portal to be ornamented by a feſtoon of roſes, and engraved thereon the following words IL · N'EST · ROSE · SANS · ESPINE; having no doubt in view the glory he had acquired by his circumnavigation, and the ſufferings he had undergone. I owe theſe particulars to the Condes Franceſi di Thieni, and Franceſi di San Giovanni, to whom I feel it equally a duty and a pleaſure thus publicly to acknowledge my obligation. FR. TR.

‡ Storia di Vicenza, al' anno 1480.

and aſtronomy ſufficiently to comprehend the uſe of the aſtrolabe, and determine the latitude of a place; he was likewiſe acquainted with the theory of celeſtial phenomena ſufficiently well to make thoſe obſervations of the ſtars by which the variations of the needle are aſcertained, the run of a ſhip is computed, and the longitude found. His knowledge in theſe appendages on the art of navigation will be ſeen in his Treatiſe on Navigation, of which an extract is given at the concluſion of the narrative of his voyage.

XVIII. His anxiety to obtain further knowledge equalled and even ſurpaſſed his acquirements. Of this we have a ſpecimen in the ſtudious attention he paid, during his voyage, to the acquiſition of the idioms of the different nations he viſited, and to forming vocabularies of leſs or greater volume, as circumſtances admitted. He ſought to be an eye-witneſs of every thing himſelf, and had frequent means of gratifying his wiſhes in this reſpect, owing to the private miſſions in which he was ſent to the Kings of the iſlands viſited by the ſquadron. We ſhall in the courſe of his narrative perceive, that he ſcarcely ever failed of making excurſions for the purpoſe of examining the moſt important branches of culture of the different countries; the natural hiſtory of theſe he gives in the beſt manner in his power; not, indeed, with the exactitude of a botaniſt, but with the preciſion of a man of ſenſe. Not contenting himſelf with what he ſaw, he ſought for information reſpecting thoſe countries at which the ſquadron did not touch, by means of thoſe Indians who, of their own accord or by compulſion, were on board the ſquadron. It muſt, at the ſame time, be allowed, that he was deficient of the requiſite knowledge of natural hiſtory and phyſics to be qualified to appreciate duly all he ſaw, and to diſtinguiſh truth amid the fables and falſities related to him; of the inhabitants of the Orellana, for example, and the Amazons, of Pygmies, &c. deſcriptions of whom, given as if he ſeriouſly credited them himſelf, excites one's riſible faculties.

XIX. But though he was not either a ſkilful botaniſt, naturaliſt, or aſtronomer, as are moſt of the navigators of the preſent age, Pigafetta is far from meriting the obloquy thrown on him by M. de Paw, who calls him "a barbarous exaggerator, a credulous and ignorant man, who, with no duty, and with no appointment, ſailed in the Victory *." But again, what value is aſſignable to the obloquy of M. Paw? Does it aſk more than a curſory view of his "Recherches ſur les Americains," to be ſatisfied that he is a writer who, by "hazardous aſſertions, taking them in the moſt favourable light, and without underſtanding what he ſpeaks about," as M. Pernetty juſtly obſerves †, propoſed to himſelf no other object than of writing a book which might be palatable to the ſelf-titled philoſophers of the day, either by the novelty of the deluſive ſyſtem it broaches reſpecting America, or by its ſcandal, and the irreligious ſentiments it contains. Indeed, this author was unacquainted with any other than the wretched extract of the work of Pigafetta, publiſhed by Fabre; yet does he preſume to condemn both the writer and the work itſelf, as if he had ſeen it in its perfect ſtate. It is true, on the other hand, other writers, among which is to be ranked the celebrated Tiraboſchi, thought little of the Voyage of Pigafetta; but this could only ariſe from their having conceived that he wrote nothing but what they had ſeen in Fabre and Ramuſio.

XX. Pigafetta, moreover, is ſpecially deſerving of praiſe, for the care he has ſhewn in noting daily all he ſaw and heard, and all that occurred to himſelf and

* Recherches ſur les Americains, tome i. p. 289.
† Preface a la Diſſertation ſur les Recherches.

his

his companions in the ſquadron; he was furthermore ſo fortunate as never to have been out of condition to write; for, while almoſt the whole of the crew were groaning under tedious maladies, he uninterruptedly enjoyed his health in ſufficient degree to be qualified to make his daily obſervations; hence, when on his return he reached the iſlands of Cape Verd, and enquired the day of the week, he could not be perſuaded that he had loſt a day, owing to his having regularly kept his journal. Pigafetta is not the only one who has felt ſurprize on making the tour of the globe, at having loſt a day; this loſs, which was undoubted, ſeemed at that time ſo inexplicable, ſays Angera *, that it was rather believed that our navigators had not made the tour of the world, until the aſtronomers and Cardinal Contarini demonſtrated that ſuch a loſs was a natural conſequence which muſt happen to all who ſhould circumnavigate the globe, ſailing from eaſt to weſt.

XXI. At the cloſe of three years, ſays Angera †, of two hundred and thirty-ſeven perſons, of whom the equipment conſiſted at its outfit, and of the five veſſels of which the ſquadron conſiſted, but eighteen men and but one veſſel, in a ſhattered and leaky condition, returned to Seville, the place from which they ſailed; of theſe eighteen was Pigafetta. Every one on board the remaining ſhip made a point of relating all that had occurred, and this the more from the diſpoſition of the court of Spain to publiſh the account of a voyage ſo truly important; for before theſe no one had circumnavigated the globe. Pietro Martyr D'Angera, whom we have recently quoted, a member of the council for India affairs, and who had already written an account of the Voyage of Colon ‡, was entruſted to collect all that could be obtained from the wretched remains of the crews. Into his hands probably will have been delivered all the journals which had been preſerved on board the veſſel that returned; but it ſeems, Pigafetta retained that which he had kept, for he himſelf informs us that he went to Valladolid, to preſent himſelf before the Emperor §; and preſumptively, on this occaſion, he tendered him a copy of his journal written by himſelf, reſerving the original notes. To the orders given by the Emperor for D'Angera to write the hiſtory of this expedition, were added the requeſt of Pope Adrian VI. with whom D'Angera was on terms of cloſe intimacy at the time, he having filled the ſtation at court of preceptor to Charles V. D'Angera therefore wrote this hiſtory, and himſelf tells us, that he ſent his manuſcript to Rome to the Pope, who intended to have it printed in the moſt beautiful ſtyle; but this event did not take place until after his death ‖. Ramuſio adds ¶, that this manuſcript was either conſumed by fire, or periſhed on occaſion of the pillage of Rome in 1527.

XXII. The ſame Ramuſio, one of the earlieſt and moſt learned compilers of voyages, adds, on this occaſion, that the memory of an enterprize ſo great would nearly have been entirely loſt, "had not a ſkilful Vicentine gentleman, M. Antonio Pigafetta, given a curious and minute account of it:" of this, as we ſhall preſently

* Epiſt. 770. † Epiſt. 767.

‡ Petri Martyris ob Angleriat De rebus Oceanis et orbe novo.

§ *Parten dome da Seviglia andai a Valladolit, ove apreſentai a la ſacra majeſta de D. Carlo, non oro ne argento ma coſe da eſſere aſſai apreciati da un ſimil Signore. Fra le altre coſe li detti uno libro ſcritto de mia mano, de tutte le coſe paſſate de giorno in giorno nel viaggio noſtro*, pag. 230. On leaving Sevilla I proceeded to Valladolid, where I preſented to His Sacred Majeſty Don Carlos, not indeed gold or ſilver, but things precious in the eyes of ſuch a ſeñor. Among others, I gave to him a book written by myſelf, comprizing a journal of all that occurred in courſe of our voyage.

‖ Epiſt. 797.

¶ Diſcorſo ſopra il Viaggio fatto dagli Spagnuoli intorno il mondo, tom. i. p. 346.

ſee, an extract in French was made, which he himſelf tranſlated into Italian for his collection. Now, this book is ſtill in exiſtence in the Ambroſian library of Milan; and, as it appears, not only has never been publiſhed, but was not even known to thoſe who wrote the hiſtory of this ſurprizing expedition. This work, properly ſpeaking, is not the journal preſented to the Emperor by Pigafetta, but a much more copious narrative, written by himſelf in Italy, in compliance with the requeſt of Clement VII. to whom he went to pay his court, at Monte-roſi, on his return*; and more eſpecially with that of the Grand Maſter of Rhodes, Viilers de Liſle-Adam, whom he frequently addreſſes, even in the body of the narrative. And as in this book Pigafetta conſtantly aſſumes the title of Cavagliero, we muſt conclude that this work was written by him at ſome time poſterior to the 3d of October 1524, the day on which he was inſtalled †. But, if we poſſeſs proofs that this book was not written until ſeveral years after his return, we have likewiſe reaſon for believing that Pigafetta, in writing it, had his original notes before him, for he often uſes the term *oggi* (this day) in copying what he wrote on the day it occurred. Moreover, he would otherwiſe have been unable to have recollected an infinite number of novel objects and extraordinary circumſtances, (which I have ſometimes brought together, but without alteration, in order to give more connection to the work) in purſuing, as he does, the courſe of events according to the time, rather than according to their relation to each other.

XXIII. After having written his book for the Grand Maſter of Rhodes, and after preſenting a copy of it to the Sovereign Pontiff, a copy noticed by Paulus Jovius ‡, he ſent another copy into France to Louiſa of Savoy, regent of the kingdom for her ſon Francis I. (that monarch being then involved in the unfortunate war in Lombardy, in which he was made priſoner, and during which Pigafetta preſented himſelf to him on his return to Italy, and tendered ſome productions of the other hemiſphere). The Queen gave this book to Antoine Fabre, a Pariſian, reputed to be an excellent philoſopher, and ſuppoſed to underſtand Italian, as he had been a long time at Padua; but Fabre, to ſave trouble, merely made an extract, and omitted what, perhaps, he did not underſtand; the remainder was printed in French, with a number of faults §. Notwithſtanding all its faults, Ramuſio, who was deſirous of inſerting this circumnavigation in his grand collection, tranſlated it into Italian, and publiſhed it with two other narratives of leſs importance ‖.

He changed but very few words; abridged the preliminary diſcourſe; ſuppreſſed the number of one hundred and fourteen chapters, into which Fabre divided the work, and added titles to the chapters into which he himſelf divided it. He likewiſe copied the groſſeſt errors; for he tranſlated the word *veilles* by *vele*, which ſignifies guards. See Paragraph XXXIV. of this Introduction.

* See the Dedication.

† See Ruolo generale de' Cav. gieroſoliminis di Fr. Bartolomeo del Pozzo, Torino 1714, where, it is worthy of remark, that the author merely recounts the names, dignities, and employments of the other knights, but in noticing the Cavagliero Pigafetta, after ſtating him to be "Commander of Norſia," he adds, "famous for his voyages in the Indies."

‡ Hiſtoria ſui temporis, lib. xxxiv.

§ Ramuſio, loc. cit.

‖ I firſt conceived Rumuſio to have been the tranſlator, for he expreſſes himſelf in ſuch terms as lead one to infer that it was he who firſt rendered into Italian the Extrait du Voyage de Pigafetta par Fabre, and the letter of Maximilian the Tranſylvanian: but I have ſince found that he did but copy a tranſlation printed at Venice in 1536, in ſmall quarto, under the title, Il Viaggio fatto dagli Spagnuoli atorno il mondo, MDXXXVI. — AMORETTI.

There

There is likewiſe ſome difference in what he ſays of the infibulation of the inhabitants of Zubu, as will be ſeen in the body of the work.

There remains, I ſhould obſerve, that no bibliographer knew of this tranſlation, which our librarian latterly by chance acquired.

XXIV. I have been unable to diſcover what has become of the copies which the author preſented to the other perſonages noticed. The celebrated Preſident Debroſſes, who collected with equal care and intelligence every thing which had tranſpired up to his time relating to the diſcovery of Europeans in the Auſtral regions, in ſpeaking of the narrative of Pigafetta, directly ſtates it to be loſt *. It appears that in the time of Montfaucon this narrative was not in exiſtence among the manuſcripts of the royal library; for in his catalogue † he only gives us the title of the French work, that is to ſay, of the extract of Fabre, and he would, without doubt, have given the Italian title, if he had found the original. Father Angelo-Gabrieli de Sta. Maria, who wrote the literary hiſtory of Vicenza, affirms preremptorily, that there is a copy of it in the Muſæum Saibanti at Verona, and another in the library of the Vatican at Rome; but with reſpect to the firſt part of this aſſertion, there is none in the Saibanti Muſæum, nor ever was, as I am aſſured by my friend M. Delbene, ſecretary of the Italian Society, who took the trouble of examining the catalogues, both ancient and modern, of this muſæum; as to the Vatican, I have juſt received a note from Signor Marina, preſident of the library of the Vatican, in which he informs me, that after every requiſite ſearch, not only did he not find this work among the manuſcripts of that library, but he had been further aſſured, that it was not contained either in the Urbine, Palatine, Ottobonian, or Capponian libraries. It muſt alſo be conjectured that copies of this work were not only very uncommon, but that even the family itſelf of our author did not poſſeſs one, ſince Philip and Mari-Antonio Pigafetta, of whom we have ſpoken in Section XII, and the latter of whom has written a hiſtory of the Eaſt Indies, make no mention of the voyage, nor of the work of their brother Anthony, which renders it fair to preſume it had never been read by them. I ſee by the hiſtory of Caſtagnedar, that this writer had before him a journal of this voyage, on which he ſays the degrees were marked differently from what the Spaniards gave out, in view of extending their pretenſions farther towards the weſt; and Maffei likewiſe informs us that Barros the Spaniard, wrote the hiſtory of the ſame voyage from the narratives and journals of the ſailors. I am ignorant of what has become of the journals which the hiſtorians made uſe of but for certain they never were publiſhed.

XXV. It might be conceived that our manuſcript is that which was preſented by our author to the Grand Maſter of Rhodes; for it is tolerably well written, in a character called at that time Cancelleres co ‡, on good paper, ſmall in folio; the geographical charts are illuminated, and the book itſelf is tolerably well bound. It might alſo be fancied to be that copy preſented to the Pope, according to what Palus-

* Navigations aux Terres Auſtrales, tom. i. p. 121.

† Bibliotheca bibliothecarum, p. 185, b. in bibliotheca regis, No. 10270. There is at preſent in the national library of Paris, two manuſcripts of a French tranſlation, of the Voyage d'Antoine Pigafetta; the one on paper, which appears to be the oldeſt, under the No. 10270; the other on vellum, No. 4537. The laſt comes from the library of La Villiere. They are without date, and are not ſaid to be the tranſlation of Fabre, quoted here by M. Amoretti, and from which they differ even in the title; Navigation et decouvrement de la Indie ſuperieure faite par moy Antoine Pigafetta vicentin, chevallier de Rhodes.

‡ The character thus denominated differs immaterially from that uſed now by lawyers, and termed engroſſing.

Jovius ſays, that Pigafetta (whom by miſtake he denominate Jerome) preſented him, as well in painting as in writing, the moſt remarkable things belonging to the countries he viſited *. Add to this that our learned librarian Saſſi, who in 1712 formed a catalogue of our manuſcripts, wrote againſt the title of this: it is perhaps the original. Yet, notwithſtanding all theſe conjectures, I think our manuſcript is but a copy of thoſe preſented to the illuſtrious perſons of whom I ſpeak, and on theſe grounds do I found my opinion. Firſt, at the title page, and at the head of the Dedicatory Epiſtle I ſee the name of the author written Pigafeta, at the bottom of the letter it is given Pagapheta, and at the end of the Treatiſe on Navigation, Pigaphetta; ſecondly, the manuſcript is ſo defective in orthography, language, ſyntax, and logic, as oftentimes to have no meaning, as will be ſeen by reference to the paſſages I ſhall occaſionally quote in the notes; thirdly, a third part of the volume conſiſts of blank paper, which gives room for conjecture that this copy was deſigned for ſome one who wiſhed to add other matters, and that the Cavallero Pigafetta never even ſaw it; for had he, aſſuredly he would have corrected the groſſer faults, and would not probably have added his Treatiſe on Navigation; or, if he had, he would not have omitted to have given in this laſt work the figure to which he refers the reader, and which does not appear.

XXVI. But, though this manuſcript ſhould not be of the hand-writing of Pigafetta, it is not the leſs valuable; ſince it was, as we ſhall preſently ſee, written in the life-time of that celebrated traveller, and ſince it is authentic, as will be gathered from its accordance with all we know of this voyage, and the countries of which it ſpeaks. This accordance, moreover, is eſpecially diſtinguiſhable in the vocabularies. Indeed the errors themſelves, and the fables contained in the work, prove the authenticity of the writer, who has detailed the relations made to him, and the phenomena he obſerved, as they preſented themſelves to his ſenſes. Finally, this manuſcript is unique. I have been unable to learn whence the Cardinal Frederic Barromeo, (a name ever dear to ſcience,) and above all, thoſe intereſted in the library he founded, obtained this manuſcript. I ſhall merely obſerve, that on the inſide of the cover is written, "Ce livre eſt du Chevalier Forrete:" and, as the hiſtory of Malta informs us, that, at the time of the Grand Maſter Villers De L'Iſle-Adam, and of Pigafetta, there were two knights of Jeruſalem, by name de Forret and de la Foreſt †, it probably belonged to either one or the other of theſe.

XXVII. Now, the tranſlation of this manuſcript is what I am about to publiſh. I have, if ſuch an expreſſion be permitted, tranſlated it into pure Italian, from the original idiom, which is a mixture of Italian, Venetian, and Spaniſh; for, had I publiſhed it as it appears in the manuſcript, inſtead of affording inſtruction and amuſement, this voyage would aſſuredly at once have tired and diſguſted the reader. From the Italian I tranſlated it into French; but in the notes I have frequently given the paſſages in the very manner they occur in the manuſcript. I have made uſe of the ſame names given by the author, in ſpeaking of the new countries he ſaw, pointing out in the notes thoſe by which they are at preſent known. For the ſame reaſon as influenced me in this inſtance, I have left the errors in phyſics and natural hiſtory as I found them in Pigafetta, contenting myſelf with pointing them out to the reader. Certain cuſtoms, which the author relates to have either ſeen himſelf or to have heard related, where the language was too looſe for the preſent age,

* Malta admiranda obſervandaque poſteris picturâ et ſcriptis adnotata depoſuit lococitato.

† Philibert de la Foreſt lived in 1513, and Jean de Forret was in Rhodes when that place was beſieged in 1522. Boſſo, Iſtoria della ſacra religione e ill-s ma milizia Geroſolimitana, part ii.

have

have been clothed in a more decorous garb. I am not ignorant that in the narrative of our traveller uſeleſs things frequently occur; and occaſionally ſome which are inappropriate or ſilly; but I reaſon with the Preſident Debroſſes *, "that one is naturally anxious of knowing in what manner things were regarded by thoſe who ſaw them for the firſt time; and that one ought to ſhew reſpect to the obſervations of the moſt early travellers, though oftentimes their conceptions are but of limited extent †;" and as many celebrated writers have handed down to us, even by extracts, the faults and miſtakes of their authors, I have thought right in publiſhing this voyage to imitate their example.

XXVIII. There remains I ſhould ſpeak of the geographical charts which adorn our manuſcripts. They are in number twenty-one; on theſe Pigafetta has traced South America, and all the iſlands of the Pacific Ocean and of the Eaſt Indies, where our navigators anchored, which they ſaw in paſſing, or which were pointed out to them as laying on the line of their courſe. Theſe charts are coloured; the ſea is blue, the earth the colour of ſoot, the mountains green, and the huts and houſes white. In one of the charts is a pirogue, a boat uſed among thoſe people, carrying two men; and in another is the clove-tree. The charts are very incorrect; but we ſee by them that the author has preſented objects either as they ſtruck or were pointed out to him; on which account he has placed the north on the bottom of the page, and the ſouth at top; ſo that, in order to give to the ſeveral places the poſition commonly given by geographers, they require to be reverſed ‡.

XXIX. To afford an idea of the manner in which Pigafetta deſigned his charts, and to render the whole work more intelligible, I have given two geographical charts, and a view of the Strait of Magellan as laid down by the moderns, thus enabling the reader to compare them with the deſign by the author. The firſt chart is a terreſtrial planiſphere, on which the voyage of Pigafetta is marked by points. In one of the notes of Book II. will be ſeen the data from which it is formed. The ſecond chart preſents, under one point of view, a collection of the charts of the manuſcript, in which our traveller has repreſented the archipelago of the Philippines and the Moluccas, from the Mariana iſlands to that of Timor; and in this alſo I have indicated by dots the courſe which the veſſel purſued between ſo many iſlands, forming as it were a labyrinth in a ſea, which even in the preſent day embarraſſes the navigator. At firſt ſight, the charts of Pigafetta appear to be drawn from fancy, or, at leaſt, to be uſeleſs to navigation, ſeeing there is no relation between one and another, and that the degrees of latitude and longitude are not laid down. But when theſe charts are joined together in the ſucceſſion the author ſpeaks of the iſlands marked in them, it will be ſeen they may be reduced to one; and that Pigafetta, with a preciſion far beyond what could be expected for the time, has been the firſt to furniſh materials for the geography of theſe ſeas. I have myſelf, with much patience, connected theſe charts, reducing their dimenſions, but at the ſame time preſerving as much as poſſible their relative proportions; and have given in one map the whole of this archipelago, omitting only the

* Hiſt. des Voyages aux Terres Auſtrales, tom. i. p. 97. † Tome i. preface.

‡ Other geographers, and eſpecially Ramuſio and Urbano Monti, gave a ſimilar poſition in their charts to the places of which they ſpoke. The latter, whom I ſhall have occaſion frequently to quote, was a Milaneſe gentlemen, who, in 1590, deſigned and cauſed to be engraven a geographical chart which comprizes the whole of the earth known in his time. It is compoſed of ſixty-four ſheets, and theſe forming four elipſoides, ſeem to have been intended to cover a globe. To each ſheet the author affixed a very detailed deſcription of the political, religious, civil, and natural hiſtory of the country there repreſented. The whole work was ready for the preſs, but the plates alone have been publiſhed. This manuſcript is in our library, and is mentioned by Saſſi.

iſlands.

iſlands De los Ladrones, and the Unfortunate Iſlands, owing to their too great diſtance from the others. This chart it is which the reader ſhould keep before him on tracing the courſe of Pigafetta, from the inſtant of his leaving the iſlands De los Ladrones to that at which he enters again upon the Aſiatic ocean, which he terms Laut Chidol, or the Great Sea. The dots will point out the run of the ſhips and the ſpots where they anchored. In order to place the iſlands in their true poſitions, I conſulted the charts of Bellin and Robert, in which they are oftentimes marked under the ſame names, or names differing but immaterially. I am not ignorant that there are ſome errors in this chart, in what regards the poſitions of the iſlands; and that the latitudes and longitudes in which they are placed by the author are ſometimes different from thoſe in which they are laid down; but I likewiſe know that theſe errors are not uncommon even with the navigators and geographers of the preſent day, who have ſo much more ample means to determine poſitions with exactitude. It muſt further be obſerved, that Pigafetta only ſaw a part of the iſlands he deſigned, and that the others were many of them traced from the deſcription of the inhabitants, or Indian pilots, on board his ſhip. In ſhort, he drew ſome of his charts in the ſame manner as Father Cantova in 1722 laid down the Caroline iſlands (ſee the extracts from De Broſſe's Collection of Voyages in the South Seas, in this volume): and as the celebrated Cook has, in our days, traced the iſlands of the South Sea from the relations of the Otaheitan Tupia.

XXX. This method, however inexact, poſſeſſes the precious advantage of the names of the iſlands being indicated by Pigafetta by the names applied to them by the indigenous inhabitants; this is very uſeful in a geographical point of view, as the names of places have frequently become unintelligible, from each navigator, either from ignorance of the proper denomination, from vanity, or to pleaſe his patrons, applying to newly-diſcovered countries the names of ſaints, their kings, friends, and protectors, or of their native country, whence much confuſion and uncertainty are occaſioned, as may be ſeen on caſting an eye over the charts publiſhed in different countries by the people who ſucceſſively formed eſtabliſhments in the iſlands of the South Seas. Oftentimes the difference is only that of pronunciation; and this will not appear extraordinary to thoſe who know that the ſame name pronounced by the ſame perſon has differently ſtruck the ear, and been differently written by the navigators of our time; for example, Meſſrs. de Bougainville, Cook, Anderſon, Foſter, &c. However, to render my author better underſtood, I have joined to the names uſed by him thoſe adopted by other geographers, as well ancient as modern; and theſe, at the ſame time, furniſh an additional proof of the truth of his narrative.

XXXI. With the ſame object of confirming and throwing light on what Pigafetta ſays, I have, in notes, added to the names of the different animals and plants given by our author, thoſe adopted by naturaliſts, chiefly Linnæus. I have alſo endeavoured to rectify the miſtakes which he often makes, eſpecially when ſpeaking of phenomena, either ſeen by himſelf or related to him by others.

XXXII. Pigafetta, as I have already ſaid, endeavoured to form vocabularies of the languages of the new people he viſited; but I have conceived by uniting them at the cloſe of the voyage they will not only be of greater utility, but, while they will be leſs tedious to the reader, will enable him at once to compare them. See the preliminary obſervations at the head of this preface. I ſpeak there alſo of a Treatiſe of Navigation by the ſame author, which follows the deſcription of his voyage. An extract of it is given, and I beſeech the reader to peruſe the preface to it, that he may become ſenſible how intereſting it is, even by its errors, to the hiſtory of aſtronomy and navigation.

XXXIII. After

XXXIII. After what I have ſtated I flatter myſelf my work will be deemed of ſome utility, notwithſtanding we have already a relation of this ſame voyage in ſome collections. All that has yet been known of it, however, has chiefly been taken from the work of Fabre, of whom I have ſpoken in Section XXIII. Now, Fabre has merely given an extract of it; for he ſays himſelf, *Cy finit l'extraict du dit livre, tranſlaté de Italien en François.* "Here terminates the extract of the ſaid book, tranſlated from Italian into French." I ſhall, moreover, add, that the extract he has given is faulty; that he has omitted many things, to ſpare himſelf the trouble of tranſlating them, as Ramuſio very juſtly obſerves; and that he has been guilty of many errors, which are not in the original, as I have already noticed with reſpect to the line of demarcation, Section XIV. I could even cite ſeveral others, which I diſcovered in comparing the extract of Fabre with our manuſcript. I ſhall give one ſpecimen of them in copying the firſt page of this extract.

Le Voyage et Navigation aux Iſles de Molluque, deſcrit et faict de noble homme Anthoine Pigaphetta, Vincentin Chevallier de Rhodes; comence le dict Voyage lan mil cinq cens dix neuf, et de retour mil CCCCCXXII le huytieſme iour de Septembre, &c. &c.

"The Voyage and Navigation to the Iſlands of Molluque, deſcribed and effected by the noble man Anthoine Pigaphetta, Vincentin Knight of Rhodes; the ſaid Voyage begins in the year one thouſand and nineteen, and [the date of the] return [to port] was the 8th of September one thouſand CCCCCXXII."

CHAPTER I. — *The firſt Chapter contains the dedicatory Epiſtle, and how five Ships departed from the Port of Cheville; — The chief Captain was Ferrant Magaglianes; — And of the Signals which the Navigators made by night with Fires before, for all to know what was to be done; — And of the Order of the Ships, and of the Watch kept in them.*

BY comparing this paſſage with the tranſlation given by me to the public it will be ſeen, that Fabre relates in an unintelligible manner, and in a few lines, what Pigafetta has diſtinctly given in a number of pages. Nevertheleſs, I do not aſſume that the extract is curtailed throughout as in the firſt page, but Fabre is generally very conciſe, very obſcure, and ſeldom exact.

Fabre, and after him Ramuſio, divided the work into a number of ſmall chapters; but as no ſuch diviſion appears in the work of our circumnavigator, I ſhall not in this point follow their example. It appears, however, that Pigafetta has ſeparated the parts of his voyage according to the ſtations, and, after his example, I ſhall likewiſe part into four books the tranſlation of it given here, which I truſt will be regarded as a novel, intereſting, and inſtructive work, and one reflecting honour on Italy.

VOYAGE ROUND THE WORLD,

BY THE

CAVALLERO ANTONIO PIGAFETTA, A GENTLEMAN OF VICENZA,

Publiſhed originally in Italian from a Manuſcript in the AMBROSIAN LIBRARY at Milan, with Notes by

CHARLES AMORETTI,

One of the Librarians and Doctors of the Ambroſian College; formerly Secretary of the Patriotic Society of Agriculture and the Arts; one of the XL. of the Italian Society; Member of the Inſtitute of Bologna, &c.

And afterwards tranſlated by him into French.

VOYAGE AND DISCOVERY OF UPPER INDIA,

EFFECTED BY ME

ANTONIO PIGAFETTA,

A Gentleman of Vicenza, and Knight of Rhodes.

DEDICATED TO

THE VERY EXCELLENT AND ILLUSTRIOUS LORD PHILIPPE DE VILLERS LISLE ADAM,

GRAND MASTER OF RHODES.

AS there are men whoſe curioſity would not be ſatisfied with merely hearing related the marvellous things I have ſeen, and the difficulties I experienced in the courſe of the perilous expedition I am about to deſcribe, and who are anxious to know by what means I was enabled to ſurmount them; and as due credit by ſuch would not be given to the ſucceſs of a ſimilar undertaking if they were left ignorant of its moſt minute details, I have deemed it expedient briefly to relate what gave origin to my voyage, and the means by which I was ſo fortunate as to bring it to a ſucceſsful termination.

In the year 1519, I was in Spain at the court of Charles V., King of the Romans*, in company with Signor Chiericato, then apoſtolical prothonotary and orator of Pope Leo X. of holy memory, who by his merits was raiſed to the dignity of Biſhop and Prince of Teramo. Now, as from the books I had read, and from the converſation of the learned men who frequented the houſe of this prelate, I knew that by navigating the ocean wonderful things were to be ſeen; I determined to be convinced of them by my own eyes, that I might be enabled to give to others the narrative of my voyage, as well for their amuſement, as advantage, and at the ſame time acquire a name which ſhould be handed down to poſterity.

An opportunity ſoon preſented itſelf. I learnt that a ſquadron of five veſſels was under equipment at Sevilla, deſtined for the diſcovery of the Molucca iſlands, whence

* Charles V. was elected Emperor the 28th of June 1519; he conſequently was but King of the Romans when Pigafetta repaired to Barcelona.

we

we derive our ſpices; and that Fernandez Magellan, a Portugueſe gentleman, and commander of the order of St. Jago de la Spata, who had already more than once traverſed the ocean with great reputation, was nominated captain-general of the expedition. I therefore immediately repaired to Barcelona, to requeſt permiſſion of His Majeſty to be one on this voyage, which permiſſion was granted. Thence, provided with letters of recommendation, I went by ſea to Malaga, and from that city over-land to Sevilla, where I waited three months before the expedition was in readineſs to ſail.

On my return to Italy, His Holineſs the Sovereign Pontiff Clement VII.*, of whom I had the honour of an audience at Monteroſi, and to whom I related the adventures of my voyage, received me with great kindneſs, and told me I ſhould much oblige him in affording a copy of the journal of my voyage; I conſequently made it a point of duty to ſatisfy, in the beſt manner I was able, the wiſhes of the Holy Father, notwithſtanding the little leiſure my avocations allowed.

I have deſcribed every thing in this book; and to you is it, my Lord, that I preſent it, beſeeching your Lordſhip to peruſe the ſame when the cares of the iſland of Rhodes† will admit of your giving it attention. This, my Lord, is the only reward to which I aſpire, in devoting myſelf entirely to the ſervice of your Lordſhip.

VOYAGE ROUND THE WORLD, BY THE CAVALLERO ANTONIO PIGAFETTA.

BOOK I.

Departure from Sevilla, and thence to leaving the Strait of Magellan.

THE captain-general Fernandez Magellan‡ had reſolved on undertaking a long voyage over the ocean, where the winds blow with violence, and ſtorms are very frequent. He had alſo determined on taking a courſe as yet unexplored by any navigator; but this bold attempt he was cautious of diſcloſing, leſt any one ſhould ſtrive to diſſuade him from it by magnifying the riſk he would have to encounter, and thus diſhearten his crew. To the perils naturally incident on a ſimilar voyage was joined the unfavourable circumſtance of the four other veſſels he commanded beſides his own being under the direction of captains who were inimical to him, merely on account of his being a Portugueſe, they themſelves being Spaniards.

Before his departure he made ſome regulations, as well reſpecting ſignals as the diſcipline of the ſquadron. That the ſhips might conſtantly be kept together, he eſtabliſhed the following rules for the pilots and maſters: his veſſel was conſtantly to

* Of the Houſe of Medici: he was elected Pontiff in 1523, and died in 1534.

† The Turks had juſt rendered themſelves maſters of the iſland of Rhodes, and means were then in agitation for its re-conqueſt, or, otherwiſe, to form another eſtabliſhment for the order of knights of St. John of Jeruſalem. For this latter purpoſe, the Emperor Charles V. ceded Malta to them in 1530; and, in the interim, the Order had eſtabliſhed its ſeat at Viterbo.

‡ Pigafetta writes Magaglianes, the Portugueſe Magalhaens, the Spaniards Magallanes, the French Magellan.—AMORETTI. Each of theſe nations have altered the orthography to preſerve the ſound of his name. The Engliſh, on the contrary, have neither preſerved the ſound nor the original mode of ſpelling of the Portugueſe name, but have adopted the orthography of the French: following the practice of the other nations, if the ſound were preſerved, the name ſhould be written in Engliſh Maghelyong, or Maghelyawnes. ENG. TR.

lead the van; and, in order that the other veſſels ſhould not loſe ſight of it during the night, he had a torch of wood called farol, burning on the poop. If beſides the farol he lighted a lanthorn, or a rope made of ruſhes *, the other veſſels were to do the ſame, that he might be certain of their following him. When he ſhewed two lights without the farol, the veſſels were to alter their courſe, either to make ſlower progreſs, or on account of adverſe winds. When three fires were lighted, it was the ſignal for lowering the bonnet †, a ſail affixed beneath the mainſail in fine weather to accelerate the ſpeed of the ſhip. The bonnet is lowered when a ſtorm is threatened, in order that it may not be in the way of the mariners on reefing the mainſail. If four lights were ſhewn, it was a ſignal to take in all the ſails; but if they were previouſly reefed, theſe fires were a direction for ſetting them. A greater number of lights, or the firing of a few bombards ‡, denoted the approach to land or ſhallows, and, conſequently, that much caution was to be uſed in ſteering. He had alſo another ſignal for caſting anchor.

The night was divided into three watches, the firſt at the beginning of night; the ſecond, called medora, taking place at midnight; and the third towards the morning. The crew in conſequence were formed into three diviſions: the firſt watch was under the orders of the captain; the pilot commanded the ſecond, and the maſter the third. The commander in chief enforced the moſt rigid diſcipline, the better to ſecure ſucceſs to the voyage.

Monday morning the 10th Auguſt 1519, the ſquadron having every thing requiſite on board, and a complement of two hundred and thirty-ſeven men, its departure was announced by a diſcharge of artillery, and the foreſail was ſet. We dropped down the river Betis to the bridge of Guadalquivir, paſſing near Juan d'Alfaraz, formerly a thickly-peopled city belonging to the Moors, where there was a bridge, of which no veſtige now remains but two piers, which are yet ſtanding in the river below the ſurface, and which muſt be guarded againſt; indeed, in order to run no hazard, this part ſhould not be navigated without pilots on board, and but at high water.

Continuing to deſcend the Betis we paſſed by Coria, and ſeveral other villages to San Lucar, a caſtle belonging to the Duke of Medina Sidonia. Here is the port which opens on the ocean, ten leagues diſtant from Cape St. Vincent, in thirty-ſeven degrees of latitude north. From Sevilla to this port the diſtance is ſeventeen to twenty leagues §.

Some days after the commander in chief, and the captains of the other veſſels, arrived in boats at San Lucar from Sevilla; and the ſtock of proviſions was completed. Every morning we landed to hear maſs in the church of N. D. de Barrameda; and

* This kind of rope is called in Spaniſh ſtrenghe, and is made of a ſpecies of eſparto, which is firſt well ſoaked in water and afterwards dried in the ſun or in ſmoak; it is well adapted for the object in view. AMOR.

† In order the better to explain certain ſea-terms but little underſtood, the figure of the ſhip B, in a plate annexed is given. This figure is copied from a drawing in one of the charts of Monti, with this inſcription: *Nave Vittoria ſu cui il cav. Pigafetta feci il giro del globo.* A is the mizen-maſt, B the main-maſt, C the gallery for the centinel on the look-out, D the foremaſt, E the poop, F the forecaſtle. G the anchor, H the bonnet, or ſtayſail, which then was placed under the mainſail, but which now is fixed on the ſide. AMOR.

‡ Pigafetta conſtantly uſes the term bombards; but it is well known that, at this time, the denomination of bombards was given to cannon, and that cannon were oftentimes loaded with ſtones in lieu of ſhot. AMOR.

§ The league uſed by our author is that of fifteen to the degree of latitude, as will more diſtinctly be ſeen as we proceed.—AMOR. It is equal to 4.64 Engliſh miles and decimals. ENG. TR.

before

before we ſailed the commodore obliged every man to go to confeſſion; he alſo ſtrictly forbade any woman being taken on board.

The 20th September we ſailed from San Lucar, ſteering towards the ſouth-weſt, and on the 26th reached one of the Canary iſlands called Teneriffe, ſituate in twenty-eight degrees of latitude north. We ſtopped here for three days, at a ſpot where we could take in wood and water: afterwards we entered a port of the ſame iſland called Monte Roſſo, where we paſſed two days.

A ſingular phenomenon was related to us reſpecting this iſland; viz. that it never rains here, and that it has neither ſpring nor river, but that it produces a large tree, the leaves of which continually diſtil excellent water; this is collected in a pit at the foot of the tree, and hither the inhabitants go for what water they want, and all the animals tame and wild to quench their thirſt. This tree is perpetually encircled by a thick miſt which doubtleſs ſupplies its leaves with water *.

On Monday 3d October we made ſail directly towards the ſouth. We paſſed between Cape Verd and its iſlands in latitude fourteen degrees thirty minutes north. After coaſting along the ſhores of Guinea for ſeveral days we arrived in latitude eight degrees north, where is a mountain called Sierra Leona. We here experienced contrary winds, or dead calms with rain, which continued to the equinoctial line; the duration of the rainy weather was ſixty days, a circumſtance that controverts the hypotheſis of the ancients †.

In latitude fourteen degrees north we experienced very impetuous ſqualls, which, joined to the currents, prevented our advancing. On the approach of theſe ſqualls we had the precaution of taking in our ſails, and laid to until the wind abated.

In clear and calm weather, large fiſh called tiburoni (ſharks) ſwam about our veſſel. Theſe fiſh have ſeveral rows of frightful teeth; and if unhappily they chance to meet with a man in the ſea they inſtantly devour him. We caught ſeveral with iron hooks; the large ones are by no means good to eat, and the ſmaller are but of little eſteem ‡.

In ſtormy weather we frequently ſaw what is called the corpo ſanto, or St. Elme. On one very dark night it appeared to us like a brilliant flambeau on the ſummit of a large tree, and thus remained for the ſpace of two hours, which was a matter of great conſolation to us during the tempeſt. At the inſtant of its diſappearing, it diffuſed

* This is a tale of ancient date. The learned pretend that this iſland is the Pluvialis, or Cimbrion, mentioned by Pliny, (lib vi. c 37.) and placed by him among the Canaries: he ſays that in the firſt rain-water only is drunk, and that in the ſecond it never rains; but that the inhabitants collect the water which diſtils from the branches of a tree. Later navigators who have viſited the iſland, ſay nothing of this phenomenon. AMOR. The tree is affirmed to have had exiſtence by Bory de St. Vincent, on reſpectable authority. ENG. TR.

† The ancients imagined that no rain fell between the tropics, and conſequently deemed this region uninhabitable. AMOR. For ſome entirely novel, valuable, and ingenious remarks reſpecting the influence of the ſun on the equatorial region, ſee the termination of Chap. III. of a Voyage of Diſcovery to the Southern Iſlands, in this collection of voyages. ENG. TR.

‡ There are many ſpecies of ſharks. The celebrated Spallanzani, lately loſt to the univerſity of Padua, is the naturaliſt, who of all others has beſt deſcribed this fiſh, eſpecially as to what reſpects its form, its habits, and the uſe of its teeth. (Viaggi alle due Sicilie, tom iv.) We have in the muſeum of our library the head of a ſhark, the mouth of which, when open, meaſures two feet perpendicular; it has five rows of teeth, and each tooth is an inch and a half in length, from which we may conclude how large the animal muſt have been to which it belonged. It is probable Septala found the teeth he mentions in the hills of Tortona (ſee Muſ. Sept. p. 225.), where I myſelf diſcovered ſome at the period of rebuilding the caſtle. AMOR.

ſuch

ſuch a reſplendent blaze of light as almoſt blinded us. We gave ourſelves up for loſt; but the wind ceaſed momentaneouſly *.

We ſaw birds of many kinds. Some appeared to us to have no rump; others make no neſts for want of feet; but the female lays and hatches her eggs on the back of the male in the midſt of the ſea †. There are others called cagaſſela, or caca uccello (ſtercorarius), which live on the excrements of other birds; and I have myſelf oftentimes ſeen one of theſe birds purſuing another without interruption until it voided its excrement, upon which it ſeized with avidity ‡. I likewiſe ſaw many flying-fiſh, and other fiſh in ſuch amazing ſhoals, they reſembled a bank in the ſea.

After we had paſſed the equinoctial line, we loſt ſight of the polar ſtar. We then ſteered ſouth-ſouth-weſt, making for the Terra di Verzino ‖ (Brazil), in latitude twenty-three degrees thirty minutes ſouth. This land is a continuation of that on which Cape Auguſtin is ſituate in latitude eight degrees thirty minutes ſouth.

Here we laid in a good ſtock of fowls, potatoes, a kind of fruit which reſembles the cone of a pine-tree (the anana or pine-apple), but which is very ſweet, and of an exquiſite flavour, ſweet reeds §, the fleſh of the anta, which reſembles that of a cow ¶, &c. We made excellent bargains here: for a hook or a knife we purchaſed five or ſix fowls; a comb brought us two geeſe; and a ſmall looking-glaſs, or a pair of ſciſſars, as much fiſh as would ſerve ten people; the inhabitants, for a little bell or a ribbon, gave a baſket of potatoes (patates **), which is the name they give to roots ſomewhat reſembling our turnips, and which are nearly like cheſnuts in taſte. Our playing-cards were an equally advantageous object of barter; for a king of ſpades I obtained half a dozen fowls, and the hawker even deemed his bargain an excellent one.

* In all ages theſe meteors have been perceived on the tops of maſts during the prevalence of ſtorms, and they have likewiſe conſtantly been regarded as ſymbols of the protection of heaven. Idolators fancied them to be Caſtor and Pollux; and Chriſtians have reckoned them to be ſaints, eſpecially St. Elme. When the number of meteors has equalled that of the maſts, they have obtained credit as repreſenting beſides St. Elme, St. Nicholas and St. Clare. The Engliſh ſailors, who ridicule the idea of their being ſaints, yet regard them as Will o'the Wiſps, or ſpirits, and call them Davy Jones. It is merely within the laſt century that naturaliſts have diſcovered them to be an effect of the electric fluid, which, being ſometimes more and ſometimes leſs abundant, ſometimes poſitive and ſometimes negative, appears more or leſs vivid; and, as this fluid is the cauſe of the ſtorm, it is natural that that ſhould ceaſe at the inſtant the electricity becomes no longer viſible in theſe lights on the top of the maſts. Thus is a phyſical cauſe aſſigned for theſe phenomena, which Pigafetta frequently mentions.

† It was anciently imagined that the bird of paradiſe, of which more elaborate mention will be made in Book III. had no feet, and conſtructed no neſts; and that the female hatched her eggs on the back of the male: but here the author ſpeaks of another aquatic fowl with legs covered with feathers, but ſo ſhort as to ſeem deſtitute of them; and, although this bird builds its neſts on ſhore, the mother bears its young to ſea on its back almoſt as ſoon as hatched. Of theſe birds M. de Bougainville ſaw ſeveral at the Falkland Iſlands.

‡ The ſtercorarius, larus paraſitus, Linn. is a bird of prey, which not being amphibious, awaits in order to obtain fiſh the inſtant of thoſe leaving the ſea who dive for their prey; they then attack and purſue the latter until they force them to drop the fiſh they have taken. This prey which they let fall it is that has been miſtaken for excrement.

‖ Verzino, or Braſil wood, is the name given to a red wood formerly drawn from Aſia and Africa, and which at preſent is almoſt excluſively imported from the Brazils, a kingdom to which this name has been given on account of the abundance in it of this kind of tree. Amerigo Veſpucci, who was here in 1502, when he gave his name to America, ſaid that he found here *infinito verzino, e molte buono*, Bartolozzi, Ricerche Storiche ſulle Scoperte d'Amerigo Veſpucci.

§ The ſugar-cane, arundo ſaccharifera. Linn.

¶ The anta is the tapir Americanus of Linné. A ſpecies of large ſwine.

** The patate, or batate, fortunately needs no deſcription; it is the ſolanum, or hiliotropium tuberoſum of Linné.

We

We entered this port* on St. Lucy's day the 13th of December. The ſun at noon was vertical, and we ſuffered much more from the heat than on paſſing the line.

The land of Brazil, which abounds in all kinds of productions, is as extenſive as Spain, France, and Italy united: it belongs to Portugal.

The Brazilians are not Chriſtians; ſtill they are not idolaters, for they worſhip nothing; natural inſtinct is the only law they acknowledge. They are very long lived, for they generally reach a hundred and five, and ſometimes a hundred and forty†. They go entirely naked, the women as well as the men. Their houſes are long cabins, termed by them boi, and they lie on nets of cotton, called hamaks‡, faſtened by the two extremities to two ſtrong poſts. Their hearths are on the ground. One of theſe bois ſometimes contains a hundred men, with their wives and children; there is conſequently always much noiſe in them. Their boats, which they call canoes, are formed of the trunk of a tree, hollowed by means of a ſharp ſtone; for ſtone is their ſubſtitute for iron, of which they are deſtitute. Theſe trees are ſo large that a ſingle canoe is capable of containing thirty or even forty perſons, who paddle with oars ſimilar to bakers' ſhovels. On ſeeing them ſo black, naked, dirty, and bald, one might miſtake them eaſily for Charon's ferrymen.

The men and women are well made, and formed as we are. They ſometimes eat human fleſh; but only that of their enemies. It is neither from want or inclination they follow this practice, but owing to a cuſtom the origin of which they thus relate. An old woman had but one ſon, who was killed by the enemy. Shortly after the murderer of her ſon was taken priſoner, and brought before her: full of revenge the mother flew upon him like a beaſt of prey, and tore away part of his ſhoulder with her teeth. This man had the good fortune not only to eſcape from the woman, but to rejoin his own people, to whom he exhibited the print of teeth on his ſhoulder, and whom he made believe (what perhaps he himſelf fancied to be the caſe) that the enemy were diſpoſed to devour him alive. That they might not be inferior in cruelty to the others, theſe reſolved on really devouring the enemies they might take in battle, and thoſe again retaliated. Still they do not devour their priſoners at the inſtant, nor while alive; they cut them in pieces and divide the parts among the conquerors. Each individual carries away with him his allotment, dries it in ſmoke, and every eighth day cooks a ſmall portion. This fact I learn from Johan Carvajo§, our pilot, who paſſed four years in the Brazils.

The Brazilians paint their bodies, and eſpecially their faces, in a ſtrange manner, and in different figures, the men as well as the women. They have ſhort and woolly hair on the head, but none on any other part of the body, for they root it out‖. They have a veſt made of the interwoven feathers of the parrot, and ſo arranged that the large quills of the pinions and tail form a circle round their loins, which gives them a whimſical and ridiculous appearance. Almoſt all the men have the lower lip pierced with three holes through which they run a cylindrical ſtone, very narrow and

* Now called Rio Janeiro.

† Veſpucci relates the ſame: he likewiſe notices how, by means of pebbles, they computed their age; and the proofs they gave of their longevity, by preſenting to him the ſon, grandſon, great-grandſon, and the grandſon's grandſon, ſtill living. Lettere di Amer. Veſp. Bartolozzi, loco citato.

‡ Whence evidently our word hammock. ENG. TR.

§ In our manuſcript he is ſometimes called Carnaio, at others Caruaio; it cannot however be doubted, but he is the individual Johan Carvallhos, of whom Caſtagneda and other writers of that time make mention.

‖ Many barbarous nations follow the ſame practice even now, making uſe for the purpoſe of bivalve ſhells in lieu of pincers.

about two inches long. Women and children do not wear this incommodious ornament *. Add to this, the front of their bodies is perfectly uncovered. Their colour is more an olive than a black. Their King is called a Cacique.

The country produces an immenſe number of parrots, ſo many indeed that a ſmall mirror will purchaſe eight or ten. They have likewiſe very handſome monkeys of a yellow colour, and reſembling ſmall lions †.

The inhabitants eat white bread made into a round ſhape, but which we did not fancy. It is made with the pith, or rather the epidermis of a certain tree ‡, which has much reſemblance to curdled milk. They likewiſe have hogs, which ſeemed to us to have their navel on the back §; and large birds, the beak of which reſembles a ſpoon, but which are without tongues ‖.

Occaſionally, for a hatchet or cutlaſs, they offered us one or more of their young daughters ¶, but never their wives; nor indeed would theſe conſent to have connection with any but their huſbands; for notwithſtanding the freedom allowed to unmarried girls, when married ſo great is their modeſty that they never ſubmit to the embraces even of thoſe to whom they are eſpouſed but under the veil of night. They are ſubject to the moſt laborious toil, and often are they ſeen deſcending from the mountains, with baſkets on their head, very heavy laden; never however do they go alone, their huſbands, who are highly jealous, conſtantly accompanying them, the bow in one hand and arrows in the other. The bow is made of Brazil wood, or the black palm. If the women chance to have young children they hang them in a net of cotton, which is ſuſpended from the neck. I could relate much more reſpecting their manners, but to avoid prolixity I paſs over the reſt.

Theſe people are exceeding credulous and well inclined, whence their converſion to Chriſtianity would be no difficult taſk. As chance would have, we excited reſpect and veneration. A great drought had long prevailed in the country, and as rain fell on our arrival, they attributed it to our coming. When we landed to ſay maſs they liſtened with ſilence and an air of inquiry; and ſeeing us unſhip our boats which hung from the ſides, or which followed the ſhips, they imagined them to be the children of the veſſels, and theſe the mothers who gave them ſuſtenance.

* Veſpucci (Lettera al Confalon. Soderini in Ramuſio, tomo i. p. 131.) likewiſe ſaw theſe cylinders in uſe with the inhabitants of Brazil; Cook alſo noticed them among the Californians, and Stedman with the inhabitants of Surinam. Keate, in his account of the Pelew Iſlands, conceives theſe cylinders to have been originally formed of odoriferous wood; and that they were run through the cartilage of the noſe that the wearers of them might conſtantly enjoy a fragrant ſmell.

† This monkey is the aquiqui. Hiſt. Gener. de Voy. tome xx. p. 552. AMOR. It is called alſo the king monkey, is the link between the ape and baboon, and has a large beard ſo well faſhioned as to ſeem as if trimmed by the barber. It is heard at a great diſtance; and when it chatters, uſes ſo much exertion as to foam at the mouth. Bomare. ENG. TR.

‡ All who have navigated towards the ſouth ſpeak of ſago, which is the pith of a ſpecies of palm called the cabbage-palm. Stedman's Voyage to Surinam.

§ This hog is the pecari or tajaſſu; it has a kind of purſe or odoriferous gland on the back near the rump, which has a ſlit in it, two or three lines in length, but upwards of an inch in depth, from which exudes an odoriferous liquor. This animal is gregarious, like the genus of which it is a ſingular variety, and even its young, although capable of becoming domeſticated, are never made familiar. On killing the animal the purſe on the back and the teſticles are inſtantly cut away, as otherwiſe, in leſs than half an hour the meat would be ſpoiled, and unfit to eat. Bomare. ENG. TR. (Sus dorſo ciſtifero. Linn.)

‖ Spatulæ, a kind of duck found in parts of Europe. (It is the anas roſtro plano ad verticem dilatato. Linn.)

¶ This ſtrange practice is common with all the inhabitants of the South Sea. (Cook's Second Voyage, book v.)

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The captain-general and myſelf were one day preſent at a ſingular incident. The young girls frequently came on board to barter their favours with the crew; one of the moſt handſome among them on this occaſion made a viſit with this intention to our veſſel; but perceiving a nail about as long as my finger, and thinking herſelf unobſerved, ſhe ſeized it, and choſe a ſingular place for its concealment. Was it truly for the purpoſe of concealment; or was it for decoration ſake? This we could never learn *.

We ſtayed thirteen days at this port; after which, reſuming our courſe, we coaſted along this country as far as thirty-four degrees forty minutes ſouth where we found a large river of freſh water. Here it is that cannibals reſide, or anthropophagi. One of them of gigantic ſize, and whoſe voice was loud as the bellowing of a bull, approached our veſſel for the purpoſe of enheartening his comrades, who, apprehenſive of injury from us, were withdrawing from the coaſt, and retiring with their effects to the interior. That we might not loſe the opportunity afforded of ſeeing them at hand, and converſing with them, we landed about a hundred of our men, and purſued them with an intention of catching one or another of the party: but they made ſuch huge ſtrides that even though we ran and jumped we were unable to cover any thing like a ſimilar ſpace.

This river contains ſeven ſmall iſlands: in the largeſt called Sta. Maria, precious ſtones are found. It was formerly imagined that this was not a river, but a channel which communicated with the South Sea; but it was ſhortly found to be truly a river, which at its mouth is ſeventeen leagues acroſs. Here John de Solis, while on a voyage of diſcovery like us, was with ſixty of his crew devoured by cannibals, in whom they placed too great confidence.

Coaſting conſtantly along this land towards the antarctic pole, we ſtopped at two iſlands †, which we found peopled by geeſe and ſea-wolves alone. The former are ſo numerous and ſo little wild that we caught a ſufficient ſtore for the five ſhips in the ſpace of a ſingle hour. They are black, and ſeem to be covered alike over every part of the body, with ſhort feathers, without having wings with which to fly; in fact they cannot fly, and live entirely on fiſh: they are ſo fat that we were obliged to ſinge them, as we could not pluck their feathers. Their beak is curved like a horn.

The ſea-wolves are of different colour, and nearly of the ſize of a calf, with a head much like the head of that animal. Their ears are round and ſhort, and their teeth very long. They have no legs; and their paws, which adhere to the body, ſomewhat reſemble our hands, having alſo ſmall nails. They are, however, web-footed like a duck. Were theſe animals capable of running they would be much to be dreaded for they ſeem very ferocious. They ſwim with great ſwiftneſs, and ſubſiſt on fiſh.

We experienced a dreadful ſtorm between theſe iſlands, during which the lights of St. Elme, St. Nicholas, and St. Clare were oftentimes perceived at the tops of the maſts; inſtantly as they diſappeared the fury of the tempeſt abated.

* In Fabre and Ramuſio this incident is not mentioned, but inſtead it is ſaid that at the inſtant the veſſels approached the ſhore they landed ſome pregnant ſlaves who were on board, and who left the ſhip by themſelves, were their own midwives, and brought back the new born in their arms to the ſhips. Pigafetta mentions no ſuch matter; nor does it wear the leaſt appearance of probability. We have ſeen in the beginning of the chapter that Magellan gave the ſtricteſt orders that no woman whatever ſhould be taken on board.

† They ſtopped at Port Deſirè, where are two iſlands, one called the Iſle of Penguins, the other the Iſle of Lions. Pigafetta calls the former geeſe, the latter wolves. The one is the aptenodita demerſa, Linn.; the other the phocas urſina, Linn. commonly called ſeals, or ſea-dogs.

On leaving theſe iſlands to continue our courſe, we aſcended as high as forty-nine degrees thirty minutes ſouth where we diſcovered an excellent port; and as winter approached (the month was May), we thought beſt to take ſhelter here during the bad weather.

Two months elapſed without our perceiving any inhabitant of the country. One day when the leaſt we expected any thing of the kind, a man of gigantic figure preſented himſelf before us. He capered almoſt naked on the ſands, and was ſinging and dancing, at the ſame time caſting duſt on his head *. The captain ſent one of our ſeamen on ſhore, with orders to make ſimilar geſtures as a token of friendſhip and peace, which were well underſtood, and the giant ſuffered himſelf to be quietly led to a ſmall iſland where the captain had landed. I likewiſe went on ſhore there with many others. He teſtified great ſurpriſe on ſeeing us; and, holding up his finger, undoubtedly ſignified to us that he thought us deſcended from heaven.

This man was of ſuch immenſe ſtature that our heads ſcarcely reached to his waiſt †. He was of handſome appearance, his face broad and painted red, except a rim of yellow round his eyes, and two ſpots in ſhape of a heart on his cheeks. His hair, which was thin, appeared whitened with ſome kind of powder. His coat, or rather his cloak, was made of furs, well ſewed together, taken from an animal which, as we had afterwards an opportunity of ſeeing, abounds in this country. This animal has the head and ears of a mule, the body of a camel, the legs of a ſtag, and the tail

* The inhabitants of the iſlands of the South Seas caſt water on their heads in token of peace. Cook's Second Voyage, book iii.

† M. de Paw, of whom I have ſpoken in the Introduction, (Par. XIX.) that he might ſupport his ſyſtem reſpecting America, which he pretends is a country newly emerged from the water, where nature is in a degraded ſtate, is unwilling to admit the exiſtence of theſe Patagonian giants, as they would militate againſt his ſyſtem: he ſays that Pigafetta had a wrong view of theſe men, and added much to their natural dimenſions in order that he might have miracles to relate. M. de Paw certainly is not equally worthy of credit with Pigafetta, who was an ocular witneſs, and always faithful and worthy of reliance, where what he himſelf has ſeen is a matter in diſcuſſion. As he found the Brazilians of the common form and ſtature, he ſays, "Sono diſpoſti homini e femine como noi." Hence, when he aſſures us that the Patagonians were giants, there is reaſon to believe they appeared to him to be of gigantic ſtature. It cannot reaſonably be imagined that he was miſtaken, for he lived with them a length of time, compared their dimenſions with his own, frequently converſed with them, learnt many words of their language, and was aſtoniſhed at their voice, their weight, their ſtrength, and the amazing quantity of food and drink they conſumed; ſo that every thing correſponded with their bulk. Theſe are the preciſe words of our traveller: "Veni uno della ſtatura caſi como uno gigante nella nave capitania. Haveva una voce ſimile a uno toro. Fugendo facevano tanto gran paſſo, che noi ſaltando non potevano avanzare li ſuoi paſſi. Venni uno huomo de ſtatura de gigante. Queſto era tanto grande che li davamo alla cintura, e ben diſpoſto, haveva la faza grande et depinta. Certamente queſti giganti coreno piu che cavalli. Ognuno di li duo che pigliaſſemo mangiava una ſporta de beſcoto, et beveva in una fiata mezo ſecchio de hacqua et mangiava li ſorgi ſenza ſcorticarli." I might nevertheleſs allow M. de Paw to entertain his doubts reſpecting the aſſertions of our author, were they not confirmed by other travellers. The celebrated Preſident Debroſſes (Navig. aux Terres Auſtrales, tome ii. p. 324,) has collected the teſtimony of all who have ſeen Patagonians, and who have ſpoken of them as men of extraordinary ſize. The navigators who have touched at this country ſince the appearance of his work, Byron, Wallis, Carteret, Cook, and Forſter, have all of them confirmed his opinion, after well examining this monſtrous race, on the exiſtence of which much doubt was entertained. It is true that Winter, and Narborough, and finally M. Bougainville, ſay, that the Patagonians are but ſix feet and a half in height; but is their negative aſſertion to be placed in competition with ſo many poſitive witneſſes who ſpeak of what they have ſeen, examined, and meaſured? Mr. Deſbroſſes has obſerved that theſe different teſtimonies may be reconciled notwithſtanding their apparent contradiction. The inhabitants of the moſt ſouthern coaſts of America are not commonly of gigantic ſtature, but individuals of certain tribes may be of this unuſual height. As they do not conſtantly inhabit the ſame ſpot, it will have happened that ſome navigators ſhall not have ſeen them. Pigafetta, who did ſee them, was able to ſpeak on the ſubject.

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of a horſe; and like this laſt animal, it neighs *. This man likewiſe wore a ſort of ſhoe, made of the ſame ſkin †. He held in his left hand a ſhort and maſſive bow, the ſtring of which, ſomewhat thicker than that of a lute, was made of the inteſtines of the ſame animal; in the other hand he held arrows, made of ſhort reeds, with feathers at one end, ſimilar to ours, and at the other, inſtead of iron, a white and black flint ſtone. With the ſame ſtone they likewiſe form inſtruments to work wood with.

The captain-general gave him victuals and drink, and among other trifles preſented him with a large ſteel mirror. The giant, who had not the leaſt conception of this trinket, and who ſaw his likeneſs, now, perhaps, for the firſt time, ſtarted back in ſo much fright, as to knock down four of our men who happened to ſtand behind him. We gave him ſome little bells, a ſmall looking-glaſs, a comb, and ſome glaſs beads; after which he was ſet on ſhore, accompanied by four men well armed.

His comrade, who had objected to coming on board the ſhip, ſeeing him return, ran to adviſe his comrades, who perceiving that our armed men advanced towards them, ranged themſelves in file without arms, and almoſt naked: they immediately began dancing and ſinging, in the courſe of which they raiſed the fore-finger to heaven, to make us comprehend that it was thence they reckoned us to have deſcended. They at the ſame time ſhewed us a white powder, in clay pans, and preſented it to us, having nothing elſe to offer us to eat; our people invited them by ſigns to come on board our ſhip, and proffered to carry on board with them whatever they might wiſh. They accepted the invitation; but the men, who merely carried a bow and arrow, loaded every thing on the women, as if they had been ſo many beaſts of burthen ‡.

The women are not of equal ſize with the men, but in recompenſe they are much more luſty. Their breaſts, which hang down, are more than a foot in length; they paint, and dreſs in the ſame manner as their huſbands, but they have a thin ſkin of ſome animal, with which they cover their nudity. They were, in our contemplation, far from handſome, nevertheleſs their huſbands ſeemed very jealous.

The women led four of the animals, of which I have previouſly ſpoken, in a ſtring, but they were young ones. They make uſe of theſe young to catch the old ones: they faſten them to a tree, the old ones come to play with them, when from their concealment the men kill them with their arrows. The inhabitants of the country, both men and women, being invited by our people to repair to the vicinage of the ſhips, divided themſelves into two parties, one on each ſide the port, and diverted us with an exhibition of the mode of hunting before recited.

Six days afterwards, while our people were employed in felling wood for the ſhips, they ſaw another giant, dreſſed like thoſe we had parted with, and like them armed with a bow and arrow. On approaching our people he touched his head and body, afterwards raiſing his hands to heaven, geſtures which the men imitated. The captain-general, informed of this circumſtance, ſent the ſkiff on ſhore, to conduct him to the iſlet, in

* This animal is the guanaco (camelus huanacus, Linn.), of which genus naturaliſts eſteem the lama and vicuña, a ſpecies of camel, or rather ſheep, well known from its valuable fleece. The deſcription given of this animal by the author perfectly correſponds with the guanaco; and all travellers relate that the Patagonians are clothed in its ſkin. We have, in our muſæum, a leg of this animal, which exactly correſponds with the deſcription given of it by Buffon. (Supplem. tom. vi. p. 204). This leg is one foot ten inches long, though cut off below the knee.

† It is on account of this ſhoe, which made the feet of this man reſemble the foot of a bear, that Magallan called this people Patagonians. See DEBRY, Americæ, lib. iv. p. 66.

‡ It is an obſervation generally made in all countries, and in all ages, that women are treated in proportion to civilization, well or ill, and moſt coarſely where the leaſt civilization exiſts.

the port, on which a houſe had been erected, to ſerve as a forge, and a magazine for different articles of merchandize.

This man was of higher ſtature, and better made than the others; he was moreover of gentler manners; he danced and ſprang ſo high, and with ſuch might, that his feet ſunk ſeveral inches deep into the ſand; he remained with us ſome days; we taught him to pronounce the name of Jeſus, to ſay the Lord's Prayer, &c. which he did with equal eaſe with ourſelves, but in a much ſtronger tone of voice. Finally, we baptiſed him by the name of John; the captain-general made him a preſent of a ſhirt, a veſt, cloth drawers, a cap, a looking-glaſs, comb, ſome little bells, and other trifling things: he returned towards his own people, apparently well contented. The next day he brought us one of the large animals, of which we have made mention, and received other preſents to induce him to repeat his gift; but from that day we ſaw nothing of him, and ſuſpected his companions had killed him on account of his attachment to us. At the end of a fortnight four other of theſe men repaired to us; they were without arms, but we afterwards found they had concealed them behind ſome buſhes, where they were pointed out to us by two of the party, whom we detained. They were all of them painted, but in a different manner to thoſe we had ſeen before.

The captain wiſhed to keep the two youngeſt, who, as well, were of handſomeſt form, to carry them with us on our voyage, and even take them to Spain; but, aware of the difficulty of ſecuring them by forcible means, he made uſe of the following artifice. He preſented them a number of knives, mirrors, glaſs-beads, &c. ſo that both their hands were full; he afterwards offered them two of thoſe iron rings uſed for chaining felons, and when he ſaw their anxiety to be poſſeſſed of them (for they are paſſionately fond of iron), and moreover, that they could not hold them in their hands, he propoſed to faſten them to their legs, that they might more eaſily carry them home, to which they conſented; upon this our people put on the irons and faſtened the rings, by which means they were ſecurely chained. As ſoon as they became aware of the treachery uſed towards them they were violently enraged, and puffed and roared aloud, invoking Setebos, their chief demon, to come to their aſſiſtance.

Not content with having theſe men, the captain was anxious of ſecuring their wives alſo, in order to tranſport a race of giants to Europe: with this view he ordered the two others to be arreſted, to oblige them to conduct our people to the ſpot where they were; nine of our ſtrongeſt men were ſcarcely able to caſt them to the ground, and bind them, and ſtill even one of them ſucceeded in freeing himſelf, while the other exerted himſelf ſo much that he received a ſlight wound in the head from one of the men; but they were in the end obliged to ſhow our people the way to the abode of the wives of our two priſoners. Theſe women, on learning what had happened to their huſbands, made ſuch loud outcries as to be heard at a great diſtance. Johan Carvajo, the pilot, who was at the head of our people, as night was drawing on, did not chooſe to bring away at that time the women to whoſe houſe he had been conducted, but remained there till morning, keeping a good guard. In the mean time came there two other men, who without expreſſing any diſſatisfaction or ſurpriſe, continued all night in the hut; but ſoon as dawn began to break, upon ſaying a few words, in an inſtant every one took to flight, man, woman, and child; the children even ſcampering away with greater ſpeed than the reſt. They abandoned their hut to us, and all that it contained; in the mean time one of the men drove off, to a diſtance, the little animals which they uſed in hunting; while another, concealed behind

behind a buſh, wounded one of our men in the thigh, who died immediately *. Though our people fired on the runaways, they were unable to hit any, on account of their not eſcaping in a ſtraight line, but leaping from one ſide to another, and getting on as ſwiftly as horſes at a full gallop. Our people burned the hut of theſe ſavages, and buried their dead companion.

Savage as they are, theſe Indians are yet not without their medicaments. When they have a pain in the ſtomach, for example, in lieu of an operative medicine, they thruſt an arrow pretty deeply down the throat, to excite a vomit, and throw up a matter of a greeniſh colour, mixed with blood †. The green is occaſioned by a ſort of thiſtle, on which they feed. If they have the head-ache, they make a gaſh in their forehead, and do the ſame with the other parts of their body, where they experience pain, in order to draw from the affected part a conſiderable quantity of blood. Their theory, as explained to us by one of thoſe we had taken, is on a par with their practice: pain, they ſay, proceeds from the reluctance of the blood to abide any longer in the part where it is felt; by releaſing it, conſequently, the pain is removed.

Their hair is cut circularly like that of monks, but is longer, and ſupported round the head by a cotton ſtring, in which they place their arrows when they go hunting. When the weather is very cold, they tie their private parts cloſely to the body. It appears that their religion is limited to adoring the devil: they pretend that when one of them is on the point of death, ten or twelve demons appear dancing and ſinging around him. One of theſe, who makes a greater noiſe than the reſt, is termed Setebos, the inferior imps are called Cheleule; they are painted like the people of the country. Our giant pretends to have once ſeen a devil, with horns, and hair of ſuch length as to cover his feet; he caſt out flames, added he, from his mouth and his poſteriors.

Theſe people, as I have already noticed, clothe themſelves in the ſkin of an animal, and with the ſame kind of ſkin do they cover their huts, which they tranſport whither ſuits them beſt, having no fixed place of abode, but wandering about from ſpot to ſpot like gypſies. They generally live upon raw meat, and a ſweet root called capac; they are great feeders: the two we took daily conſumed a baſket full of bread each, and drank half a pail of water at a draught, they eat mice raw, and without even flaying them. Our captain gave theſe people the name of Patagonians. We ſpent five months in this port, to which we gave the denomination of St. Julian, and met with no accidents on ſhore, during the whole of our ſtay, ſave what I have noticed.

Scarcely had we anchored in this port before the four captains of the other veſſels plotted to murder the captain-general. Theſe traitors were Juan of Carthagena, vehador ‡ of the ſquadron; Lewis de Mendoza, the treaſurer; Antonio Cocca, the paymaſter; and Gaſpar de Caſada. The plot was diſcovered, the firſt was flayed alive, and the ſecond was ſtabbed to the heart; Gaſpar de Caſada was forgiven, but

* It is well known that ſavages make uſe of poiſoned arrows, and our travellers had even other examples of this.

† Debry has given the repreſentation of a Patagonian in this attitude. It is poſſible that they may thruſt an arrow into the gullet, to free themſelves by vomiting, from indigeſtion. Sometimes ſavages put a wand into their mouths, in preſence of their idols, to prove to them that they have nothing impure in their body. See BENZONI, publiſhed by Debry.

‡ Vehador, or veador, in the ancient Portugueze, ſignified the manager of a ſociety of monks: in Spaniſh, this officer is called veedor, from veer, to look after. Some writers pretend that John of Carthagena was a biſhop; but Pigafetta would not have omitted mention of this circumſtance, and Magellan would not have puniſhed him in ſuch a cruel manner, had he been inveſted with this dignity.

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a few days after he meditated treaſon anew. The captain-general then, who dared not take his life, as he was created a captain by the Emperor himſelf, drove him from the ſquadron, and left him in the country of the Patagonians, together with a prieſt, his accomplice *.

Another miſhap befel part of the ſquadron while we remained at this ſtation. The ſhip St. Jago, which had been detached to ſurvey the coaſt, was caſt upon rocks; nevertheleſs, as if by a miracle, the whole of the crew were ſaved; two ſeamen came over-land to the port where we were to acquaint us of this diſaſter, and the captain-general ſent men to the ſpot immediately, with ſome ſacks of biſcuit. The crew ſtopped two months near the place where the veſſel was ſtranded, to collect the wreck and merchandize, which the ſea ſucceſſively caſt on ſhore; and during all this time means of ſubſiſtence was tranſported them over land, although a hundred miles diſtant from the port of St. Julian, and by a very bad and fatiguing road, through thickets and briars, among which the bearers of proviſion were obliged to paſs the whole night, without any other beverage than what they obtained from the ice they found, and which they were able with difficulty to break.

As for us, we fared tolerably in this port, though certain ſhell-fiſh, of great length, ſome of which contained pearls, but of very ſmall ſize, were not edible. We found oſtriches † here, foxes, rabbits much ſmaller than ours, and ſparrows. The trees yield frankincenſe.

We planted a croſs on the ſummit of a neighbouring mountain, which we termed Monte Chriſto, and took poſſeſſion of the country in the name of the King of Spain.

We at length left this port (21ſt Auguſt) and keeping along the coaſt, in latitude fifty degrees forty minutes ſouth, diſcovered a river of freſh water ‡, into which we entered. The whole ſquadron nearly experienced ſhipwreck here, owing to the furious winds with which it was aſſailed, and which occaſioned a very rough ſea; but God and the Corpora Sancta (that is to ſay, the lights which ſhone on the ſummits of the maſts) brought us ſuccour, and ſaved us from harm. We ſpent two months here, to ſtock our veſſels with wood and water; we laid in proviſion, alſo, of a ſpecies of fiſh nearly two feet in length, and covered with ſcales; it was tolerable eating, but we were unable to take a ſufficient number of them §. Before we quitted this ſpot our captain ordered all of us to make confeſſion, and, like good Chriſtians, to receive the communion.

Continuing our courſe towards the ſouth, on the 21ſt October, in latitude fifty-two degrees, we diſcovered a ſtrait, which we denominated the ſtrait of the Eleven Thouſand Virgins, in honour of the day. This ſtrait, as will appear in the ſequel, is four hundred and forty miles, or one hundred and ten maritime leagues in length;

* When Gomez, who commanded the Sto Antonio, after deſerting the ſquadron in the ſtrait, returned to St. Julian, he took them both on board again, and carried them back to Spain. Lettre de Maximilien le Tranſilvain.

† The American oſtrich is much ſmaller than the African. The Brazilians call it nhandahuacu; and Linnæus ſtruthio rhea.

‡ This river is that of Sta. Cruz, which Cook has laid down in latitude fifty-one degrees ſouth. This name was given to the river from its being entered on the 14th September, the anniverſary of the exaltation of the croſs.

§ It is known for certainty, that while the ſquadron remained in this river, viz. on the 11th October, there was an eclipſe of the ſun, of which all thoſe take notice who have written the hiſtory of this voyage; and which is marked in the aſtronomical tables. Authors even pretend that Magellan availed himſelf of it to aſcertain the longitude. Pigafetta, however, takes no notice of the eclipſe, nor ought he ſo to have done; for this eclipſe was viſible to us indeed, but not to thoſe in the ſouthern part of America.

it is half a league in breadth, ſometimes more, ſometimes leſs, and terminates in another ſea, which we denominated the Pacific Ocean. This ſtrait is incloſed between lofty mountains, covered with ſnow, and it is likewiſe very deep, ſo that we were unable to anchor, except quite cloſe to ſhore, where was from twenty-five to thirty fathoms water.

The whole of the crew were ſo firmly perſuaded that this ſtrait had no weſtern outlet, that we ſhould not, but for the deep ſcience of the captain-general, have ventured on its exploration. This man, as ſkilful as he was intrepid, knew that he would have to paſs by a ſtrait very little known, but which he had ſeen laid down on a chart of Martin de Boheme, a moſt excellent coſmographer, in the treaſury of the King of Portugal *.

As ſoon as we entered on this water, imagined to be only a bay, the captain ſent forward two veſſels, the Sto. Antonio, and La Conception, to examine where it terminated, or whither it led; while we in the Trinidad and the Vittoria awaited them in the mouth of it.

At night came on a terrible hurricane, which laſted ſix and thirty hours, and forced us to quit our anchors, and leave our veſſels to the mercy of the winds and waves in the gulph †. The two other veſſels, equally buffeted, were unable to double a cape ‡, in order to rejoin us; ſo that by abandoning themſelves to the gale, which drove them conſtantly towards what they conceived to be the bottom of a bay, they were apprehenſive momentarily of being driven on ſhore. But at the inſtant they gave themſelves up for loſt, they ſaw a ſmall opening §, which they took for an inlet of the bay, into this they entered, and perceiving that this channel was not cloſed, they threaded it, and found themſelves in another ‖, through which they purſued their courſe to another ſtrait ¶, leading into a third bay ſtill larger than the preceding. Then, in lieu of following up their exploration, they deemed it moſt prudent to return, and render account of what they had obſerved to the captain-general.

Two days paſſed without the two veſſels returning, ſent to examine the bottom of the bay, ſo that we reckoned they had been ſwallowed up during the tempeſt; and ſeeing ſmoke on ſhore, we conjectured that thoſe who had had the good fortune to eſcape, had kindled thoſe fires to inform us of their exiſtence and diſtreſs. But while in this painful incertitude as to their fate, we ſaw them advancing towards us under full ſail, and their flags flying; and when ſufficiently near, heard the report of their bombards, and their loud exclamations of joy. We repeated the ſalutation; and when we learnt from them that they had ſeen the prolongation of the bay, or, better ſpeaking, the ſtrait, we made towards them, to continue our voyage in this courſe, if poſſible.

When we had entered into the third bay, which I have before noticed, we ſaw two openings, or channels, the one running to the ſouth-eaſt, the other to the ſouth-weſt **. The captain-general ſent the two veſſels, the Sant Antonio and La Conception to the ſouth-eaſt, to examine whether or no this channel terminated in an open ſea. The firſt

* See the Introduction, parag. xi. and the following.

† Plate ii. repreſents the topography of the ſtrait of Magellan, extracted from a chart of M. de Bougainville. In the other chart annexed, is given the ſouthern part of America, as it is in the manuſcript of Pigafetta. The draught is far from exact; but the geographers of the ſixteenth century have left us nothing better, as may be ſeen by the geography of Hortelius. The bay of which Pigafetta ſpeaks, is Poſſeſſion Bay.

‡ Cape of Poſſeſſion. § Firſt Gut.

‖ Boucault Bay. ¶ Second Gut.

** The channel on the ſouth-eaſt is that near Cape Monmouth, called Detroit Suppoſé, in the chart of M. de Bougainville.

ſet

ſet ſail immediately, under preſs of canvas, not chooſing to wait for the ſecond, which the pilot wiſhed to leave behind, as he had intention to avail himſelf of the darkneſs of the night to retrace his courſe, and return to Spain by the ſame way we came.

This pilot was Emanuel Gomez, who hated Magellan, for the ſole reaſon that, when he came to Spain to lay his project before the Emperor of proceeding to the Moluccas by a weſtern paſſage, Gomez himſelf had requeſted, and was on the point of obtaining, ſome caravellas for an expedition of which he would have had the command. This expedition had for its object to make new diſcoveries; but the arrival of Magellan prevented his requeſt from being complied with, and he could only obtain the ſubaltern ſituation of pilot; what, however, no leſs ſerved to increaſe his irritation, was the reflection of his ſerving under a Portugueze. In the courſe of the night he conſpired with the other Spaniards on board the ſhip. They put in irons, and even wounded the captain, Alvaro de Meſchita, the couſin-german of the captain-general, and carried him thus to Spain. They reckoned likewiſe on tranſporting thither one of the two giants we had taken, and who was on board their ſhip; but we learnt, on our return, that he died on approaching the equinoctial line, unable to bear the heat of the tropical regions.

The veſſel, the Conception, which could not keep up with the Sant Antonio, continued to cruize in the channel to await its return, but in vain.

We, with the two other veſſels, entered the remaining channel, on the ſouth-weſt; and, continuing our courſe, came to a river which we called Sardine river *, on account of the vaſt number of the fiſh of this denomination we found in it. We anchored here to wait for the two other ſhips, and remained in the river four days; but in the interim we diſpatched a boat, well manned, to reconnoitre the cape of this channel, which promiſed to terminate in another ſea. On the third day the ſailors ſent on this expedition returned, and announced their having ſeen the cape where the ſtrait ended, and with it a great ſea, that is to ſay, the ocean. We wept for joy: this cape was denominated Il Capo Deſeado (Wiſhed for Cape) for in truth we had long wiſhed to ſee it †.

We returned to join the two other veſſels of the ſquadron, and found the Conception alone. On enquiring of the pilot, Johan Serano, what had become of the other veſſel, we learnt that he conceived it to be loſt, as he had not once ſeen it ſince he entered the channel. The captain-general then ordered it to be ſought for every where, but eſpecially in the channel into which it had penetrated. He ſent back the Vittoria to the mouth of the ſtrait, with directions, if they ſhould not find it, to hoiſt a ſtandard on ſome eminent ſpot ‡ at the foot of which, in a ſmall pot, ſhould be placed a letter, pointing out the courſe the captain-general would take, in order to enable the miſſing ſhip to follow the ſquadron. This mode of communication, in caſe of a diviſion, was concerted at the inſtant of our departure. Two other ſignals were hoiſted in the ſame manner on eminent ſites in the firſt bay, and on a ſmall iſland of

* Later navigators make no mention of the river of Sardines, which probably deſcends from the mountains of Terra del Fuego. They do not either notice the great abundance of Sardines alluded to by our author, but this is not aſtoniſhing, for theſe fiſh on their migrations remain but a ſhort time at one place.

† Il Capo Deſeado forms the weſtern extremity of the ſouthern coaſt, along which the boat ſteered; but the ſhips coaſted cloſe to the northern ſhore, and left America at Cape Vittoria, ſo called from the ſhip which firſt doubled it, and which was the only one that returned to Europe.

‡ The mountain called by M. de Bougainville Pere Aymon.

the

the third bay *, on which we ſaw a number of ſea-wolves and birds. The captain-general, with the Conception, awaited the return of the Victory, near the river of Sardines, and erected a croſs on a ſmall iſland, at the foot of two mountains, covered with ſnow, where the river had its ſource.

Had we not diſcovered this ſtrait, leading from one ſea to the other, it was the intention of the captain-general to continue his courſe towards the ſouth, as high as ſeventy-five degrees, where in ſummer there is no night, or very little, as in winter there is ſcarcely any day. While we were in the ſtrait, in the month of October, there were but three hours night.

The ſhore in this ſtrait, which, on the left, turns to the ſouth-eaſt, is low. We called it the Strait of the Patagonians †. At every half league it contains a ſafe port, with excellent water, cedar-wood, ſardines, and a great abundance of ſhell-fiſh. There were here alſo ſome vegetables, part of them of bitter taſte, but others fit to eat, eſpecially a ſpecies of ſweet celery ‡, which grows on the margin of ſprings, and which, for want of other, ſerved us for food. In ſhort, I do not think the world contains a better ſtrait than this.

At the very inſtant of our launching into the ocean we witneſſed a ſingular chace, of fiſh, purſued by others. There are three ſpecies, that is to ſay, dorados, albicores and bonitos, which purſue the fiſh called colondrins, a kind of flying-fiſh §. Theſe, when followed cloſe, iſſue from the water, extend their fins, of ſufficient length to ſerve them as wings, and fly the diſtance of a croſs-bow's ſhot; after this they return into the water. In the mean time their enemies, directed by the ſhadow of them, continue the purſuit, and inſtantly as they re-enter the water, make them their prey. Theſe flying-fiſh are upwards of a foot in length, and are excellent eating.

During the voyage I talked with the Patagonian giant on board our ſhip, and by means of a ſpecies of pantomime, enquired of him the Patagonian name of a number of objects, and was thus enabled to form a ſmall vocabulary. He had accuſtomed himſelf ſo perfectly to this practice, that no ſooner did he ſee me take my pen in hand, than he came immediately to tell the name of the different things before him, and of what was paſſing. Among other things he ſhewed us the manner of kindling fire in his country; that is to ſay, by rubbing one piece of pointed wood againſt another, until fire catches to a kind of pith of a tree, placed between the two pieces of wood. One day when I ſhewed him and kiſſed the croſs, he gave me to underſtand by his geſtures that Setebos would enter into my body, and cauſe me to burſt. When at death's door, on his laſt illneſs, he called for the croſs, which he kiſſed; he alſo begged to be baptiſed, which was done; he receiving the name of Paul.

* The iſle of Lions.

† This ſtrait, it is needleſs to mention, afterwards received the name of Magellan, from that navigator.

‡ Apium dulce. Cook alſo found this vegetable here, as well as abundance of ſcurvy-graſs; and, owing to the plenteouſneſs of anti-ſcorbutic vegetables, deemed the paſſage of the ſtrait preferable to that round Cape Horn. (Firſt Voy. book 1ſt.)

§ Trigla volitans, Linn. Perhaps the fiſh alluded to by the author is the Exocetus volitans.

BOOK II.

Departure from the Strait, and thence to the Death of Captain Magellan, and our leaving Zubu.

ON Wedneſday, 28th November, we left the ſtrait, and entered the ocean to which we afterwards gave the denomination of Pacific, and in which we ſailed the ſpace of three months and twenty days, without taſting any freſh proviſions. The biſcuit we were eating no longer deſerved the name of bread; it was nothing but duſt, and worms which had conſumed the ſubſtance; and what is more, it ſmelled intolerably, being impregnated with the urine of mice. The water we were obliged to drink was equally putrid and offenſive. We were even ſo far reduced, that we might not die of hunger, to eat pieces of the leather with which the main-yard was covered to prevent it from wearing the rope. Theſe pieces of leather, conſtantly expoſed to the water, ſun, and wind, were ſo hard that they required being ſoaked four or five days in the ſea in order to render them ſupple; after this we broiled them to eat. Frequently indeed we were obliged to ſubſiſt on ſaw-duſt, and even mice, a food ſo diſguſting, were ſought after with ſuch avidity that they ſold for half a ducat a piece *.

Nor was this all, our greateſt misfortune was being attacked by a malady in which the gums ſwelled ſo as to hide the teeth, as well in the upper as the lower jaw, whence thoſe affected thus were incapable of chewing their food †. Nineteen of our number died of this complaint, among whom was the Patagonian giant, and a Brazilian, whom we had brought with us from his own country. Beſides thoſe who died, we had from twenty-five to thirty ſailors ill, who ſuffered dreadful pains in their arms, legs, and other parts of the body; but theſe all of them recovered. As for myſelf, I cannot be too grateful to God for the continued health I enjoyed; though ſurrounded with ſick I experienced not the ſlighteſt illneſs.

In the courſe of theſe three months and twenty days we traverſed nearly four thouſand leagues in the Ocean denominated by us Pacific, on account of our not having experienced throughout the whole of this period any the leaſt tempeſtuous weather ‡. We did not either in this whole length of time diſcover any land, except two deſert iſlands; on theſe we ſaw nothing but birds and trees, for which reaſon we named them Las Iſlas Deſdichados (the Unfortunate Iſlands.) We found no bottom along their ſhores, and ſaw no fiſh but ſharks. The two iſlands are two hundred leagues apart. The firſt lies in latitude fifteen degrees ſouth, the ſecond in latitude nine degrees §. From

* It is no uncommon thing for ſailors, from hunger, to be obliged to eat mice, or even leather. In 1540, a mouſe on board the ſquadron of Pizarro ſold for four crowns. The crews of Bougainville (tom. ii. p. 173.) and of Cook, (Third Voyage, b. 1. p. 28.) were fain to eat leather.

† Effects of the Scurvy.

‡ Quiros, Bougainville, and Cook aſſuredly were not equally fortunate.

§ Pigafetta does not preſent us with ſufficient documents to determine exactly the poſition of Las Iſlas Deſdichados. Our manuſcript merely points out the one to lay north-weſt of the other. But from his narrative, allowing it to be correct, they belong to the Society Iſlands, north and north-eaſt of Otaheite; for Pigafetta ſays that on leaving the ſtrait they ſailed north-weſt by weſt; afterwards north-weſt to the equinoctial line, which they paſſed, one hundred and twenty-two degrees weſt from the line of demarcation, that is to ſay, in one hundred and fifty-two degrees weſt from the firſt meridian. Now, if from this point we trace a line from north-weſt to ſouth-eaſt, it will paſs between the Society Iſlands on the north, and Otaheite on the eaſt. On this line therefore ſhould the Unfortunate Iſlands lie. Jaillot and Nolin have conſequently placed them out of their true geographical ſite. It is not improperly, however, that they have given them the names, one of St. Peter, and the other of Tiburon, for the anonymous Portugueſe gives them the ſame names. The Tranſylvanian ſays, our navigator ſtayed here two days to fiſh.

the run of our ſhip, as eſtimated by the log, we traverſed a ſpace of from ſixty to ſeventy leagues a day; and if God and his Holy Mother had not granted us a fortunate voyage, we ſhould all have periſhed of hunger in ſo vaſt a ſea. I do not think that any one for the future will venture upon a ſimilar voyage *.

If, on leaving the ſtraits, we had continued a weſtern courſe under the ſame parallel, we ſhould have made the tour of the world; and without ſeeing any land ſhould have returned by Wiſhed-for-Cape (Il Capo Deſeado), to the cape of the Eleven Thouſand Virgins, both of which are in latitude fifty-two degrees ſouth.

The antarctic has not the ſame ſtars as the arctic pole; but here are ſeen two cluſters of ſmall nebulous ſtars, which look like ſmall clouds, and are but little diſtant the one from the other †. In midſt of theſe cluſters of ſmall ſtars two are diſtinguiſhed very large and very brilliant, but of which the motion is ſcarcely apparent: theſe indicate the antarctic pole. Though the needle declined ſomewhat from the north pole, it yet oſcillated towards it, but not with equal force as in the northern hemiſphere. When out at ſea, the captain-general directed the courſe the pilots ſhould ſteer, and enquired how they ‡ pointed. They unanimouſly replied they bore in that direction he ordered them: he then informed them that their courſe was wrong, and directed them to correct the needle, becauſe, being in the ſouthern, it had not an equal power to deſignate the true north as in the northern hemiſphere. When in midſt of the ocean we diſcovered, in the weſt, five ſtars of great brilliancy, in form of a croſs ‖.

We ſteered north-weſt by weſt till we reached the equinoctial line in one hundred and twenty-two degrees of longitude, weſt of the line of demarcation §. This line is thirty degrees weſt of the meridian ¶, and three degrees weſt of Cape Verd.

In our courſe we coaſted along two very lofty iſlands, one of which in latitude twenty degrees ſouth, the other in fifteen degrees ſouth. The firſt is called Cipangu, the ſecond Sumbdit Pradit **.

After

* Fifty years elapſed before another navigator made the circuit of the globe. Drake in 1578 was the firſt, after Magellan, who croſſed this ſea.

† Due nubecule, that is to ſay, two cluſters of ſtars, are marked by aſtronomers at the ſouthern pole: one of theſe is above the other below the hydra. Near the pole ſeveral ſtars are ſeen which form the conſtellation the octant; but as theſe ſtars are of the fifth or ſixth magnitude, the two large and brilliant ſtars mentioned by Pigafetta muſt be the γ and β of the hydra.

‡ How they *pointed* by the compaſs, in what direction they ſteered. To *correct the needle*, is to add or diminiſh the degrees of its variation, that the compaſs may point to the true north.

‖ Dante (Purgat. lib. i.) ſpeaks of this croſs in theſe verſes:

I mi volſi a man deſtra, e poſi mente
All'altro polo, e vidi quattro ſtelle
Non viſte mai fuorchè alla prima gente.
Goder pareva il ciel di lor fiammelle.
Oh! ſettentrional vedovo ſito,
Poichè privato ſei di mirar quelle.

§ An imaginary line which, ſeparating the globe into two hemiſpheres, divided the conqueſts of Portugal from thoſe of the Spaniards according to the bull of Pope Alexander VI. See the Introduction, parag. V.

¶ Id eſt, the firſt meridian.

** Cipangu is Japan; it bears this name on the globe of Behaim, on which it is termed the richeſt iſland of the eaſt. Sumbdit-Pradit is perhaps the Antillia of the ſame globe, called alſo Septe Ritade. But on this globe theſe two iſlands are in the northern hemiſphere, one in twenty degrees, the other in twenty-four degrees. Ramuſio (tom. i. tav. 3.) places Cipangu in twenty-five degrees, but in chart 19. of Urban Monti I find Sumbdit in latitude nine degrees ſouth. Deliſle, on what authority I know not, places them in ſeventeen degrees and twenty degrees ſouth. It muſt, however, be obſerved, that Pigafetta

After we had croſſed the line we ſteered weſt-by-north. We then ran two hundred leagues towards the weſt; when, changing our courſe again, we ran weſt-by-ſouth until in the latitude of thirteen degrees north*; we truſted by this courſe to reach Cape Gatticara which coſmographers have placed in this latitude, but they are miſtaken, this cape lying twelve degrees more towards the north. They muſt, however, be excuſed the error in their plan, as they have not like us had the advantage of viſiting theſe parts †.

When we had run ſeventy leagues in this direction and were in latitude twelve degrees north, longitude one hundred and forty-ſix degrees, on Wedneſday the 6th of March, we diſcovered in the north-weſt a ſmall iſland, and afterwards two others in the ſouth-weſt. The firſt was more lofty and larger than the other two. The captain-general meant to ſtop at the largeſt to victual and refreſh ‡; but this was rendered impoſſible, as the iſlanders came on board our ſhips, and ſtole, firſt one thing and then another, without our being able to prevent them. They invited us to take in our ſails and come on ſhore, and even had the addreſs to ſteal the ſkiff which hung aſtern of our veſſel. Exaſperated at length, our captain landed with forty men, burnt forty or fifty of their houſes, and ſeveral of their boats, and killed ſeven of the people. By acting thus he recovered his ſkiff; but he did not deem it prudent to ſtop any longer after ſuch acts of hoſtility. We therefore continued our courſe in the ſame direction as before.

On our entering the boats to land and puniſh the iſlanders, our ſick people beſought us, if any of them ſhould chance to be killed, to bring them their inteſtines, perſuaded that they would ſoon effect their cure.

When our people wounded any of the iſlanders with their arrows, (of which weapon they had no conception,) and chanced to pierce them through, the unfortunate ſufferers endeavoured to draw out theſe arrows from their bodies, now by one end, now by another; after which they looked at them with aſtoniſhment, and ſometimes died

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does not mention having touched at the iſlands, but that he coaſted at a ſhort diſtance along them; that is to ſay, what he fancied to be Cipangu and Sumbdit; and which he might conceive the iſlands he ſaw to be, from Marco Polo having publiſhed that Cipangu was the moſt eaſtern iſland of the Indian ſeas; and what he terms Cipangu being the firſt he ſaw coming from the weſt. On his return to Spain (book 4.), he ſpeaks of Sumbdit-Tradit as an iſland ſituate near the coaſt of China.

* From theſe data it is that I have pointed out on the chart the run of the ſquadron from the ſtrait to the Ladrones iſlands. I drew a line in a direction north-weſt by weſt from Cape Victory towards the equator. Afterwards, leaving the equator at one hundred and twenty-two degrees from the line of demarcation, I traced a line to meet the former, running from north-weſt to ſouth-eaſt, and forming with it an obtuſe angle, where the ſquadron changed its courſe. North of the equator I drew a line running weſt-by-north, about eight hundred miles, to thirteen degrees of latitude north, and thence to the Ladrones iſlands. I am well aware that the degrees of longitude being inexact, the reſt muſt be very uncertain; but the courſe traced preſents no difficulty, and ſeems to have a foundation. The track laid down as purſued by Magellan by other geographers is purely ideal.

† Cape Cattigara, which our author terms Gatticara, was placed by Ptolemy in one hundred and eighty degrees of longitude from the Canary iſlands, and ſouth of the equator, but Magellan knew very well that it was on the north; it is in fact in eight degrees twenty-ſeven minutes north: in conſequence, before he reached this cape he imagined he muſt fall in with the Molucca iſlands. The modern name of this point is Cape Camorin. Veſpucci was ſtill more in error as to its latitude; for he miſtook for it a weſtern cape of the continent, to which he gave this name. (Bartolozzi, loc. cit.)

‡ This iſland, at which Magellan touched, is probably the iſland Guahan which Maximilian the Tranſylvanian terms Ivagana. It may be the iſland Rota, on which George Menriquez, captain of a veſſel in the fleet of Loaiſa, (who in 1526 went from Peru to the Mariana Iſlands,) found Gonſalvo de Vigo, one of the ſailors of Magellan, who had voluntarily ſettled here; but again, this Vigo might have paſſed hither from Guahan. (Debroſſes, tom. i. p. 156.)

of

of their wounds, a circumſtance that did not fail to excite our pity. Still, when they ſaw us about to depart, they followed us with more than a hundred canoes, and ſhewed us fiſh as if diſpoſed to ſell it; but when near us they pelted us with ſtones, and took to flight. We ſailed through the midſt of them under full ſail, but they avoided our veſſels with much dexterity. We likewiſe ſaw in their boats, crying and tearing their hair, ſome women, whoſe huſbands probably had been killed.

Theſe people are ignorant of any law, and are guided merely by their inclinations. They have no king, nor any chief; adore no Being or image, and go naked. Some among them have a long beard, and black hair, tied over the forehead and hanging down to the girdle. They likewiſe wear ſmall hats made of palm. They are of good ſize and well built. Their complexion is an olive brown, but we were told they are born fair, and become dark as they increaſe in years. They poſſeſs the art of ſtaining their teeth red and black, which with them is a mark of beauty *. The women are pretty, of handſome ſhape, and leſs dark than the men. Their hair is very black, ſleek, and hangs to the ground. They go naked like the men, except their privities, which they cover with a very narrow ſtrip of cloth, or rather of the inner bark of the palm-tree. Their whole employment is in their houſes, in making mats and baſkets of the leaves of the palm-tree, and in other ſimilar works. Both men and women anoint their hair, and the whole of the body, with the oil of the cocoa-nut and ſeſeli †.

Theſe people live on birds, flying-fiſh, potatoes, a ſort of figs half a foot long ‡, ſugar-canes and other ſimilar productions. Their houſes are of wood covered with planks, over which leaves of their fig-trees four feet in length are ſpread §. They have tolerably decent rooms, with rafters and window frames; and their beds are pretty ſoft, being made of very fine matting of the palm-tree laid upon ſtraw. Their only arms are a lance tipped with pointed fiſh-bone. The inhabitants of theſe iſlands are poor, but very dextrous, and above all at thieving; for this reaſon we gave the name De los Ladrones ‖ to the iſlands.

Their chief amuſement conſiſts in ſailing about with their wives in canoes ſimilar to the gondolas of Fuſine near Venice ¶, but they are ſtill more narrow; all of them are painted, either black, white, or red. The ſail is made of the leaves of the palm-tree ſewed together, and has the ſhape of a latine ſail. It is always placed on one ſide; and on the oppoſite ſide, to form an equipoiſe to the ſail, they faſten a large wooden log, pointed at one end, with poles laid acroſs and fixed in it, which keeps the boat ſteady **, and admits of their ſailing without apprehenſion; their rudder reſembles a baker's ſhovel, that is to ſay, it conſiſts of a pole faſtened into a plank. They make no difference between head and ſtern, as they have a rudder at each end. They are excellent ſwimmers, and have as little fear of the ſea as dolphins ††.

* The cuſtom of blackening the teeth ſtill prevails in the Pelew Iſlands adjoining to thoſe of Mariana. Their inhabitants form a kind of paſte from certain herbs, which they apply to the teeth for ſome days for this purpoſe (Keate, an Account of the Pelew Iſlands, p. 314.)

† A ſpecies of ſmall oily grain, very common in China, the Ruphanus oleifer ſinenſis, Linn.

‡ Theſe figs are bananas, or the fruit of the muſa (muſa piſang, Linn.). In future I ſhall always uſe the term banana inſtead of fig, which is that the author has employed.

§ Such are the leaves of the bananier.

‖ They were afterwards called Las Iſlas de las Velas, from the number of ſails continally paſſing; and in the time of Philip IV. of Spain they were called the Marianas, in honour of Maria of Auſtria, his Queen. Noort obſerves that, even in his time, they well deſerved they name of the iſlands.

¶ Small long gondolas extremely narrow, uſed between Fuſine and Venice.

** Anſon and Cook ſaw veſſels navigated by the individuals of the ſouth ſeas of the ſtructure and plan here deſcribed, and much commend the ingenuity of the contrivance.

†† On this account is it, perhaps, that an iſland contiguous to the Mariana Iſlands is denominated the Iſland of Swimmers.

They

They were ſo much aſtoniſhed at the ſight of us, that we had reaſon to believe they had never ſeen any other than the inhabitants of their own iſland.

The 16th of March, at ſunriſe, we found ourſelves near an elevated land, three hundred leagues from the iſlands De los Ladrones. We ſoon diſcovered it to be an iſland. It is called Zamal *. Behind this iſland is another not inhabited, and we afterwards learnt that its name is Humunu †. Here the captain-general reſolved on landing the next day to take in water in greater ſecurity, and take ſome reſt after ſo long and tedious a voyage. Here likewiſe he cauſed two tents to be erected for the ſick, and ordered a ſow to be killed ‡.

On Monday the 18th, in the afternoon, we ſaw a bark with nine men making towards us. The captain-general hereupon iſſued orders that none ſhould make the leaſt motion, or utter a ſingle word without his leave. When they had landed, the chief of the party addreſſed our commander, and teſtified by ſigns the pleaſure he experienced on ſeeing us. Four of the beſt dreſt remained with us; the reſidue went to fetch their companions, who were fiſhing, and returned with them.

The captain, ſeeing them ſo peaceable, placed food before them, and at the ſame time offered them ſome red caps, ſmall looking-glaſſes, combs, bells, boccaſſins §, ivory trinkets, and other ſimilar articles. The iſlanders, delighted with the kindneſs of the captain, preſented him fiſh, a vaſe full of palm-wine, which they call uraca, bananas more than a ſpan long, with others of a ſmaller ſize and ſuperior flavour, and two cocoa-nuts ‖. They ſignified at the ſame time by their geſtures, that they had nothing elſe to offer us at that time, but that in four days they would return, and bring us rice, which they call umai, cocoa-nuts, and other proviſion.

Cocoa-nuts are the fruit of a ſpecies of palm-tree, which furniſhes them with their ſubſtitute for bread, with wine, oil, and vinegar. In order to obtain wine they make an inciſion at the top of the palm-tree, penetrating to the pith of the tree, from which drops a liquor reſembling white muſt, but which is rather tart. This liquor is caught in the hollow of a reed the thickneſs of a man's leg, which is ſuſpended to the tree, and which is carefully emptied twice a day, at morning and night. The fruit of this palm-tree is of the ſize of a man's head, and ſometimes larger. Its outward rind is green, and two fingers thick: it is compoſed of filaments of which they make cordage for their boats. Beneath the outward rind is a ſhell much harder and thicker than that of the walnut. This ſhell they burn, and reſerve for making into a powder which they uſe. Within, the ſhell is lined with a white kernel about as thick as a finger, which is eaten in lieu of bread with meat and fiſh. In the center of the nut, encircled by the kernel, a ſweet and limpid liquor is found, of a corroborative nature. After pouring this liquor into a glaſs, if it be ſuffered to ſtand, it aſſumes the conſiſtence of an apple. To obtain an oil, the kernel and the liquor are left to ferment; they are afterwards boiled, and yield an oil as thick as butter. To obtain vinegar, the liquor itſelf is expoſed to the ſun, and the acid which reſults from it reſembles that vinegar we make from white wine.

* In more modern charts it is called Samar; and it is actually ſituate about fifteen degrees, which make ſomewhat leſs than three hundred ſea leagues weſt of Guahan. L'Abbé Prevôt, (Hiſt. Gen. de Voy. tome x. p. 198.) truſting to the extract of Fabre, makes Samar no more than thirty leagues from the Marianas.

† Humunu, afterwards called the Enchanted Iſland, (Hiſt. Gen. de Voy. tome xv. p. 198.) is ſituate near Cape Guigan in the iſland Samur.

‡ He, no doubt, obtained this ſow at the iſlands De los Ladrones, where all modern navigators have met with hogs. (Debroſſes, tome i. p. 55.)

§ Boccaſſins are a ſort of linen formerly much in uſe.

‖ Cocos nucifera, Linn. We have in our muſeum ſeveral ſpecimens of the fruit of the cocoa-tree, ſome of which exceed in ſize a man's head, others have a rind compoſed of filaments.

We

We likewiſe made a beverage which reſembled goat's milk *, by raſping the nut, mixing it with the liquor, and ſtraining the liquor through a cloth. The cocoa-trees reſemble thoſe palm-trees which produce dates †, but their trunks, without being very ſmooth, have not ſo large a number of knots. A family of ten perſons might be ſupported from two cocoa-trees, by alternately tapping each every week, and letting the other reſt, that a perpetual drainage of liquor may not kill the tree. We were told that a cocoa-tree lives a century.

The iſlanders became very familiar with us, by which means we were enabled to learn from them the names of many things, eſpecially ſurrounding objects. From them alſo we learnt that their iſland, which is not very large, is called Zuluan. They were polite and well behaved. Out of friendſhip towards our captain they took him in their canoes to the warehouſes where they kept their merchandize, cloves, for example, cinnamon, pepper, nutmegs, mace ‡, gold, &c. &c.; and by ſigns informed us that the countries towards which we directed our courſe produced theſe articles in abundance. The captain-general in return invited them on board his veſſel, where he ſpread before them whatever by its novelty was likely to fix their attention. At the inſtant they were about to depart he cauſed a bombard to be fired, which ſtrangely frightened them, ſo much indeed that they were on the point of throwing themſelves into the ſea in order to get away; but, with little difficulty, we ſucceeded in perſuading them that they had no cauſe for apprehenſion, and they left us at length tranquillized, and with courteſy aſſured us, as they had promiſed before, that they would return immediately. The deſert iſland on which we had landed was called Humuna by the iſlanders; but we gave it the name of Acquada degli Buoni Signali (the Watering-place of Good Promiſe), on account of our finding here two fountains of excellent water, and the firſt indices of gold in this country. Here alſo white coral is found; and there are ſome trees, the fruit of which, ſmaller than our almonds, reſemble the kernel of the pine cone §. Many kinds of palm are likewiſe ſeen, ſome of which yield fruit good to eat, while others produce none.

Perceiving around us a number of iſlands on the fifth Sunday of Lent, which alſo is the feaſt of St. Lazarus, we called the archipelago by the name of that ſaint ‖. It lies in ten degrees of north latitude, and one hundred and ſixty-one degrees of longitude from the line of demarcation ¶.

On Friday, the 22d of the month, the iſlanders kept their word, and came with two canoes full of cocoa-nuts, oranges, a pitcher-full of palm-wine, and a cock, in order to ſhew us that they had poultry. We bought the whole of what they brought us. Their chief was an old man; his face was painted and he wore pendants in his ears.

* In 1684 a miſſionary taught Cowley to make a milk of cocoa in this manner, which he found excellent. (Debroſſes, tome xi. p. 55.)

† Phœnix dactylifera, Linn.

‡ Our author calls it matia: it is the ſecond rind of the nutmeg, which has four: it is much in requeſt for its aromatic taſte. Macis officina. Linn.

§ Poſſibly the piſtachio tree (Piſtacia terebinthus. Linn.)

‖ They afterwards received the name of the Philippines, from Philip of Auſtria, the ſon of Charles V.

¶ The Philippines are ſituate between 225 and 235 degrees of the iſland of Ferro; conſequently between 195 and 205 degrees of the line of demarcation, as is ſeen on the general chart. This archipelago is not therefore in 161 degrees of longitude from this line. I am ignorant whether in determining the longitude Magellan and his aſtrologer San Martino really gave that they computed, or whether they merely ſtated it thus that they might compriſe the Moluccas within the 180 degrees. It is however certain that before Dampier there was an error in the computations of the longitude of 25 degrees. See Debroſſes, tome ii. p. 72.

The

The people in his ſuite wore bracelets of gold on their arms, and handkerchiefs round their heads.

We laid eight days off this iſland, and the captain every day went on ſhore to viſit the ſick, taking with him the wine of the cocoa-tree, which was highly ſerviceable to them.

The inhabitants of the iſlands contiguous to that at which we were, had ſuch large holes in their ears, and the ends of them were drawn down ſo much, that one might thruſt an arm through the orifice *.

Theſe people are Caffres, that is to ſay Gentiles †. They go naked, merely wearing a piece of the bark of a tree to hide their privities, which ſome of their chiefs cover with a girdle of cotton cloth, embroidered with ſilk at the two extremities. They are of an olive colour, and generally pretty plump. They tatoo themſelves, and greaſe the body all over with the oil of the cocoa-tree and gengeli, in order, they ſay, to preſerve themſelves from the ſun and wind. They have black hair, of ſuch length it reaches to their waiſt. Their arms are cutlaſſes, bucklers, clubs, and lances, adorned with gold. The fiſhing inſtruments they uſe are darts, harpoons, and nets made nearly in the ſame manner as ours. Their boats likewiſe reſemble thoſe in uſe with us.

On Holy Monday, 25th March, I was in the moſt imminent danger. We were about to ſet ſail, and I was intent on fiſhing: being about to place myſelf for greater convenience on a yard wetted by the rain, my foot ſlipped, and I fell into the ſea without being perceived. Fortunately a rope, belonging to one of the ſails, which was hanging in the water, preſented itſelf within my graſp; I ſeized it and holloed with all my might, till I was heard, and the ſkiff was ſent round to relieve me from peril. My ſalvation was certainly not to be attributed to my individual merit, but to the merciful protection of the Holy Virgin.

We left the iſland the ſame day, and ſteered weſt-ſouth-weſt between four iſlands called Cenalo, Huinangan, Ibuſſon, and Abarien.

On Thurſday, 28th March, having diſtinguiſhed fire during the night on an iſland near us, we ſteered for it in the morning, and when but little diſtant ſaw a ſmall bark, called a boloto, with eight men in it, making for our veſſel. The captain had a ſlave on board, a native of Sumatra, anciently called Tapobrana ‡: we endeavoured to converſe with the inhabitants by his means, and found they comprehended his language §. They came to within a ſhort diſtance of us, but would not come on board, and ſeemed even to be fearful of approaching us too cloſely. The captain, ſeeing their miſtruſt, threw into the ſea a red cap and ſome other trifles, attached to a plank. They took it, and ſeemed greatly pleaſed, but immediately after departed: we afterwards learnt that they haſtened to make their King acquainted with our arrival.

* All navigators ſpeak of the large ears of newly diſcovered people. In other parts the author relates on this ſubject matters which are fabulous.

† After the Monguls had made themſelves maſters of India theſe countries were inhabited by two different nations, that is to ſay, Moors and the indigenous race, which latter our author denominates ſometimes Caffres and ſometimes Gentiles. The Moors obtained this name from their being Mahometans like the Moors of Spain. The two nations continue mingled in moſt of the iſlands, in many inſtances ſubject to Europeans; but the Gentiles daily decreaſe in population and power, and now inhabit little elſe than the mountains. (Sonnerat, Voyage aux Indes, tome i. p. 35.) The Moors have equally overpowered and leſſened the number of the natives in the centre of Africa. (Mungo Park, Travels in Africa.)

‡ The Taprobana of the ancients is the iſland of Ceylon, and not Sumatra.

§ From the Philippines to Malacca the Malay tongue is univerſally ſpoken. It is therefore by no means aſtoniſhing an inhabitant of Sumatra ſhould be underſtood in the Philippine Iſlands.

Two hours after we ſaw two balanghais proceeding towards us (for thus do they call their large boats), which were full of people. The King was in the largeſt, under a ſort of canopy formed of matting. When the King came near enough to our veſſel the ſlave of the captain ſpoke to him, and was underſtood, for the monarchs of theſe iſlands ſpeak ſeveral languages. He ordered ſome of the men who accompanied him to go on board the ſhip, but himſelf remained in his balanghay; and as ſoon as his people returned he took his departure.

The captain gave a very kind reception to thoſe who came on board, and made them preſents. The King, informed of this, was deſirous before he parted of preſenting the captain in return with an ingot of gold and a baſket full of ginger; but he refuſed the preſent, expreſſing thanks for his civility. Towards the evening the ſquadron anchored near the King's houſe.

The next day the captain ſent the ſlave on ſhore, who ſerved him as an interpreter, to tell the King if he would furniſh us with proviſions we would pay him liberally; aſſuring him at the ſame time that we had not come with any hoſtile intention againſt him, but as friends. Upon this the King himſelf came on board in our boat, with ſix or eight of his chief ſubjects. He embraced our captain, and preſented him with three vaſes of porcelain full of rice, and covered with leaves, two pretty large dorados, and ſome other articles. The captain in turn offered him a robe à la Turque, made of red and yellow cloth, and a fine red cap. He alſo made ſeveral preſents to the people who accompanied him: to ſome he gave mirrors, and to others knives. At length he cauſed breakfaſt to be ſerved up, and directed the ſlave who acted as interpreter to tell the King he wiſhed to live with him on brotherly terms, which ſeemed to afford him great pleaſure.

He afterwards ſpread out cloths of different colours before the King, linens, coral *, and other merchandize. He likewiſe ſhewed him all our fire-arms, and the great guns; and even cauſed ſeveral to be fired, the report of which created great conſternation in the inhabitants. He cauſed one of us to be completely clothed in armour, and directed three men to cut at him with ſwords, and ſtrive to ſtab him, in order to ſhew the King that nothing could affect a man armed after this faſhion; this occaſioned him great ſurprize, and turning towards the interpreter he obſerved that a man ſo guarded would be able to fight with a hundred: "Yes," replied the interpreter, in the name of the captain; "and each of the three veſſels has two hundred men armed in the ſame manner." He was afterwards allowed to examine ſeparately each diſtinct piece of armour, and all our arms; and the men went through the different exerciſes with them before him.

After this the captain conducted him to the hind-caſtle, or poop, and cauſing the chart and a compaſs to be brought forward, he explained to him, through the interpreter, by what means he had diſcovered the ſtrait which led to the ſea in which we were, and how many moons he had paſſed at ſea without ſight of land.

The King, aſtoniſhed at all he had ſeen and heard, took leave of the captain, beſeeching him in return to ſend two of his people to view the curioſities of his country. For this purpoſe the captain deputed me and another to accompany him on ſhore.

As ſoon as we landed the King raiſed his hands up to heaven, and afterwards turned towards us; we, as well as all who accompanied us, then did the ſame. The King then took me by the hand, and one of his chief people did the ſame with my comrade,

* Ramuſio ſays knives (coltelli), which appears more likely; but our manuſcript ſays corali, and we know that navigators have oftentimes carried on a profitable traffic in coral.

in which manner we repaired to a ſort of ſhed formed of reeds, under which was a balanghay about fifty feet long reſembling a galley. We ſeated ourſelves on the poop, and endeavoured by geſtures to render ourſelves underſtood, as we had no interpreter with us. Thoſe in the ſuite of the King encircled him round, ſtanding, and armed with ſpears and bucklers.

They now ſerved up a diſh of pork, with a large pitcher of wine. At every mouthful of meat we took a ſpoonful of wine; and when we did not wholly empty the ſpoon, which ſeldom was the caſe, the reſidue was poured into another pitcher. The ſpoon from which the King drank was always covered, and no one but himſelf was ſuffered to touch it. Previous to drinking, the King conſtantly raiſed his hands to heaven before he took the ſpoon, afterwards turning them towards us; and on taking it with the right hand, extended his left cloſed towards me, in ſuch a manner that, on his firſt uſing this ceremony, I thought he was about to give me a blow with his fiſt; in this attitude he remained the whole time he was drinking; perceiving that all the others imitated him in this I did the ſame. In this manner we finiſhed our repaſt, and I was unable to diſpenſe with eating meat notwithſtanding it happened to be on a Good-Friday.

Before ſupper I preſented ſeveral articles to the King, which I had brought with me for the purpoſe; and at the ſame time enquired of him the names of ſeveral things in his language, which he was ſurprized to ſee me write down.

For ſupper two large diſhes of porcelain were ſet before us, one containing rice, the other pork in the liquor in which it was boiled. At ſupper the ſame ceremony was obſerved as at the collation. After ſupper we repaired to the King's palace, which reſembled in form a hay-ſtack. It was covered with the leaves of the bananier, and was ſupported at ſome height in the air by four large poſts. So that we were obliged to uſe a ladder on aſcending to it.

When we had entered the palace the King cauſed us to be ſeated on mats of reeds, with our legs acroſs like tailors. Half an hour afterwards a diſh of broiled fiſh was brought in cut in ſlices, ſome ginger freſh gathered, and wine. The King's eldeſt ſon now coming in, he was directed to ſeat himſelf beſide us. Two other diſhes were then ſerved up, one of boiled fiſh ſwimming in its liquor, the other of rice, that we might eat with the heir apparent. My companion drank to exceſs, and was intoxicated.

Their candles are made of a kind of gum *, which they call anime, and which is enveloped in the leaves of the palm or fig-tree.

The King, after ſignifying he was about to retire to reſt, went away and left us with his ſon, with whom we ſlept on a matting of reeds, our heads being ſupported on pillows of leaves.

The next day the King came to ſee me in the morning, and taking me by the hand led me to the ſpot where we ſupped the preceding evening, that we might breakfaſt there together; but as our boat had come for us, I excuſed myſelf, and departed with my companion. The King was extremely good humoured; he kiſſed our hands, and we kiſſed his in turn.

His brother, who was King of another iſland †, accompanied us, together with three

* Rather a reſin.

† We ſhall preſently ſee that the Kings in queſtion ruled over two countries on the eaſtern coaſt of Mindanao, one of which was called Butuan, the other Calayan. The firſt has retained its name, the ſecond is now called Caragua. The King of Butuan was at the ſame time King of Maſſana, or Mazzana, probably the Limaſſava of Bellin.

other

other perſons. The captain-general retained him to dinner, and made him a preſent of ſeveral trifles.

The King who accompanied us informed us that gold was found in his iſland in lumps as large as a walnut, and even as an egg, mingled with earth; that they uſed a ſieve for ſifting it; and that all his veſſels, and even many of the ornaments of his houſe, were of this metal *. He was handſomely dreſt in the faſhion of his country, and was the fineſt man we ſaw among theſe people. His black hair fell down over his ſhoulders: his head was covered with a ſilken veil, and in his ears were two gold rings. From the waiſt to the knees he wore a tunic of cotton cloth embroidered with ſilk; at his ſide was a ſpecies of ſword or dagger with a long golden hilt, and a wooden ſcabbard of exquiſite workmanſhip. On each of his teeth were three golden dots †, ſo placed one would have thought his teeth had been faſtened with this metal. He was perfumed with ſtorax and gum benjamin. His ſkin was painted, but its ground colour was an olive. He reſides generally in an iſland, in which are the two countries of Butuan and Calagan ‡; but when the two Kings wiſh to hold a conference they repair to the iſland Maſſana, at which we then were. The firſt King is denominated Rajah Colambu, the other Rajah Siagu.

On Eaſter day, which fell on the laſt day in March, the captain-general early in the morning ſent our almoner on ſhore with ſome ſailors to make preparations for ſaying maſs; and at the ſame time he ſent a meſſage by the interpreter to the King, to inform him that we ſhould land on his iſland, not to dine with him, but to perform a religious ceremony: the King approved our intention, and at the time of ſignifying his pleaſure ſent us two hogs juſt killed.

We landed, fifty in number, not completely armed, but at the ſame time armed and dreſt in the beſt manner poſſible: at the inſtant our boats touched the ſhore ſix guns were fired as a ſalute. We jumped on ſhore, where the two Kings, who had come down to meet us at the water-ſide embraced our captain, and placed him between them. We proceeded thus in an orderly manner to the ſpot where maſs was to be ſaid, which was but a ſhort diſtance from the ſea.

Before maſs was ſaid the captain ſprinkled the two Kings with ſweet ſcented water. At the period of the oblation they kiſſed the croſs as we did, but made no offering. On the elevation of the hoſt they adored the euchariſt with joined hands, imitating us in all we did. At this inſtant, upon ſignal given, a general diſcharge of artillery was fired from the ſhips. After maſs ſome of us received the communion; which effected, the captain exhibited a dance with ſwords, with which the two Kings ſeemed much delighted.

After this he cauſed a large croſs to be brought, garniſhed with nails and a crown of thorns, before which we proſtrated ourſelves; and in this action were again imitated

* Sonnerat (tome ii. p. 117.) likewiſe ſpeaks of Mindanao as an iſland abounding in gold. On this account the Philippines have been thought to be the Ophir of Solomon.

† Fabre and Ramuſio ſay that on every finger they wore three golden rings; but our manuſcript diſtinctly ſays, "in ogni dente haveva tre machie d'oro, che parevano foſſeno legati con oro." This will appear the leſs extraordinary, when it is known that in Macaſſar, an iſland but little diſtant from the Philippines, ſome of the inhabitants have their teeth drawn in order to have golden teeth inſerted in their ſtead. (Hiſt. Gen. des Voyages tom. xv. p. 97.) AMORETTI. And ſtill the leſs extraordinary will it appear by reference to the voyage of diſcovery in the Auſtral Seas by Peron, a work which makes part of this Collection of Voyages. In Book VIII. mention is made of ſmall plates of ſilver being faſtened, by a maſtic ſo as to be immoveable, to the front teeth of ſome of the inhabitants of Timor. (Voy. de Dec. aux Terres Auſt. tome i. p. 161.) ENG. TR.

‡ That is to ſay, Mindanao.

by the iſlanders. The captain then told the two Kings, by means of the interpreter, that this croſs was the ſtandard confided to him by the Emperor his maſter, to plant wherever he landed; and that in conſequence he ſhould erect it on the iſland, to which this ſymbol would moreover be auſpicious; as all European ſhips which in future ſhould viſit it would know, on ſeeing the croſs, that we had been received as friends, and would refrain from any violence to the perſons or property of their ſubjects; and ſhould any be taken priſoners, they would only have to make the ſign of it to regain their liberty. He added that this croſs ſhould be placed on the moſt lofty ſpot in the neighbourhood, ſo that every one might ſee it, and that every morning it was to be worſhipped. To this he added further, that by following ſuch advice neither ſtorms or thunder would hereafter do them injury. The Kings, who gave implicit faith to all the captain ſaid, thanked him, and aſſured him by means of the interpreter that they were perfectly ſatisfied, and would with pleaſure do as he deſired.

He enquired what their religion, and whether they were Moors (Mahometans) or Gentiles (Pagans)? They replied that they adored no terreſtrial object, but, raiſing their hands towards heaven, one Supreme Being only, whom they called Abba *; which afforded much pleaſure to our captain. The Rajah Colambu then, raiſing his hands to heaven, expreſſed his deſire of ſhewing him ſome marks of his friendſhip. The interpreter having inquired of him wherefore proviſions were ſo ſcarce, he anſwered that it was owing to that iſland not being the place of their reſidence, but only a ſpot to which he caſually reſorted for hunting, or to hold intercourſe with his brother; and that he generally dwelt on another iſland where his family then was.

The captain told the King that if he had any enemies he would willingly combine with him to combat them with all his veſſels and warriors. The King anſwered that he was indeed at war with the inhabitants of two iſlands; but that the preſent was not a fit time to attack them, and returned him thanks. In the afternoon we determined on erecting the croſs on the ſummit of a mountain, and the feſtival terminated with a diſcharge of muſquetry, our men being formed into battalions; after this the King and the captain embraced, and we returned to our ſhips.

Dinner ended, we all landed, dreſt merely in our jackets; and, accompanied by the two Kings we aſcended the higheſt mountain in the neighbourhood and there planted the croſs. In the interim the captain expatiated on the advantages which would accrue from it to the inhabitants. We all adored the croſs, and the Kings did the ſame. As we came down the mountain we traverſed ſome fields in culture, and proceeded to the ſpot where the balanghay was, to which the Kings ordered refreſhments to be brought.

The captain-general had previouſly inquired which was the beſt ports in the neighbourhood for obtaining proviſions and for traffic, and learned there were three; to wit, Ceylon, Zubu, and Calagan †; but that the beſt of theſe was Zubu; and as he reſolved on ſailing thither, they offered him pilots for the purpoſe. The ceremony of adoring the croſs being ended, the captain fixed upon the next day for our departure, and offered to leave an hoſtage with the Kings to anſwer for the ſafe return of the pilots, which they accepted.

In the morning, when on the point of heaving anchor, King Colambu cauſed to be intimated to us that he would willingly himſelf ſerve us as a pilot, but that he was obliged

* In Hebrew and in Arabic Abba is father.

† Ceylon is the iſland Leyte, which Pigafetta has divided in twain, giving to the northern part the denomination Baybay, which is the name of a port. Calagan is Caragua in the iſland Mindanao; and Zubu is the iſland Sebu of which copious mention will be made.

to

to defer his departure for ſome days in order to gather the harveſt of rice and other produce of the earth: he at the ſame time entreated the captain to lend him part of the crew in order to haſten the concluſion of the harveſt. The captain accordingly ſent him ſome men; but the Kings had eaten and drunk ſo much the day before, that whether their health ſuffered in conſequence, whether they had not yet recovered from inebriety, they were unable to give any directions, and our men were conſequently idle. The two ſucceeding days they worked very hard, and completed what they had to do.

We paſſed ſeven days on this iſland; in the courſe of which we had full opportunity of noticing the manners and cuſtoms of the people. The men go naked, merely covering their privities with a piece of cloth, and their bodies are painted. The women wear a petticoat made of the rind of a tree which deſcends from their waiſt downwards. Their hair is black, and ſometimes ſo long as to reach to the ground. Their ears are bored, and adorned with rings and pendants of gold. They are great drinkers; and are conſtantly chewing a fruit called areca *, which reſembles a pear: they cut it in quarters, and fold it in the leaves of the ſame tree called betre †, which reſemble thoſe of the mulberry, and mix with it a portion of lime: after well chewing it, they ſpit out the maſticated fruit, &c. and their mouth is deeply reddened with the juice. There are none of theſe iſlanders but chew this fruit of the betre, which, as they pretend, ſerves to enliven them; I am even aſſured that were they to abſtain from this practice they would die. The animals of this iſland are dogs, cats, hogs, goats, and fowls; and of edible vegetables are found rice, millet, panicle, maize, cocoa-nuts, oranges, lemons, bananas, and ginger. Wax alſo is found on the iſland.

Gold abounds, as is evident from two facts to which I was witneſs. A man brought us a large bowl of rice and figs for which in exchange he demanded a knife. The captain in lieu of a knife, offered him ſome pieces of money, and among others a doubloon; but he refuſed the money and preferred the knife. Another offered a large ingot of maſſive gold for ſix ſtrings of glaſs beads; but the captain forbade the bargain, leſt the iſlanders ſhould thence comprehend that we placed a higher value on gold than on glaſs and other merchandize.

The iſland Maſſana lies in latitude nine degrees forty minutes north, and in longitude one hundred and ſixty-two degrees weſt of the line of demarcation. It is twenty-five leagues diſtant from the iſland Humunu ‡.

We ſailed from this iſland on the 5th April 1521, and ſteered ſouth-eaſt, threading between five iſlands called Ceylon, Bohol, Canigan, Baybay, and Gatigan §. In this laſt we ſaw bats as large as eagles. One of them we killed and ate, and found it much reſembled a fowl in taſte ‖. Here alſo are pigeons, doves, parrots, and other birds, black and as large as fowls, which lay eggs equl in ſize to thoſe of the duck, and an excellent food. We were told that the female lays her eggs in the ſand, and that

* The practice of chewing areca (areca catechu, *Linn.*) folded in leaves of betel ſtill ſubſiſts.

† This is betel. The benefit derived from the uſe of betel with lime, in countries ſituate between the tropics, where the warmth and moiſture of the atmoſphere tend ſo much to debilitate the human frame, is noticed with much diſcernment by M. Peron. (Voyage of Diſc. to the Auſtral Regions, chap. viii.; and chap. xx. ſect. 7.) ENG. TR.

‡ Limaſſava is indeed in the latitude ſtated; but in the longitude, as elſewhere, the error is conſiderable.

§ Bohol retains its name. Candigan and Gatigan are found in old charts, and eſpecially in chart xviii. of Urbano Monti. Bellin places theſe iſlands in his map, but without names.

‖ Veſpertillio Vampyrus. Linn.

they

they are hatched by the heat of the ſun. From Maſſana to Gatigan the diſtance is twenty leagues.

On leaving Gatigan we ſteered weſtward, and, as the King of Maſſana was unable to keep pace with us in his pirogue, we waited for him near three iſlands called Polo, Ticobon, and Pozon*: when he had overtaken us we cauſed him, with ſome of his attendants, to come on board our veſſel, which greatly pleaſed him; finally we arrived at the iſland Zubu. From Gatigan to Zubu, the diſtance is fifteen leagues.

On Sunday, 7th April, we entered the port of Zubu. We paſſed by ſeveral villages, in which we ſaw houſes built upon trees. When near the town the captain ordered all our colours to be hoiſted, and all our ſails to be taken in; and a general ſalute was fired, which cauſed great alarm among the iſlanders.

The captain then ſent one of his pupils, with the interpreter, as ambaſſador to the King of Zubu. On arriving at the town they found the King ſurrounded by an immenſe concourſe of people alarmed at the noiſe occaſioned by the diſcharge of our bombards. The interpreter began with removing the apprehenſion of the monarch, informing him that this was a cuſtom with us, and meant as a mark of reſpect towards him, and as a token of friendſhip and peace. Upon this aſſurance the fears of all were diſſipated.

The King enquired by his miniſter what brought us to his iſland, and what we wanted. The interpreter anſwered that his maſter who commanded the ſquadron was a captain in the ſervice of the greateſt monarch upon earth, and that the object of his voyage was to proceed to Malucho; but that the King of Maſſana, at whoſe iſland we had touched, having ſpoken very highly of him, he had come hither to pay him his reſpects, and at the ſame time to take in proviſions and give merchandize in exchange.

The King replied he was welcome, but at the ſame time he adviſed him that all veſſels which might enter his port in view of trading were ſubject previouſly to pay duties: in proof of the truth of which he added, that four days had not yet elapſed ſince his having received port dues for a junk† from Ciam, which had come thither to take in ſlaves and gold; he moreover ſent for a Mooriſh merchant, who came from Ciam with the ſame view, to bear witneſs to what he ſtated.

The interpreter anſwered, that his maſter being the captain of ſo great a king could not conſent to pay duty to any monarch upon earth; that if the King of Zubu wiſhed for peace, he brought peace with him; but if he wiſhed to be hoſtile, he was prepared for war. The merchant from Ciam then approaching the King, ſaid to him in his own language, "Cata rajah chita;" that is to ſay, "Take care, Sire, of that. Theſe people," added he, for he thought us Portugueſe, "are thoſe who conquered Calicut, Malacca, and all Upper India." The interpreter, who comprehended what the Moor ſaid, then remarked that his monarch was one vaſtly more powerful than the King of Portugal, to whom the Ciameſe alluded, as well by ſea as by land; that it was the King of Spain, the Emperor of the whole Chriſtian world; and that if he had preferred to have him for an enemy rather than a friend he would have ſent a ſufficient number of men and veſſels entirely to deſtroy his iſland. The Moor confirmed what the interpreter ſaid. The King then, finding himſelf embarraſſed, ſaid he would adviſe with his miniſters, and return an anſwer the next day. In the mean time he ordered a

* Polo and Pozon, iſlands which, as well as the others, are ſeen in the charts of Monti and Ramuſio; but are there placed too far aſunder.

† A junk is a large veſſel, of which elſewhere Pigafetta gives a deſcription.

breakfaſt,

breakfaſt, conſiſting of ſeveral diſhes, to be ſet before the deputy of the captain-general and the interpreter, all the diſhes conſiſting of meat ſerved up in porcelain.

After breakfaſt our deputies returned, and reported what had taken place. The King of Maſſana, who next to that of Zubu was the moſt powerful monarch of theſe iſlands, went on ſhore to announce to the King the friendly intentions of our captain-general with reſpect to him.

The next day the ſecretary of our ſhip and the interpreter went to Zubu. The King advanced to meet them, accompanied by his chiefs, and after cauſing them to be ſeated before him, told them that, convinced from what he had heard, he not only deſiſted from exacting any dues, but was ready himſelf to become tributary to the Emperor. They then anſwered that they exacted no other conceſſion on his part than that of an excluſive commerce with the iſland. To this the King agreed, and charged them to aſſure the captain that if he truly wiſhed to be eſteemed his friend he had only to draw ſome little blood from his right arm and ſend it him, and he would do the ſame, which on either ſide would be a compact of true and ſubſtantial friendſhip. The interpreter anſwered for this being effected *. The King then added, that all friendly captains who viſited his port made preſents to him, and received others in return; and that he left to the captain the choice of being the firſt to make or receive them. On this obſervation the captain remarked, that as he ſeemed to lay ſuch ſtreſs on this uſage, he had only to ſet the example, which he conſented to do.

Tueſday, in the morning, the King of Maſſana came on board our veſſel, in company with the Mooriſh merchant, and after ſaluting the captain on the part of the King of Zubu, told him he was authorized to communicate that the King was buſied in collecting all the proviſions he could to make a preſent of them to him, and that in the afternoon he would ſend his nephew with ſome of his miniſters to confirm a treaty of peace. The captain thanked the deputation, and at the ſame time exhibited to them a man armed cap-à-pie, obſerving, in caſe of a neceſſity to fight, we ſhould all of us be armed in the ſame manner. The Moor was terribly frightened at ſight of a man armed in this manner; but the captain tranquillized him with the aſſurance that our arms were as advantageous to our friends as fatal to our enemies; and that we were able as readily to diſperſe all the enemies of our ſovereign and our faith as to wipe the ſweat from our brows. The captain made uſe of this lofty and threatening tone purpoſely that the Moor might make report of it to the King.

As promiſed, the preſumptive heir to the throne came on board us in the afternoon with the King of Maſſana, the Moor, the governor or miniſter, the provoſt-major, and eight chiefs of the iſland, to eſtabliſh a treaty of peace. The captain received them with great ſtate: he was ſeated in a chair covered with red velvet, and other chairs covered in the ſame manner were aſſigned to the King of Maſſana and the Prince; the chiefs were ſeated on chairs covered with leather, and the reſt of the party on mats.

The captain inquired by means of the interpreter, if it was uſual with them to form treaties in public, and if the Prince and the King of Maſſana were duly authorized to conclude a treaty with him. The anſwer was, that they were duly authorized, and that the conditions might be publicly diſcuſſed. The captain then made them ſenſible of all the advantages to be derived from this alliance, called on the God of Heaven to witneſs it, and added many other things which inſpired them with love and veneration

* This practice is not peculiar to the iſland of Zubu or the Philippines; it has recently been noticed to prevail in Timor, and even in Madagaſcar. See Peron's Voyage to the Southern Regions, book viii. in this Collection.

for

for our religion. He enquired if the King had any male children, and learnt that he had none but females, the eldeſt of whom was the wife of his nephew, who then was his ambaſſador, and who, in virtue of this marriage, was regarded as the hereditary prince. On ſpeaking to them of the courſe of ſucceſſion, we learnt that when parents attain a certain age they are no longer held in eſteem, and that their authority then devolves to their ſons. Our captain was much diſpleaſed at hearing of this uſage, which he ſtrongly condemned, ſeeing the Almighty who created heaven and earth, as he obſerved, has ſtrictly commanded children to honour their parents, and threatened with eternal fire thoſe who ſhould trangreſs this commandment; and to make them the better apprehend the force of this divine precept, he told them that we were all alike ſubject to the ſame divine laws, as we were all alike deſcended from Adam and Eve. He added other obſervations from holy writ, which afforded much pleaſure to theſe iſlanders, and inſpired them with deſire of being inſtructed in our religion; ſo much ſo indeed that they beſought the captain to leave with them, at their departure, one or two men capable of teaching them, who would not fail of being held in great honour. But the captain informed them that the moſt eſſential thing was that they ſhould be baptiſed, which could be effected before he ſhould quit the country; that he could not on this occaſion leave any of his people behind him; but that he would return on a future day, and bring with him prieſts and monks to inſtruct them in all things belonging to our holy religion.

At this they expreſſed their ſatisfaction, and added that they themſelves would be glad to receive baptiſm; but that beforehand they wiſhed to conſult their monarch on this ſubject. The captain then admoniſhed them by no means to be baptiſed through any dread with which we might have inſpired them, nor through any expectation of temporal advantage; for it was not his intention to moleſt any one on account of his preferring the religion of his fathers: he did not, however, diſguiſe that thoſe who ſhould become Chriſtians would be more beloved and better dealt with. Every one upon this exclaimed that it was neither out of dread of nor complaiſance towards us, that they ſought to embrace our religion, but from a ſpontaneous emotion, and of their own will.

The captain then promiſed them, in conſonance to orders he had received from his ſovereign, to leave with them arms and a complete ſet of armour; but he told them at the ſame time that it was requiſite their wives ſhould likewiſe be baptiſed, as otherwiſe they muſt be divorced from and hold no communication with them if they would eſcape ſin. Learning that they pretended to be tormented by frequent apparitions of the devil *, he aſſured them that if they became Chriſtians the devil would not afterwards dare to appear before them, but at the hour of death. Theſe iſlanders, much affected and firmly perſuaded of the truth of all they heard, anſwered, that they placed full reliance in him: on this the captain, weeping for joy, embraced them all.

He then took hold of the hand of the Prince and that of the King of Maſſana, and ſaid that by the truſt he had in God, by his allegiance to his ſovereign the Emperor, and by the dreſs he wore †, he now eſtabliſhed and vowed perpetual peace between the King of Spain and King of Zubu. The two ambaſſadors made a ſimilar profeſſion.

* Cavendiſh and Noort (Hiſt. Gen. des Voyages, tome xv. p. 222.) ſpeak of the dread entertained by the inhabitants of the Philippine Iſlands of apparitions of the devil.

† Probably it was the upper dreſs of the order of St. Iago della Spada, of which he was a commander.

After

After this ceremony breakfaſt was ſerved up. The Indians then preſented to the captain, on the part of the King of Zubu, large baſkets full of rice, hogs, goats, and fowls, making excuſes at the ſame time for the unſuitableneſs of the preſent to the dignity of ſo great a perſonage.

The captain-general in return preſented to the Prince a very fine piece of white woollen cloth, a red cap, ſome ſtrings of glaſs beads, and a glaſs goblet gilt, glaſs being in high requeſt among theſe people. He made no preſent to the King of Maſſana, as he had juſt previouſly given him a Cambayan veſt and ſeveral other things. He made preſents at the ſame time to all the ſuite of the embaſſy.

After the iſlanders had left us, the captain ſent me on ſhore, in company with another perſon, to carry the preſent deſigned for the King, which conſiſted of a veſt of yellow and violet coloured ſilk, made after the Turkiſh faſhion, a red cap, and ſome ſtrings of cryſtal beads in a ſilver diſh; with two gilt glaſſes, which we carried in our hands.

On reaching the town we found the King in his palace ſurrounded by a large concourſe of people. He was ſeated on the ground on a mat of palm. He was naked, a girdle excepted which he wore about his loins, and which ſerved to hide his ſexual parts; around his head he wore a veil embroidered with the needle, on his neck a collar of great value, and in his ears two gold rings of great ſize ſet with precious ſtones. He was ſmall in ſtature, plump, and painted with different figures burnt into the ſkin *. Before him on another mat, in two vaſes of porcelain, were ſome turtles' eggs, of which he was eating, and near them four pitchers of palm wine covered with odoriferous herbs. In each of theſe pitchers was a hollow reed, by means of which he drank †.

After ſalutation on our part, the interpreter informed the King that the captain returned thanks for the preſent made him, and on his part had ſent him certain articles, not as a compenſation, but as teſtimonials of the ſincere friendſhip he had lately contracted. After this preface we clothed him in the veſt we brought, put the cap on his head, and proffered the other preſents. Before I gave him the glaſs goblets, I kiſſed and raiſed them above my head: the King on receiving them did the ſame. He then made us partake of his eggs, and drink of his wine through the reeds he uſed himſelf. While we were regaling, thoſe who had come from the ſhip related to him what the captain had ſaid reſpecting peace, and the manner in which he had exhorted them to embrace Chriſtianity.

The King wiſhed us to ſtay and ſup with him, but we excuſed ourſelves and took our leave. The Prince, his ſon-in-law, conducted us to his own houſe, where we found four girls playing on muſic after their manner: one was beating a drum ſimilar to our own, but placed on the ground ‡; another had two kettle drums beſide her, and in each hand a ſmall drum-ſtick, the end of it armed with cloth made of the palm, with which ſhe ſtruck firſt one and then the other; the third was beating in the ſame manner a large kettle-drum; and the fourth held in her hands two ſmall cymbals, which ſhe alternately ſtruck one againſt the other and which rendered an extremely

* At preſent the ſavages no longer uſe fire for tattooing themſelves, but either make inciſions, into which they infuſe colouring liquids, or apply cauſtic juices to the ſkin for the purpoſe.

† The practice of drawing up their drink through reeds was remarked among theſe people by Noort.

‡ Even now in the iſlands of the South Sea drums and cymbals are the chief inſtruments of muſic in uſe with the inhabitants.

pleaſing ſound. They all of them kept ſuch excellent time, that we conceived them to poſſeſs great knowledge of muſic. The kettle-drums, which are of metal or bronze, are made in the country of the Sign' Magno *, and ſerve the people of that country in lieu of bells; they are called agon †. Theſe iſlanders likewiſe play on a kind of violin, the ſtrings of which are of copper.

Theſe girls were very pretty, and almoſt as fair as Europeans; and although they were adult, they nevertheleſs were naked: part of them however had a piece of cloth, made of the inner bark of a tree, faſtened round their waiſts, which deſcended as low as the knees; but nothing veiled from the eye any part of the body of the reſidue. The hole in their ears was very large, and was furniſhed with a wooden ring to keep it extended and preſerve it of a round figure ‡. Their hair was black and long, and their head was encircled by a ſmall veil. They never wear ſhoes nor any covering whatever for the legs and feet. We partook of a collation with the Prince, and afterwards returned to our ſhips.

One of our people dying in courſe of the night, I returned to the King on Wedneſday morning, 10th April, accompanied by the interpreter, to beg permiſſion of him to inter the corpſe, and to requeſt he would point out to us ſome ſpot for the purpoſe. The King, who was encircled by a number of people, replied, that as the captain was at liberty to diſpoſe of himſelf and all his ſubjects, he might with full propriety do what he pleaſed with their lands. I added that, before we could bury the defunct, it would be neceſſary we ſhould conſecrate the ground, and erect a croſs there. The King not only gave his approbation to this meaſure, but ſtated that, as well as we did, he would adore the croſs.

We conſecrated, as well as we were able, the whole ground in the town ſet apart for ſepulture of the dead, according to the rites of the church, that we might inſpire the Indians with a good opinion of us, and here we interred the dead body. The ſame evening we again buried another.

Having this day landed a quantity of our merchandize, we placed them in a houſe aſſigned for the purpoſe by the King, which he took under his protection, as well as four men which the captain left in it for the purpoſe of trading by wholeſale. Theſe people, who are great lovers of juſtice, have their weights and meaſures. Their ſcales are made of a beam of wood ſupported in the middle by a cord. At one end is the ſcale to receive the things to be weighed, on the other a leaden weight equivalent to that of the ſcale, to which the different weights are ſuſpended. They have likewiſe their meaſures of length and capacity.

The inhabitants of theſe iſlands are addicted to pleaſure and idleneſs. We have already remarked the manner in which the girls play on the gongs: they have alſo a ſpecies of bag-pipe which much reſembles ours, and which they call ſubin.

Their houſes are conſtructed with beams, planks, and reeds, and are like ours divided into apartments. They are raiſed on poſts; ſo that beneath them there is an empty

* The Sinus Magnus of Ptolemy, which is the Gulf of China.

† The gong is a Chineſe inſtrument, which is gently ſtruck at firſt to excite a weak vibration of the metal of which it is compoſed, and afterwards gradually harder, till the vibration increaſing becomes exceedingly ſonorous, the ſound being continual, as before it dies away a freſh and hard blow renews the vibratory motion of the metal. The ſhape of the gong is that of a frying pan, but with the circumference greater at the bottom which is ſtruck than at the nether edge of the rim. It is made of a mixture of copper and tutenag. ENG. TR.

‡ Cook (Second Voyage, book ii.) explains the mode, by means of elaſtic rings made of the leaves of reeds, with which the holes at the end of the ears are enlarged.

ſpace,

ſpace, which ſerves as a farm and poultry-yard, in which they keep their hogs, goats, and fowls *.

We were told that in theſe ſeas are birds of a black colour, reſembling our crows, which, when the whale appears on the ſurface of the water, watch the moment it opens its mouth to fly into it, and thence proceed directly to pluck out its heart, which they carry away with them to ſome other ſpot to feed upon. The only proof they have however of this fact is their having ſeen this black bird feeding on the heart of the whale, and their finding the whale dead and without a heart. They add that this bird is called lagan; that it has a dentated beak, and a black ſkin; but that its fleſh is white and fit to eat †.

On Friday we opened our warehouſe, and exhibited our different merchandize, which excited much admiration among the iſlanders. For braſs, iron, and other weighty articles, they gave us gold in exchange: our trinkets, and articles of a lighter kind, were bartered for rice, hogs, goats, and other edibles. For fourteen pounds of iron we received ten pieces of gold, of the value of a ducat and a half. The captain-general forbade too great an anxiety for receiving gold; without which order every ſailor would have parted with all he had to obtain this metal, which would have ruined our commerce for ever.

The King having promiſed our captain to embrace the Chriſtian faith, Sunday the 14th of April was fixed upon for the ceremony. With this intent a ſcaffold was raiſed, in the place we had already conſecrated, which was covered with tapeſtry and branches of palm. About forty of us landed, excluſive of two men armed cap-à-pie, who preceded the royal ſtandard. At the inſtant of our landing the veſſels fired a general ſalute, which did not fail of alarming the iſlanders. The captain and the King embraced. We aſcended the ſcaffold, on which were placed two chairs for them, covered with green and blue velvet. The chiefs of the iſland were ſeated on cuſhions, and the reſt of the aſſemblage on mats.

The captain then told the King that among the other advantages that would accrue to him from embracing the Chriſtian faith would be that of his being ſtrengthened, ſo as with greater facility to overcome his enemies. The King anſwered, that without this conſideration he felt himſelf diſpoſed to become a Chriſtian; but that he certainly ſhould be much pleaſed at being enabled to enforce reſpect from different chiefs of the iſland who refuſed him homage, ſaying they were men as well as himſelf, and would not obey his mandates. The captain having ſummoned them before him, gave them, through the interpreter, to underſtand that, if they failed in obeying the King as their liege lord, he would cauſe them all to be put to death, and give their poſſeſſions to the King. Upon this the intimidated chiefs univerſally promiſed to acknowledge the King's authority.

The captain furthermore promiſed the King that, after he ſhould have returned to Spain, he would come back to his country with forces far more conſiderable, and that he would render him the moſt powerful monarch in all theſe iſlands; a recompence which he conſidered due to him for being the firſt who had embraced the Chriſtian faith. The King, raiſing his hands to heaven, returned him thanks, and earneſtly

* The ſame account rendered by Pigafetta of the houſes of the Indians of the Philippine Iſlands is given by De Guigne in his Voyage a l'Iſle de France et à Manille, tome iii.; a voyage which makes a part of this Collection. ENG. TR.

† This is one of the tales of Pigafetta which he relates as if he credited. In favour of the relation having been made to him muſt be obſerved, that many birds feed on dead whales. A crow ſeen in the mouth of a dead whale by ſome of theſe iſlanders may poſſibly have been the firſt origin of this ſtory.

entreated him to leave ſome of his people behind him, to inſtruct him in the myſteries of the Chriſtian religion; which the captain promiſed he would do, but on condition that two of the ſons of the chief men in the iſland ſhould be allowed to accompany him to Spain, where they ſhould be taught the Spaniſh language, in order that on their return they might give account of all they might ſee and hear.

After erecting a large croſs in the middle of the place, a proclamation was iſſued ordering that all who were inclined to become Chriſtians ſhould deſtroy their idols and ſubſtitute the croſs in their ſtead. The captain then taking the King by the hand, conducted him to the platform, where he was dreſt entirely in white, and was baptiſed, together with the King of Maſſana, the Prince his nephew, the Mooriſh merchant, and others, in number five hundred. The King, who was called Rajah Humabon, received the name of Charles, after the Emperor: the others received other names. Maſs was afterwards celebrated, after which the captain invited the King to dinner; but his Majeſty excuſed himſelf, accompanying us however to the boats which took us back to the ſquadron, on which another general ſalute was fired.

Soon as we had dined we went on ſhore in great numbers, with our almoner, to baptiſe the queen and other women. We aſcended the platform with them. I ſhewed the Queen a ſmall image of the Virgin with the infant Jeſus, with which ſhe was much affected and delighted. She begged it of me to replace her idols, and with great willingneſs I acceded to her requeſt *. The Queen received the name of Jane, from the mother of the Emperor; the Prince's ſpouſe that of Catherine, and the Queen of Maſſana that of Iſabella. On that day we baptiſed altogether more than eight hundred perſons, men, women, and children.

The Queen, a young and handſome woman, was completely dreſt in black and white cloth; on her head ſhe wore a very large hat in the ſhape of an umbrella, formed of the leaves of the palm-tree, and ſurmounted by a triple crown formed of ſimilar leaves and reſembling the papal tiara. This hat ſhe conſtantly wears, never going abroad without it. Her mouth and nails were of a very lively red.

Towards evening the King and Queen came to the ſea-ſhore where we were, and liſtened with ſatisfaction to the innocent noiſe of our guns, a noiſe which before had occaſioned them ſo much alarm.

At this time all the inhabitants of Zubu and the neighbouring iſlands were baptiſed, thoſe of one village in one of the iſlands alone excepted, who refuſed obedience to the injunctions of the King or our captain-general: after burning the village, a croſs was erected on the ſpot, becauſe it was a village of idolaters; if the inhabitants had been Moors, *i. e.* Mahometans, a pillar of ſtone would have been raiſed to mark the hardneſs of their hearts.

The captain-general landed every day to hear maſs, on which occaſion many new Chriſtians alſo attended, for whom he made a kind of catechiſm in which many points of our religion were explained.

One day the Queen alſo came in ſtate to hear maſs. She was preceded by three young girls, with each one of her hats in their hands: ſhe was dreſt in black and white, and with her head and ſhoulders covered by a large veil of ſilk ſtriped with gold. Many women accompanied her, each wearing a ſmall veil ſurmounted by a hat; they

* Chance, or the care of ſome inhabitant who looked upon it as an idol, occaſioned its preſervation to the year 1598, at which time the Spaniards, having returned with the miſſionaries, found and cauſed great reſpect to be ſhown it; on this occaſion it was that they gave the name of Jeſus to the town they built on the iſland. (Hiſtoire Generale des Voyages, tome xv. p. 35.)

were

were otherwiſe naked, ſave a ſmall girdle of palm cloth about their middle: their hair hung looſe. The Queen, after bowing to the altar, ſeated herſelf on a cuſhion of embroidered ſilk; and the captain ſprinkled her and her attendants with roſe water, a ſcent in which the women of this country much delight.

That the King might obtain more reſpect and be better obeyed, our captain-general cauſed him to attend maſs one day dreſt in ſilk, and ordered his two brothers to be conducted to the ceremony, one of whom was called Bondara, and was the father of the hereditary prince, the other Cadaro; with theſe alſo were brought thither ſeveral chiefs, whoſe names were Simicut, Sibuaia, Siſacai*, Magalibe, &c. From theſe ſeverally he exacted on the altar an oath to obey the King; after which all of them kiſſed his hand.

The captain next cauſed the King of Zubu to ſwear that he would continue ſubmiſſive and faithful to the King of Spain. After his having taken this oath, the captain-general drew his ſword before the image of Our Lady, and told the King that after a ſimilar engagement, a man ought rather to die than fail in obſervance of it; and that for his part he was ready to undergo a thouſand deaths rather than falſify an oath thus ſworn by the image of Our Lady, by the life of the Emperor his maſter, and by his own habit. He then made him a preſent of a velvet chair, recommending him to cauſe it to be carried before him by one of his chiefs wherever he went, and inſtructing him how this was to be effected.

The King promiſed the captain to do exactly as he was deſired; and to give him a freſh mark of his perſonal attachment to him, he cauſed ſome jewels to be worked, which he deſigned as a preſent for him: theſe conſiſted of two gold pendents for the ears, of pretty large ſize, two bracelets of gold for the arms, and two others for the ſmall of the leg, all of them ornamented with precious ſtones. Theſe rings are the chief ornaments of the Kings of theſe iſlands, who conſtantly go naked and without any ſhoes or ſtockings, their only veſtment being a bit of cloth which hangs down from the waiſt to the knees.

The captain, who had directed the King and the other newly made Chriſtians to burn their idols, which they had promiſed to do, ſeeing they not only continued to preſerve them but made ſacrifices to them of meat according to cuſtom, complained loudly of and highly blamed this breach of promiſe. They did not deny the fact; but ſought to excuſe themſelves by ſaying it was not on their own account they made theſe ſacrifices; but for a ſick perſon to whom they hoped the idols would reſtore health. This ſick man was the brother of the Prince, who was looked upon as the wiſeſt and moſt valiant perſonage in the iſland; and his illneſs had attained ſuch a height that four days had already elapſed ſince he had loſt his ſpeech.

The captain hearing this, animated with holy zeal, ſaid, if they had truly faith in Jeſus Chriſt, they muſt immediately burn all their idols and cauſe the ſick man to be baptiſed, who would then recover. He moreover added that he was ſo perfectly convinced of what he ſaid, that he would conſent to loſe his head if what he promiſed did not immediately take place. The King conſented to all he required. We then made a proceſſion with all imaginable pomp from the place where we were to the houſe of the ſick man, whom we found in reality in a very ſad condition, ſuch indeed that he could neither ſpeak nor move. We baptiſed him, together with two of his wives and his ten daughters. The captain then aſked him how he found himſelf, and he anſwered, of a ſudden recovering his ſpeech, that, thanks to the Lord, he found

* It appears that Si or Ci placed before a man's name is a title of honour.

himſelf

himſelf very well. We were all of us occular witneſſes of this miracle. The Captain then, with greater fervour than the reſt of us, returned praiſe to God. He adminiſtered a reſtorative cordial to the ſick man, and repeated the ſame every day until he was perfectly recovered. He at the ſame time ſent him a mattreſs, blankets, a coverlid of yellow linen, and a pillow.

On the fifth day the ſick man was perfectly recovered and quitted his couch. His firſt care was was to cauſe an idol which was held in great veneration, and which was ſecreted with greateſt care by ſome old women in his houſe, to be burned in preſence of the King and all the people. He likewiſe cauſed ſeveral temples to be demoliſhed which were built on the margin of the ſea, and where the people aſſembled to eat the meat offerings preſented to the idols. All the inhabitants approved of theſe doings, and determined on utterly deſtroying every idol, thoſe even which ornamented the King's houſe, crying at the ſame time, "Viva la Caſtilla," in honour of the King of Spain.

The idols of theſe countries are of wood hollowed behind; their arms and legs are extended and their feet turned up; they have a diſproportionately large face with four very large teeth in front ſimilar to thoſe of the wild boar *. Generally ſpeaking they are painted.

Now I am ſpeaking of their idols, I ſhall relate to your lordſhip † ſome of their ſuperſtitious ceremonies, one of which is bleſſing the hog. The ceremony begins with beating large gongs. Three large diſhes are afterwards brought, two of which contain broiled fiſh, and cakes of rice and millet folded in leaves; on the third are Cambayan cloths and two fillets of cloth made from the palm tree. Two old women then advance, each of which holds in her hand a large trumpet ‡ of bamboo. They place themſelves upon the cloth, ſalute the ſun, and clothe themſelves in the other cloths which were in the diſh. The firſt of theſe old women covers her head with a handkerchief tied round her forehead in ſuch manner as to preſent two horns; and taking another handkerchief in her hand ſhe dances, and at the ſame time ſounds the trumpet, invoking the ſun at intervals. The other old woman takes one of the fillets of palm tree cloth, and in a like manner dances and ſounds the trumpet, and turning towards the ſun addreſſes ſome words to that luminary. The firſt then ſnatches up the other fillet of palm tree cloth, throws away the handkerchief ſhe held in her hand, and both together the two ſound their trumpets and dance round the hog, which is tied and lies on the ground. In the mean time the firſt old woman addreſſes the ſun in a low tone of voice, and is anſwered by the other. After this a cup of wine is preſented to the firſt which ſhe takes, but without ſtopping her dancing or her addreſſes to the ſun, and brings the cup to her mouth four or five times pretending to drink, but the liquor ſhe pours over the heart of the hog. She then returns the cup and receives a lance which ſhe brandiſhes, ſtill continuing to dance and ſpeak, and directs it repeatedly to the heart of the hog, which in the end ſhe pierces with a ſudden and forcible blow. As ſoon as the lance is withdrawn from the wound it is cloſed and dreſſed with ſalutary herbs. During the whole of this ceremony a flambeau is kept burning, which the old woman, who pierced the hog through the heart, ſeizes and extinguiſhes by thruſting it into the mouth of the animal. The other old woman dips the end of her trumpet in the blood of the hog, and with the blood on it ſtains the forehead of all perſons preſent, beginning with her

* Viſhnou, in one of his incarnations, is repreſented with the viſage of a wild boar. Sonnerat, tom. i. page 161.

† Pigafetta here addreſſes himſelf to the grand maſter of Rhodes. Eng. Tr.

‡ Among the muſical inſtruments of the Indians, Sonnerat ſaw and has given the repreſentation of a large trumpet ſimilar to the one here deſcribed. See plate xxvii. fig. 4.

huſband; but ſhe did not come towards us. This being finiſhed, the two old women undreſs themſelves, eat what had been brought in the two firſt plates, and then invite the women, but not the men, to partake with them. The hog is then ſeared. Never is this animal eaten before it has undergone a ſimilar purification, and none but old women officiate on the occaſion.

At the death of one of their chiefs the ceremonies practiſed are, likewiſe, very ſingular, as I have myſelf witneſſed. The moſt diſtinguiſhed women in the country repaired to the houſe of the defunct, in the middle of which the corpſe was placed in a caſe, round which a barrier of cords was made. To theſe cords branches of trees were faſtened; and between theſe branches hangings of cotton were ſuſpended ſo as to form alcoves. Beneath theſe alcoves the women alluded to ſeated themſelves, covered with a white cloth. Each woman was attended by a ſervant who cooled her with a fan of palm. The other women with mournful countenances were ſeated round the chamber. One among them had a knife with which ſhe gradually cut off the hair of the dead. Another, who had been the principal wife of the decaſed, (for though a man may have as many wives as he pleaſes, there is but one miſtreſs,) ſtretched herſelf in ſuch manner on the corpſe that her mouth, hands, and feet were oppoſed to thoſe of the dead. While the one was cutting off his hair, the other was crying; and ſhe began to ſing as ſoon as the work was completed. All round the chamber vaſes of porcelaine were placed containing fire, into which at intervals myrrh, ſtorax, and gum benjamin were caſt, which diffuſed a moſt pleaſing fragrance. Theſe ceremonies continue five or ſix days, during which the corpſe remains in the houſe; I believe the precaution is uſed of embalming it with camphor to prevent putrefaction. At length the body is faſtened down with wooden pins and interred in the cemetery, which is an encloſure covered with canopies.

We were aſſured that every night a black bird, the ſize of a crow, came at midnight and perched on the houſes, and by its ſcreams frightened the dogs, who never ceaſed barking till break of day. We never were able to learn the cauſe of this ſingular phenomenon of which we were all of us witneſſes.

I ſhall mention another of their ſtrange cuſtoms. I have already ſaid that theſe Indians go naked, or with only a piece of cloth of the palm to cover their privities. All the men, young as well as old, have a ſort of fibula conſiſting of a bar of gold or tin of the ſize of a gooſe quill, which traverſes the prepuce from one ſide to the other over the glans, leaving an opening in the middle for the paſſage of the urine; this bar, at the two ends, is faſtened by means of heads ſimilar to thoſe of our large nails; theſe even are oftentimes jagged with points ſo as to repreſent a ſtar.

They informed me that this extraordinary ornament is never removed, not even in the act of coition; that it was their wives who invented and inſiſted on this uſage; and that it was they themſelves who prepared their children for its affixture from their early infancy *; what, however, is certain, notwithſtanding this ſtrange invention, all the women gave us a preference to their huſbands †.

Pro-

* In the firſt tranſlation into modern Italian of the Extrait de Pigafetta, is read: Grandi e piccoli hanno il membro bucato da una parte all' altra appreſſo il capo, e in quel buco hanno meſſo come una verghetta d'oro groſſa come una penna d'oca; i altri mettono come una ſtella acuta ſopra la teſta del membro pur d'oro.

† For decency's ſake the text is much abridged: the original runs thus. Grandi et piccoli hanno paſſato il ſuo membro circa de la teſta de luna parte a laltra con uno fero de oro hovero de ſtanio groſſo como una penna de ocha, e in uno capo et laltro del medeſimo fero alguni como una ſtella con ponte foura li capi altri como una teſta di chiodo da curo aſſaiſſime volte lo volſi vedere da molti coſi veq i como jo eni perchè non lo poteva credere nel mezo del fero e un buto per il quale urinano il fero e le ſtelle ſempre ſtanno ferme

Proviſions abound in this iſland. Beſides the animals I have already mentioned, there are dogs and cats which, like the others, are both of them eaten. There alſo grow rice, millet, panicle, and maize, oranges, lemons, ſugar canes, cocoa nuts, pompions, garlic and ginger; honey alſo abounds, with various other productions; palm wine is made; and a great quantity of gold is collected.

When any of us went on ſhore, whether it happened by day or by night, the Indians conſtantly invited us to eat and drink. They never thoroughly dreſs their meat, and ſalt it very much, which excites them to drink, and at their meals they drink often, by means of hollow reeds, from the vaſes which contain their wine. They commonly remain five or ſix hours at table.

In this iſland are many villages, the chiefs of each of which are one or ſeveral in number, and perſons much reſpected. The following are the names of the villages and their reſpective chiefs: Cingapola, its chiefs Cilaton, Cighibucan, Cimanenga, Cimaticat, and Cicanbul; Mandani, its chief Aponoaan; Lalan, its chief Teten; Lalutan, its chief Japaa; and Lubucin, the chief of which is Cilumai. All theſe villages were ſubject to us, and paid us a kind of tribute.

Contiguous to the iſland Zubu is another called Matan, which has a port of the ſame name, in which our veſſels laid at anchor. The chief village of this iſland is likewiſe called Matan, over which Zula and Cilapulapu preſided as chiefs. In this iſland the village of Bulaia was ſituate, which we burnt.

On Friday 26th April, Zula, one of theſe chiefs, ſent one of his ſons with two goats to the captain-general, and obſerved, that if he did not ſend him the whole of what he had promiſed, the blame was not to be imputed to himſelf, but to the other chief Cilapulapu, who would not acknowledge the authority of the King of Spain: he further ſtated, that if the captain-general would only ſend to his aſſiſtance the following night a boat with ſome armed men, he would engage to beat and entirely ſubjugate his rival.

On receiving this meſſage the captain general determined on going himſelf with theſe boats. We entreated him not to hazard his perſon on this adventure, but he anſwered, that as a good paſtor he ought not to be away from his flock.

At midnight we left the ſhip ſixty in number, armed with helmets and cuiraſſes. The Chriſtian King, the Prince his nephew, and ſeveral Chiefs of Zubu, with a number of armed men, followed us in twenty or thirty balanghays. We reached Matan three hours before day. The captain would not then begin the attack; but he ſent the Moor on ſhore to inform Cilapulapu and his people, that if he would acknowledge the ſovereignty of the King of Spain, obey the Chriſtian King of Zubu, and pay the tribute he demanded, they ſhould be looked upon as friends, otherwiſe they ſhould experience the ſtrength of our lances. The iſlanders, nothing intimidated, replied, they

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ferme. Loro dicono che le ſue moglie voleno cuſſi et ſe foſſero de altra ſorte non uſariano con elli. Quando queſti vogliono uzare loro mediſime lo pigliano non in ordine . . . . Queſti popoli uzanno queſto perchè ſono di debille natura . . . . A tuete da ſey annı inſu apoco apoco li aprono la natura per cagione, etc. It will be no matter of ſurpriſe to thoſe who have read in the relations of travellers of the manners and the induſtry of the women of theſe iſlands in matters of this kind, that their lubricity ſhould have given riſe to this invention. See the letter of Amerigo Veſpucci in Ramuſio, tom. i. p. 131; and Paw Recherches ſur les Americains, part i. Noort and Cavendiſh, who ſailed through the ſame ſeas in 1600, found this practice ſtill continued; and to them it was related to be an invention of the women to prevent the practice of unnatural propenſities in the men Hiſt Gen. des Voyages, tom. x. p 357. The two authors above noticed do not however mention that it was not occaſionally removed. This cuſtom muſt have ceaſed, as modern navigators make no alluſion to it.

had lances as well as we, although they were only ſticks of bamboo pointed at the end, and ſtaves hardened in the fire. They merely requeſted that they might not be attacked in the night, as they expected reinforcements, and ſhould then be better able to cope with us: this they ſaid deſignedly to induce us to attack them immediately, in hope that thus we ſhould fall in the dykes they had dug between the ſea and their houſes.

We accordingly waited day-light, when we jumped into the water up to our thighs, the boats not being able to approach near enough to land, on account of the rocks and ſhallows. The number which landed was forty-nine only, as eleven were left in charge of the boats. We were obliged to wade ſome diſtance through the water before we reached the ſhore.

We found the iſlanders, fifteen hundred in number, formed into three battalions, who immediately on our landing fell upon us, making horrible ſhouts; two of theſe battalions attacked us in flank, and the third in front. Our captain divided his company into two platoons. The muſqueteers and croſs-bowmen fired from a diſtance the ſpace of half an hour without making the leaſt impreſſion on the enemy; for though the balls and arrows penetrated their bucklers made of thin wood, and even wounded them at times in their arms, this did not make them halt, as the wounds failed of occaſioning them inſtant death as they expected, on the contrary, it only made them more bold and furious. Moreover, truſting to the ſuperiority of their numbers, they ſhowered on us ſuch clouds of bamboo lances, ſtaves hardened in the fire, ſtones, and even dirt, that it was with difficulty we defended ourſelves. Some even threw ſpears headed with iron at our captain-general, who, to intimidate and cauſe them to diſperſe, ordered away a party of our men to ſet fire to their houſes, which they immediately effected. The ſight of the flames ſerved only to increaſe their exaſperation: ſome of them even ran to the village which was ſet on fire, and in which twenty or thirty houſes were conſumed, and killed two of our men on the ſpot. They ſeemed momently to increaſe in number and impetuoſity. A poiſoned arrow ſtruck the captain in the leg, who on this ordered a retreat in ſlow and regular order; but the majority of our men took to flight precipitately, ſo that only ſeven or eight remained about the captain.

The Indians perceiving their blows were ineffectual when aimed at our body or head, on account of our armour, and noticing at the ſame time that our legs were uncovered, directed againſt theſe their arrows, javelins, and ſtones, and theſe in ſuch abundance, that we could not guard againſt them. The bombards we had in our boats were of no utility, as the levelneſs of the ſtrand would not admit of the boats being brought ſufficiently cloſe in ſhore. We retreated gradually, ſtill continuing to fight, and were now at a bow's-ſhot from the iſlanders, and in the water up to our knees, when they renewed their attack with fury, throwing at us the ſame lance five or ſix times over as they picked it up on advancing. As they knew our captain, they chiefly aimed at him, ſo that his helmet was twice ſtruck from his head; ſtill he did not give himſelf up to deſpair, and we continued in a very ſmall number fighting by his ſide. This combat, ſo unequal, laſted more than an hour. An iſlander at length ſucceeded in thruſting the end of his lance through the bars of his helmet, and wounding the captain in the forehead, who irritated on the occaſion, immediately ran the aſſailant through the body with his lance, the lance remaining in the wound. He now attempted to draw his ſword, but was unable, owing to his right arm being grievouſly wounded. The Indians, who perceived this, preſſed in crowds upon him; and one of them having given him a violent cut with a ſword on the left leg, he fell on his face: on this they immediately

diately fell upon him. Thus periſhed our guide, our light, and our ſupport. On falling, and ſeeing himſelf ſurrounded by the enemy, he turned towards us ſeveral times, as if to know whether we had been able to ſave ourſelves. As there was not one of thoſe who remained with him but was wounded, and as we were conſequently in no condition either to afford him ſuccour or revenge his death, we inſtantly made for our boats, which were on the point of putting off. To our captain indeed did we owe our deliverance, as the inſtant he fell, all the iſlanders ruſhed towards the ſpot where he laid.

The Chriſtian King had it in his power to render us aſſiſtance, and this he would no doubt have done; but the captain general, far from foreſeeing what was about to happen when he landed with his people, had ordered him not to leave his balanghay, but merely to remain a ſpectator of our manner of fighting. His Majeſty bitterly bewailed his fate on ſeeing him fall.

But the glory of Magellan will ſurvive him. He was adorned with every virtue; in midſt of the greateſt adverſity he conſtantly poſſeſſed an immoveable firmneſs. At ſea he ſubjected himſelf to the ſame privations as his men. Better ſkilled than any one in the knowledge of nautical charts, he was a perfect maſter of navigation, as he proved in making the tour of the world, an attempt on which none before him had ventured *.

This unfortunate battle took place on the 27th April 1521, which fell on a Saturday, a day choſen by the captain himſelf, being that which he held moſt propitious to his enterprize. Eight of our men, and four of the Indians, who had received baptiſm, periſhed with him; and few of thoſe who remained regained the ſhips without being wounded. The men who were in the boats attempted, when they ſaw us puſhed, to aſſiſt us by firing the bombards, but the diſtance was ſo great from which they fired, that they did us more harm than to the enemy, who nevertheleſs loſt fifteen men.

In the afternoon the Chriſtian king, with our conſent, cauſed to be intimated to the people of Matan, that if they would reſtore the bodies of our dead ſoldiers, and eſpecially of our captain-general, we would give them whatever merchandize they required; but they anſwered, that they could not be induced by any conſideration, to part with the body of a man like our chief, which they would preſerve as a monument of their victory over us.

On learning the death of our captain, thoſe who were left in the town to carry on trade, cauſed all their merchandize immediately to be tranſported on board. We then elected in his ſtead two governors, that is to ſay, Odoard Barboſa †, a Portugueſe, and Juan Serano, a Spaniard.

Our interpreter, called Henry, the ſlave of Magellan, having been ſlightly wounded in the battle, made this a pretence for going no more on ſhore, where his preſence was neceſſary for our ſervice, and paſſed the whole day in idleneſs extended on his mat. Odoard Barboſa, commander of Magellan's ſhip, reprimanded him ſeverely on the occaſion, and told him, that though his maſter was dead he was ſtill a ſlave, and that on our return to Spain, he would deliver him up to Donna Beatrix, the wife of

* Magellan only made the circuit of half the globe on this occaſion; but Pigafetta ſays with ſome reaſon, though not quite correctly, that he made the tour of the world, for the Portugueſe were well acquainted with the remainder of the route from the Molucca iſlands to Europe by the Cape of Good Hope, and Magellan had already been at Malacca.

† Odoard Barboſa had already been to the Moluccas by the way of the Cape: he has given a very intereſting account of the Indies. Ramuſio, tom. i. p. 288. One of his companions alſo wrote a ſhort account of this voyage. See the Introduction to this Work, par. xxiv.

Magellan

Magellan; he moreover threatened to have him beaten with rods, if he did not immediately go on ſhore for the ſervice of the ſquadron.

The ſlave hereupon aroſe, and ſeemed to hold no reſentment for the reprimand and menaces of the commander. On landing he repaired to the Chriſtian King, whom he told that we intended ſhortly to take our departure, and that, if his advice was taken, he might render himſelf maſter of all our veſſels and merchandize. The King turned a favouring ear to his propoſals, and conjointly they laid a plot againſt us. The ſlave then returned on board, and ſhewed greater activity and more underſtanding than we had ever noticed in him before.

On the morning of Wedneſday, 1ſt May, the Chriſtian King ſent to our two governors, to inform them that he had prepared a preſent of precious ſtones for the King of Spain, and that he might deliver it into their hands, he begged them to come that day and dine with him, and bring with them ſome of their ſuite. They accordingly went, taking with them our aſtrologer, San Martino of Seville, and, of the different ſhips companies, as many as made up twenty four for the entire number of the party. I was not one on the occaſion, my face being ſwollen by a wound I had received from a poiſoned arrow on the forehead. Johan Carvajo and the provoſt, ſuſpecting the Indians of entertaining ſome bad intentions, returned immediately to the ſhips; it ſeems their ſuſpicions aroſe from having ſeen the nobleman who had been miraculouſly cured, ſeparate the almoner from the party.

Scarcely had they related thus much to us on board, ere we heard loud cries and moans. Heaving anchor immediately, we laid the veſſels cloſe in with the ſhore, and fired a number of ſhot at the houſes. We then ſaw Juan Serano, whom they were leading, wounded and tied hand and foot, towards the ſhore. He entreated us to deſiſt from firing, as otherwiſe, he ſaid, he ſhould be maſſacred. We enquired what had become of his companions and the interpreter, and learned that the former had all been murdered, and that the interpreter had taken part with the natives. He conjured us to ranſom him with merchandize; but Johan Carvajo, though his fellow-goſſip, joined with others in refuſing to treat for his releaſe, and would not allow any of our boats to approach the ſhore. The reaſon for this conduct of Carvajo was, in caſe of the death of the two governors, the command of the ſquadron devolved on himſelf. Juan Serano continued to implore the compaſſion of his fellow-goſſip, by aſſuring him he ſhould be maſſacred the inſtant we ſet ſail; and finding at length that all his entreaties were vain, he uttered deep imprecations, and appealed to the Almighty on the great day of judgment, to exact account of his ſoul from Johan Carvajo, his fellow-goſſip. He was however diſregarded; and we ſet ſail without ever hearing afterwards what became of him.

The iſland of Zubu is large; it has an excellent port, with two entrances to it, the one on the weſt, the other on the north-eaſt. It lies in ten degrees of latitude north, and in one hundred and fifty-four degrees of longitude from the line of demarcation. In this iſland it was, before the death of Magellan, that we obtained the firſt intelligence reſpecting the Molucca Iſlands.

BOOK III.

From our Departure from Zubu, to our leaving the Iſlands of Molucca.

ON quitting the iſland of Zubu, we proceeded to an anchorage off the point of an iſland called Bohol, eighteen leagues diſtant from Zubu; and, ſeeing our crews were diminiſhed ſo greatly by the loſſes we had ſuſtained as to be no longer adequate to manning the three veſſels, we determined on burning the Conception, after taking out of her whatever was ſerviceable. We then ſteered ſouth-ſouth-weſt, coaſting along an iſland called Panilongon, the inhabitants of which are as black as Ethiopians.

Continuing our courſe, we came to an iſland called Butuan *, where we caſt anchor. The King of the iſland came on board our ſhip, and, as a ſymbol of friendſhip and alliance, drew blood from his left hand, with which he beſmeared his breaſt, and touched the tip of his tongue, a ceremony which we imitated. We then entered a river †, in which we ſaw a number of men fiſhing, who offered fiſh to the King. The King, like all the inhabitants of this and the neighbouring iſlands, was naked, wearing nothing but a piece of cloth which concealed his ſex, which even he laid aſide, as did the chiefs of the iſland who were with him; after which they ſeized their oars and began rowing, ſinging at the ſame time. We paſſed by a number of houſes built on the ſide of the river, and at two hours after night-fall reached the King's houſe, which was two leagues diſtant from our anchorage.

When about to enter the houſe, we were met by a number of attendants carrying flambeaux made of canes and palm-leaves rolled up, and encloſing gum anime. While ſupper was preparing, the King, with two of his chiefs and two of his wives, who were tolerably pretty, emptied a large vaſe full of palm wine without eating. They invited me to drink with them, but I excuſed myſelf by obſerving, that I had already ſupped, and drank only once. In drinking they obſerved the ſame ceremony as the King of Maſſana. The ſupper was compoſed of rice, and fiſh highly ſalted, ſerved up in China bowls. The rice they ate in lieu of bread. The manner in which they cook their rice is as follows: in an earthen pot, ſimilar to our ſtew-pans, they firſt put a large leaf, which entirely covers the inſide; in this they place the rice and water, and cover the pot; the rice is then ſuffered to boil till it attains the conſiſtence of our bread, and is taken out in lumps. This is the manner in which rice is cooked in all the iſlands of theſe parts.

Supper ended, the King cauſed a mat of reeds to be brought in, with another of palm, and a pillow made of palm leaves. This was for my couch, on which I laid down to reſt with one of the chiefs. The King went to reſt in another apartment with his two wives.

The next day, before dinner, I made an excurſion into the iſland; I entered ſeveral houſes, which were built in the ſame manner as thoſe before deſcribed in the iſlands we had previouſly viſited, and in which I ſaw many utenſils of gold, but few proviſions. I afterwards rejoined the King, and dined with him on rice and fiſh.

I ſucceeded, by ſigns, in making the King comprehend that I wiſhed to ſee the Queen, and in a ſimilar manner he intimated his conſent; we, in conſequence, proceeded towards the ſummit of a mountain where was her abode. On entering I bowed to her,

* A part of Mindanao. † The river which forms the bay of Chipit.

and

and ſhe returned the compliment. I ſat beſide her while ſhe was employed in making mats of palm for a bed. Her houſe was handſomely furniſhed with vaſes of porcelain, which were ſuſpended from the ſides of the apartments, as were four gongs, one of which was very large, another of a middling ſize, and two others ſmall. She had a number of ſlaves of both ſexes to wait on her. We took our leave and returned to the King's houſe, and breakfaſted on ſugar-canes.

We found in this iſland hogs, goats, rice, ginger, and in ſhort every thing we had ſeen on the others. What, however, moſt abounds is gold. Vallies were pointed out to me, in which, by ſigns, they made me comprehend there were more lumps of gold than we had hairs on our heads; but that, for want of iron, the mines exact greater labour to work than they feel inclined to beſtow.

In the afternoon, on my requeſting to go on board of ſhip, the King, with ſeveral chiefs of the iſland, offered to accompany me in their balanghay. As we fell down the river I ſaw on a ſmall mount on the right three men hanging from a tree. On enquiring the reaſon of this, I learnt they were malefactors.

This part of the iſland, which is called Chipit, is a continuation of the ſame land as that on which Butuan and Calayan are ſituate: it ſtretches above Bohol and approaches Maſſana*. The port is a tolerably good one. It is ſituate in eight degrees of latitude north, longitude one hundred and ſixty-ſeven degrees from the line of demarcation, and is fifty leagues diſtant from Zuba. In the north-weſt lies the iſland of Luzon † two days ſail away. This iſland is large, and every year there arrive at it ſix or eight junks from the people called Lequies, for the purpoſe of trafficking. I ſhall ſpeak of Chipit in another place.

On leaving this iſland, ſteering weſt-ſouth-weſt, we came to an anchor off an iſland almoſt a deſert. The inhabitants, who are very few in number, conſiſt of Moors baniſhed from an iſland called Burné (Borneo). They go naked like the inhabitants of the other iſlands, and for their arms uſe ſarbacanes ‡ and arrows, for which they have quivers, that likewiſe ſerve to hold the herbs with which their arrows are poiſoned. They alſo have poignards, their handles wrought with gold and precious ſtones, lances, clubs, and ſmall breaſt-plates made of the buffalo's hide. They looked upon us as gods or ſaints. In this iſland the trees grow to a great ſize, but proviſions are ſcarce. It is ſituate in latitude ſeven degrees thirty minutes north, and forty-three leagues from Chipit; it is called Cayayan ‖.

Leaving this iſland, and continuing the ſame courſe, that is to ſay weſt-ſouth-weſt, we arrived at a large iſland, in which we found abundance of all kinds of proviſions; this to us was fortunate, for we were ſo hungry and ſo badly provided with food, that we were ſeveral times on the point of abandoning our ſhips and eſtabliſhing ourſelves in ſome of theſe countries there to end our days. This iſland, which is called Palaoan §, furniſhed

* This is the iſland Mindanao, which our author writes Maingdanao. In the chart of Billin, as in that of our manuſcript, the ports of Chipit, Butuan, and Caligan are laid down; it extends beyond Bohol, and its northern point is contiguous to Maſſana.

† Luçon or Manila.

‡ Sarcabanes are hollow reeds uſed in Borneo and the neighbouring iſlands, through which the natives of the iſlands blow ſmall poiſoned arrows at an enemy. They are very expert in the uſe of them, and ſend an arrow to a conſiderable diſtance by the force of their breath. ENG. TR.

‖ In table xviii. of Urbano Monti, the iſland of Cayayan, ſurrounded by ſmall iſlands, is marked as laying in a ſimilar direction. It is in like manner laid down in the atlas of Robert.

§ In ancient charts Palaoan is placed north-weſt of Manila; this iſland could not conſequently be in the route of our circumnavigator, for Manila is north-eaſt of Cayayan. But in this courſe is ſeen the iſland

furniſhed us with hogs, goats, fowls, bananas of ſeveral ſpecies; ſome of theſe were a cubit in length and as thick as a man's arm; others were but a ſpan in length, while others again, and theſe were the moſt excellent, were of ſtill inferior ſize. It likewiſe produces cocoa-nuts, ſugar-canes, and roots ſimilar to turnips. They cook their rice in hot embers, placing it in canes or wooden bowls, and find, by this proceſs, that it keeps much longer than when boiled in pots. From the ſame rice alſo, by means of an alembic, they extract a wine ſtronger and ſuperior to palm wine *. In one word this iſland was to us a land of promiſe. It is ſituate in latitude nine degrees twenty minutes north, longitude one hundred and ſeventy-one degrees twenty minutes from the line of demarcation.

We preſented ourſelves before the King, who contracted an alliance and friendſhip with us; and to convince us of his ſincerity, he begged a knife of us, which he made uſe of for drawing blood from his breaſt, with which he touched his forehead and tongue. We repeated the ſame ceremony.

The inhabitants of Palaoan, like all the other people of theſe parts, go naked; but they are partial to wearing ornaments, ſuch as rings, ſmall chains of braſs, and little bells. What, however, they are moſt delighted with is braſs wire, to which they faſten their hooks for fiſhing.

Almoſt every individual cultivates his own lands. They uſe ſarbacanes and large wooden darts more than a ſpan in length, headed with a harpoon; ſome of them have a fiſh-bone for a point, others a ſharp piece of bamboo poiſoned by means of a certain

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iſland Paragua or Paragoia; and I ſee this ſame iſland called Palaoan on a globe four feet in diameter, belonging to the family of Cuſani, in which I have had the happineſs of living upwards of thirty years; and with pleaſure I take this opportunity of publicly teſtifying my gratitude for the kindneſs I have experienced at their hands. This globe, as well as a celeſtial globe of ſimilar dimenſions, was made about the middle of the ſeventeenth century by Father Sylveſtro Amangio Moroncelli di Fabriano, a Celeſtine monk. In the chart annexed to Macartney's Voyage, this iſland is denominated Palawan or Paragua, which proves that Palaoan or Paragua, or Paragoia, are only the ſame name or rather different names of the ſame iſland.

* This is arrack. The ſtill made uſe of by the natives of this iſland is not deſcribed, but it is likely to reſemble that uſed in the ſimple but ingenious proceſs of diſtillation common in various parts of continental India. A hole is dug in the ground ſuited to the ſize of the jar they employ for containing the fermented extract of the rice. With the bottom of this hole is a ſubterranean communication with the atmoſphere to feed the fire with air, and in the ſide of the hole a chimney which ſerves as well to add freſh fuel by as for a chimney. A fire of dry wood is kindled in the hole, and when the ground is thoroughly heated the pot or rather jar is fixed in the hole, and earth placed about it ſo as to prevent the eſcape of heat. To the neck of the jar a pan is placed, with a hole in the middle to fit the neck of the jar, to which the pan is perfectly luted: this pan has the bottom of it lower at the circumference than at the hole in the middle, and near the top is covered with a thin ſheet of tin or other metal, or with a ſhallow earthen pan with an extremely thin bottom, which ſerves in lieu of a worm and vat to condenſe the vapour as it aſcends. To the bottom of the lower pan, where two are employed, a long piece of bamboo is luted, through which the vapour, condenſed and formed into ſpirit, runs to a pitcher or veſſel placed to receive it. Another piece of bamboo is luted into the bottom of the upper pan, or, where but one is uſed, communicating with the upper ſurface of the metal plate through which the liquor for cooling the vapour runs to the water veſſel. This veſſel is at firſt nearly filled with water. When the heat of the fire below begins to cauſe the fermented liquor in the jar to riſe, an Indian with a pot or kettle pours a gentle ſtream of water from the veſſel adjoining into the upper pan or on to the plate of tin, and continues to do this until the proceſs is complete. The extreme cold excited by the evaporation of the water occaſions the vapour which riſes from the jar to be immediately condenſed, and to run off through the pipe of bamboo to the receiver in a trickling ſtream; and the ſpirit which runs off thus is found to be at leaſt as cold as that obtained by paſſing through the worm of the cooler of European diſtilleries. This cheap, ingenious, and truly philoſophical proceſs, ſo much ſuperior to that in uſe in this country, might perhaps admit of ſuch improvement as to cauſe it to ſuperſede the neceſſity for and great expence of our preſent apparatus for diſtilling. Eng. Tr.—Communication of a proprietor in Bengal.

herb;

herb; theſe arrows are not trimmed at the end with feathers, but with a ſtrip of very ſoft and light wood. To the end of the ſarbacane they faſten an iron head when their arrows are expended, and uſe it as a lance.

They have likewiſe large tame cocks, which, from ſuperſtition, they do not eat; but which they keep for fighting; at mains of theſe birds conſiderable wagers are laid, and prizes are aſſigned to the owners of the conquerors.

From Palaoan, ſteering ſouth-weſt, after ſailing ten leagues, we fell in with another iſland. On ſailing along its ſhores, it ſeemed to us to aſcend *. We coaſted along it the ſpace of fifty † leagues at leaſt before we met with an anchorage. Scarcely had we anchored before a tempeſt aroſe. The ſky was overcaſt, and we ſaw the light of Saint Elme ſettle on our maſt.

The following day, 9th of July, the King ſent to the veſſels a handſome pirogue, the prow and poop of which were adorned with gold. On the prow was a blue and white pavilion, ſurmounted by a tuft of peacocks' feathers. In this pirogue were muſicians who played on the bagpipe and drums, and with them a number of other perſons. The pirogue, which is a kind of galley, was followed by two almadies or fiſhing-boats. Eight of the chief people of the iſland who were in the pirogue came on board our veſſel, and took their ſeats on a carpet ſpread for the purpoſe in the hind-caſtle, where they preſented us with a wooden vaſe full of betel areca, which they continually chew, together with orange flowers and jeſſamine: the whole was covered with a cloth of yellow ſilk. They likewiſe gave to us two baſkets of fowls, two goats, three vaſes of diſtilled wine, and ſome ſugar canes. To the other veſſel they made a ſimilar preſent, and after embracing us they went their ways.

The wine extracted from rice is as clear as water, but ſo ſtrong that many of our crew were intoxicated with a very moderate uſe of the liquor. The name they give it is arach.

Six days after, the King ſent three other pirogues beautifully ornamented, which were rowed round our veſſels, the muſicians on board playing all the while on the bagpipe, gongs, and drums. The people on board ſaluted us by taking off their caps, which are ſo little they ſcarcely cover the top of the head. We returned the ſalute with a diſcharge of our bombards, but without loading them with ſtones. They brought us ſeveral different diſhes of rice, variouſly prepared, now in oblong pieces enveloped in leaves, now in the ſhape of a ſugar loaf, and now made into cakes with eggs and honey.

After theſe preſents on the part of the King, they informed us that he readily granted us permiſſion to wood and water on his iſland, and that we were at liberty to trade to any extent with the inhabitants. On this intimation ſeven of us were diſpatched with preſents for the King, the Queen, and their miniſters. The preſent for the King conſiſted of a Turkiſh dreſs of green velvet, a chair covered with violet-coloured ſilk, five yards of red cloth, a cap, a glaſs goblet gilt, and three quires of paper; that for the Queen conſiſted of three yards of yellow cloth, a pair of ſhoes embroidered with ſilver, and a ſilver etwee full of pins. For the chief miniſter we carried three yards of red cloth, a cap, and a glaſs goblet gilt; for the king at arms, or herald, who came with the pirogue, a Turkiſh dreſs of red and green cloth, a cap, and a quire of paper; for the ſeven other perſonages who came with him, we likewiſe took preſents, ſome yards of cloth for example, a cap each, and a quire of paper. When all the preſents were ready, we entered one of the three pirogues.

* That is to ſay, move in a contrary direction, owing to the adverſe currents.

† Fabre ſays ten leagues, and Ramuſio five: our manuſcript plainly expreſſes fifty, which is the real diſtance from the ſouthern point of Paragoa to the city of Borneo.

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On reaching the town we were forced to wait two hours in the pirogue for the arrival of two elephants covered with ſilk, and twelve men, each of which was the bearer of a vaſe of porcelain covered with ſilk, to hold our preſents. We aſcended the backs of the elephants, preceded by the twelve men who carried our preſents, and in this manner proceeded to the houſe of the miniſter, who had a ſupper conſiſting of ſeveral diſhes ſerved up for us. We ſlept on mattreſſes ſtuffed with cotton and covered with ſilk, and for coverlids had Cambaian chintzes.

The next day we ſpent the morning idly at the miniſter's houſe; at noon we proceeded to the King's palace. We rode on the ſame elephants as brought us from the pirogues, preceded by the men who carried our preſents. From the governor's houſe to the King's palace all the ſtreets were lined with men armed with lances, ſwords, and clubs by ſpecial order of the King.

We entered the court of the palace on our elephants, where alighting, we aſcended a flight of ſtairs accompanied by the governor and ſome officers: we afterwards were uſhered into a large ſaloon full of courtiers, which we ſhould denominate barons of the kingdom: here we ſeated ourſelves on a carpet, and the preſents were placed near us.

At the extremity of this ſaloon was another apartment, ſomewhat ſmaller, hung with ſilk, where two curtains of brocade pulled up, exhibited two windows which gave light to the apartment. We ſaw here three hundred of the King's guards armed with poignards, the point of which they reſted on their thighs. At the extremity of this apartment was a large door covered by a curtain of brocade, which, as thoſe of the windows, had been before was drawn up, and ſhewed us the King ſeated at a table with a ſmall child, and chewing betel: behind him there were only women.

One of the courtiers then informed us that we were not allowed to addreſs the King; but if we had any thing we wiſhed to communicate to him we might deliver its ſubſtance to him; that he ſhould then tell it to a courtier of higher rank, who would repeat it to the brother of the governor's, a miniſter who was in the ſmall apartment, and who, by means of a ſarbacane fixed in a hole in the wall, would impart it to one of the principal officers about the King's perſon, to be by him reported to the King.

He informed us that we had to make three inclinations to the King, at the ſame time raiſing our hands joined together above our heads, and raiſing firſt the one and then the other leg. Having complied with theſe requiſite ceremonies, we informed His Majeſty that we were ſubjects of the King of Spain, who deſired to live in friendſhip with him, and aſked nothing farther than the liberty of carrying on a commerce with his iſland.

The King replied, that he was well pleaſed that His Majeſty of Spain ſought his friendſhip; and informed us that we were welcome to wood and water in his dominions, and to follow any traffic we choſe.

We then preſented to him the different things we had brought; and on each ſeparate article being diſplayed, he made a ſlight movement of the head. To each of us was given brocade, with cloths of ſilk and gold, which were firſt laid on our left ſhoulder, and afterwards taken off to preſerve for us. A breakfaſt of cloves and cinnamon was then placed before us, after which all the curtains were let down, and the windows cloſed.

All thoſe who were in the King's palace had a cloth of gold tied round their waiſts to conceal their privities, poignards with golden handles, ſet with pearls and precious ſtones, and a number of rings on their fingers.

We now again mounted the elephants, and returned to the governor's houſe. Seven

men, who bore the preſents made us by the King, marched before us; and when we came to the governor's houſe, the preſent intended by his Majeſty for each of us was, as before, laid on our left ſhoulder.

We afterwards ſaw nine men coming to the houſe where we were, each carrying a tray of wood, with on it ten or eleven bowls of porcelain, containing different kinds of meat, that is to ſay, veal, capons, fowls, pea-fowls, and others, with many kinds of fiſh; of fleſh and fowl alone there were upwards of thirty different kinds.

We ſupped off the floor, ſeated on a mat of palm. After each mouthful, as was their cuſtom, we ſipped ſome of the ſpirit diſtilled from rice out of a porcelain cup, about the ſize of an egg. We likewiſe ate ſome rice and other articles, prepared with ſugar, uſing golden ſpoons for the purpoſe, ſimilar to thoſe with us.

We ſlept in the ſame place we had done the night before; and in this apartment two wax flambeaux were conſtantly kept burning in ſilver candleſticks, and two large lamps ſupplied with oil, and with four different lights to each. Two men kept watch all night long to attend to them.

The next day we repaired to the ſea ſhore, where we found two pirogues deſtined to carry us on board our ſhips.

The city is built in the ſea, the King's palace and the houſes of the principal perſons excepted. It contains twenty-five thouſand hearths, or families*. The houſes are built of wood upon large piles, to keep them from the water. When the tide riſes, the women, who are the chief venders of neceſſaries, traverſe the town in boats. In front of the King's palace is a large wall, built with bricks of great ſize, with embrazures, or rather port-holes, as in a fortreſs; and on the wall are mounted fifty-ſix bombards of braſs, and ſix of iron: in courſe of the two days we paſſed in the city, they made ſeveral diſcharges from theſe guns.

The King, who is a Mahometan, is called Rajah Siripada. He is very corpulent, and may be about forty years of age. He is waited upon by women alone, the daughters of the chief inhabitants of the iſland. No one is allowed to addreſs him otherwiſe than in the manner I have deſcribed, through a ſarbacane. He has ten ſecretaries conſtantly employed on different matters of ſtate, who write on a very thin epidermis of certain trees which is called chiritoles. He never leaves his palace upon any occaſion other than to hunt.

On the morning of the 29th July we ſaw more than a hundred pirogues advancing towards us, divided into three ſquadrons, with as many tungulis, which is the denomination given to their ſmall barks. As we were apprehenſive of ſome treacherous attack, we immediately ſet ſail, and that in ſuch haſte that we left one of our anchors. Our ſuſpicions encreaſed on paying attention to ſeveral large junks, which the day before had come to an anchor in the rear of our ſhips, and which made us fearful of being aſſailed from all ſides at once. Our firſt care was to relieve ourſelves from the junks, at which we fired and killed a number of thoſe on board. We made prize of four junks; four others ſaved themſelves by running on ſhore. In one of the junks taken by us was the ſon of the King of Lozon, who was the captain-general of the King of Burné, and who with his junks had come from ſubduing a large city called Laoë †, built on a point of the iſland oppoſite to Great Java. In this expedition he

* This number appears to be exaggerated. At preſent it compriſes no more than two or three thouſand houſes. Hiſt. Gen. des Voyages, tom. xv. p. 138.

† Laoë is not a city, but a ſmall iſland off the ſouthern point of Burné. Pigafetta not having been there, no doubt, miſunderſtood what was told him reſpecting it. AMORETTI. At the time Pigafetta

he pillaged the city on account of its inhabitants preferring obedience to the Gentile King of Java, and diſowning the authority of the King of Burné.

Johan Carvajo, our pilot, without conſulting us, reſtored the captain to liberty, having been induced to this meaſure, as we afterwards learnt, by a bribe of a large ſum in gold. Had we retained this captain, the Rajah Siripada would no doubt have given any thing we might have required for his ranſom *; for he had rendered himſelf formidable to the Gentiles, who are perpetually at war with the Mahometan king.

In the port in which we were there is another city, inhabited by Gentiles, like that of the King of Siripada, built in the ſea, and of much greater ſize than the capital of the Mahometan King. The King of the Gentiles is equally potent as his neighbour, but is not ſo oſtentatious; nay, it appears probable that Chriſtianity might with much facility be introduced in his country †.

The Mahometan King, on being informed of the damage we had done his junks, cauſed us to be informed by one of our people ſettled on ſhore for the purpoſe of trade, that his veſſels had had no hoſtile intentions towards us, but were merely on their way to attack the Gentiles; in evidence of which ſome of the heads of theſe people who had been killed in battle were ſhewn us. We then ſent word to the King, that if this was the caſe, he had only to ſend away the two men who were on ſhore with our merchandize, and the ſon of Johan Carvajo, but this the King refuſed. Thus was Johan Carvajo puniſhed by the loſs of his ſon (born in the Brazils), and whom he undoubtedly would have recovered in exchange for the captain-general, but for his avarice and thirſt after gold. We retained on board ſixteen of the chief men of the iſland and three women, whom we reckoned on tranſporting to Spain, with intention of preſenting theſe latter to the queen; but Carvajo kept them for himſelf.

The Mahometans here go naked, like all the other inhabitants of this climate. They are very partial to quickſilver, which they take internally, regarding it not only as a remedy in different diſorders, but alſo as a preſervative of health. They adore Mahomet and follow his law, conſequently they eat no pork. They waſh their poſteriors with their left hand, which they never uſe in eating; and when they void their urine, ſtoop for the purpoſe. Their faces they waſh with the right hand; but they never rub their teeth with their fingers. They circumciſe like the Jews. They never kill either goats or fowls, without firſt addreſſing the ſun. They cut off the pinions of their fowls, and their feet, after which they ſever them in twain. Never do they eat of any animal but ſuch as is killed by themſelves.

This iſland produces camphor, a ſort of balſam which exudes by drops from between the bark and the wood of the tree: theſe drops are as ſmall as particles of bran. If

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wrote, there was moſt probably a conſiderable city. In the chart of the Eaſt Indies, publiſhed in 1709, by Moll, a city of this name is marked at the mouth of Freſh river, in lat. 3° S. long. 111 E. of London; and beſides this, off the ſouth-weſtern point of Borneo the iſland Laoot or Laut, that to which Amoretti alludes. ENG. TR.

* Upon no juſt grounds whatever could this captain have been retained. Carvajo certainly was guilty of great ingratitude in acting ſo haſtily as he did, eſpecially after the open and generous conduct of the King of Borneo towards the Spaniards. Pigafetta perhaps veils the real cauſe for their unprovoked hoſtility. The junks could not have anchored in the harbour without exciting enquiry on the part of the commander of the ſquadron; he would have learnt in conſequence that they returned rich with the plunder of Laoë, and, mindleſs of his obligations to the Sovereign of the country, preſumptively, then reſolved by murder and piracy to make himſelf maſter of the wealth on board: the appearance of the fleet in this caſe will have furniſhed him with the flimſy pretence for following up his plan, which Pigafetta ſtates. ENG. TR.

† The Portugueſe introduced Chriſtianity among them, which flouriſhed until 1590. Sonnerat loco citato; where alſo he ſays, that the Mahomedans have obliged the Pagans to quit the ſea ſhore, and retire to the mountains.

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the camphor be expoſed to the air it inſenſibly evaporates. The tree which produces it is called capor *. Here alſo cinnamon grows, ginger, mirabolans, oranges, lemons, ſugar-canes, melons, citrons, radiſhes, onions, &c. Among the animals are elephants, horſes, buffaloes, hogs, goats, fowls, geeſe, crows, and many other birds.

It is ſaid the king of Burné has two pearls as large as pullets' eggs, and ſo perfectly round that when placed on a poliſhed table, they never remain at reſt. When we carried him our preſents, I made ſign of my deſire to ſee them, which he promiſed I ſhould do; but this never came to paſs. Some of the chiefs told me they knew of them.

The Mahomedans of this country have braſs money perforated ſo as to ſtring it. On one ſide it has four characters of the great King of China. This money is called pici †. In our commerce with the Borneans for a cathil of quickſilver, they gave us ſix china bowls. The cathil weighs two pounds ‡. For a quire of paper we received ſtill more. A cathil of braſs purchaſed a ſmall vaſe of porcelain; and for three knives we obtained one of larger ſize: for a hundred and ſixty cathils of braſs we obtained a bahar (344 lbs. avoirdupois) of wax. The bahar is a weight equal to two hundred and three cathils. For eighty cathils of braſs we purchaſed a bahar of ſalt; and for forty cathils of that metal a bahar of anime, a kind of gum uſed for paying of ſhips, for in this country they have no pitch. Twenty tabils make a cathil. The merchandizes moſt in requeſt here are copper, quickſilver, cinnabar, glaſs, woollen cloths, linens, and, prized above all others, iron and magnifying glaſſes.

The junks we have before mentioned are their largeſt veſſels. They are conſtructed in the following manner: the ſides to within two ſpans of the dead work are of planking faſtened one piece to another by wooden pins, and nicely finiſhed: in the upper part they are formed of large bamboos, which project in a ſalient angle from the junk to form a counterpoiſe ‖. Theſe junks will carry as great a burthen as our veſſels. The maſts are made of the ſame bamboos, and the ſails of the bark of trees.

Having noticed a conſiderable quantity of porcelain at Burné, I made ſome inquiries reſpecting it. I learnt it was formed of a very white kind of earth, which is left for half a century under ground to refine, ſo that they hence hold as a proverb, that the father buries himſelf for the welfare of his ſon. It is pretended, that if poiſon be put into theſe vaſes of porcelain, they immediately break.

The iſland of Burné is ſo extenſive, that it requires three months to ſail round it. It lies in latitude five degrees fifteeen minutes north, longitude one hundred and ſeventy-ſix degrees, forty minutes from the line of demarcation §.

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* The beſt camphor at preſent comes from Borneo. Hiſt. Gen. des Voy. loc. cit. p. 149.

† The pici or pice is the coin of ſmalleſt value current in the Eaſt Indies. It is as deſcribed made in China.

‡ The cathil of Batavia, in the iſland of Java, weighs 1,355 lbs. and decimals avoirdupois; it is of 16 taïls, as in China; if the taïl, or as Pigafetta calls it, tabil of Borneo, be equivalent in weight to that of Java, as the cathil conſiſts of 20 taïls in Borneo, the weight in Engliſh avoirdupois will be 1,694 lbs. In the Metrologie of Biernorod, Paris, 1803, the weight of the cathil of Java, Siam, Malacca, and Sumatra, are given. In the three firſt places it is nearly the ſame, viz. equal to 1,355 lbs. avoirdupois, but the cathil is only of 16 taïls. Now 1,694 lbs. avoirdupois, the cathil of 20 tails, is equal to 1,878 lbs. of Barcelona, or nearly two Spaniſh pounds. The bahar of Borneo may be reckoned equal to 344 lbs. avoirdupois. ENG. TR.

‖ This ſerves to balance the junk or keep it ſteady. The text does not actually ſtate that the reed work extends from the ſides of the junk, but allows the interpretation given, ſince the author ſtates that it ſerves as a counterpoiſe. AMORETTI.

§ This is the latitude of the city of Borneo. The longitude is not exact, Borneo lying in 160°, 10′ eaſt of the line of demarcation. The Chevalier Pigafetta marked in his plan of the iſland of Borneo the diſtance

On quitting this iſland, we retraced our courſe to ſeek a ſpot fit for repairing our veſſels, one of which leaked greatly, and the other, for want of a pilot, had ſtruck on a ſand bank near an iſland called Bibalen *; but, thank God, we got it afloat again. We likewiſe ran a great riſk of being blown up: a ſailor after ſnuffing a candle, through inadvertence, threw the lighted wick into a caſe of gunpowder; but he drew it out again ſo quickly that the powder did not take fire.

On the way we ſaw four pirogues. We took one loaded with cocoa nuts deſtined for Burné; but the crew eſcaped to a ſmall iſland. The three others avoided us by retiring behind ſome other iſlets.

Between the north cape of Burné and the iſland of Cimbonbon, in latitude eight degrees ſeven minutes north, we found a very commodious port for careening our ſhips; but as we were deſtitute of many things neceſſary for this purpoſe, it took us forty-two days to finiſh this work. Every one did his beſt, one taking one part, another a different one. What cauſed us moſt trouble was getting wood from the foreſts, as the whole country was covered with brambles and thorny buſhes, and we were barefooted.

In this iſland there are very large boars. Of theſe we killed one as it was ſwimming from one iſland to another. Its head was two ſpans and a half in length, and its tuſks very long †. Here alſo are crocodiles, which live on land as well as in the water, oyſters and ſhell fiſh of every deſcription, and turtle of a very large ſize. We caught two, the meat alone of which weighed, of the one, twenty-ſix, of the other, forty-four pounds. We likewiſe caught a fiſh, the head of which, reſembling that of a hog, had two horns. Its body was cloathed with a bony ſubſtance, and on its back was a kind of ſaddle, but not very large.

What to me ſeemed more extraordinary was to ſee trees, the leaves of which as they fell, became animated. Theſe leaves reſemble thoſe of the mulberry-tree, except in not being ſo long, their ſtalk is ſhort and pointed, and near the ſtalk on one ſide and the other they have two feet. Upon being touched they make away; but when cruſhed they yield no blood. I kept one in a box for nine days; on opening the box at the end of this time, the leaf was alive, and walking round it: I am of opinion they live on air ‡.

On quitting this iſland, that is to ſay the port, we fell in with a junk coming from Burné. We made ſignal to it to lay to; but as it paid no attention to us, we purſued, took, and pillaged it. It had on board the governor of Pulaoan, with one of his ſons and his brother, whom we obliged to pay for his ranſom, within the ſpace of a week, four hundred meaſures of rice, twenty hogs, a ſimilar number of goats, and a hundred and fifty fowls. Not only did he give us all we required, but to theſe he added ſpontaneouſly cocoa-nuts, bananas, ſugar-canes, and vaſes of palm-wine. In recompence for his

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from the north point to the port at fifty leagues, and Laoë at the ſouthern point of the iſland. Not having heard any other parts of it mentioned, he gave to the iſland the form of a triangle, and laid down the two cities on the bay of Borneo.

* Now called Balaba.

† This is the babiroſſa (Sus babiruſſa Linn.) which has the faculty of ſwimming, and whoſe ſnout is armed with long tuſks. See the deſcription of this animal in the Voyage par le Cap. de Bonne Eſperance et Batavia, a Samarang, a Macaſſar, a Amboine et a Surate; par Stavorinus, tom. i. p. 254, in which alſo its figure may be ſeen.

‡ Other travellers have ſeen ſimilar leaves, and have examined them with greater attention. Some have fancied theſe leaves to be moved by an inſect contained in them. Hiſt. Gen. des Voy. tom. xv. p. 58; others have remarked that they are not really leaves, but a ſpecies of locuſt covered with four wings of an oval form, and about three inches in length, the upper ones of which bend in ſuch manner the one over the other as to reſemble perfectly a brown leaf with its fibres. Stedman. Voyage to Surinam, book ii

liberal

liberal demeanour we reſtored him part of his poniards and fuſils, and gave him a ſtandard, a dreſs of yellow damaſk, and fifteen yards of linen. To his ſon we made a preſent of a cloak of blue cloth, &c. His brother received a dreſs of green cloth. We, likewiſe, made preſents to the people who were with them, ſo that we parted in a friendly manner.

We now ſteered to paſs on a backward track between the iſland of Cagayan and the port of Chipit, our courſe being eaſt by ſouth, and our deſtination for the iſlands of Malucho. We coaſted certain iſlets where we noticed the ſea covered with herbs, notwithſtanding it was here of very conſiderable depth: we ſeemed to be in another ſea*.

Leaving Chipit on the eaſt, we diſcerned on the weſt the two iſlands Zolo † and Taghima ‡, where, as is ſaid, the fineſt pearls are fiſhed. Here thoſe were taken belonging to the King of Borneo, of which I have ſpoken; the manner in which he obtained poſſeſſion of them was as follows: This King had married a daughter of the King of Zolo, who one day told him that her father owned theſe two large pearls. The King of Burné, on hearing it, was anxious to have them, and one night he ſailed with five hundred veſſels full of armed men, ſeized on the perſon of his father-in-law and his two ſons, and made the ſurrender of theſe two pearls the price of their liberation.

Keeping now a courſe eaſt by north we paſſed by two villages called Cavit and Subanin, and ſailed by an inhabited iſland called Motroripa, ten leagues from the iſlets which I have mentioned. The inhabitants of this iſland build no houſes; but conſtantly live in their boats.

The villages of Cavit and Subanin ſtand on the iſlands Bulnan and Caligan, in which the beſt cinnamon grows. Had we been able to remain there any time we might have loaded our veſſel with that ſpice; but we were unwilling to loſe the favourable wind which then prevailed, for we had to double a point and paſs ſome ſmall iſlands which ſurround it. Sailing along we ſaw ſome iſlanders who came off to us, and gave us ſeventeen pounds of cinnamon for two large knives we had taken from the governor of Pulaoan.

Having ſeen the cinnamon tree I am enabled to give a deſcription of it. It is from five to ſix feet high, and no thicker than one's finger. Never has it more than three or four branches: the leaf is ſimilar to that of the laurel: the cinnamon we uſe is merely the bark of the tree, which is ſtripped off twice in the year. The wood itſelf even, and the green leaves have the ſame aromatic flavor as the bark. It is called by the natives cainmana (whence the name cinnamon is derived) from cain, which ſignifies wood, and mana, ſweet.

Changing our courſe now for a north-eaſterly direction, we ſteered for a town called Maingdunao ‖, ſituate in the ſame iſland with Butuan and Calangan, our object in making which place was to obtain preciſe information reſpecting the ſite of the iſlands Malucho. Meeting a bignaday on our way, a bark reſembling a pirogue, we determined on capturing it; but as in effecting this we encountered reſiſtance, we killed ſeven of

* Stedman, in nearly the ſame latitude in the Atlantic Ocean, found the ſea covered with herbage. AMORETTI. The French navigators met with the ſame phenomenon in the Pacific Ocean in Riedlé Bay. See chap xiii. of the Voyage of Diſcovery to the Auſtral Regions by Peron, in this collection. The vegetable is the fucus giganteus, often from 250 to 300 feet long. ENG. TR.

† Bellin calls it Jolo. Cook, Sooloo. ‡ Now Baſilan.

‖ Maingdunao is the ſame as Mindanao, a town on a lake of ſimilar name with the iſland on which it ſtands,

the

the eighteen men ſhe had on board. The priſoners were better made, and more robuſt than any we had hitherto ſeen. They happened to be certain chiefs of Maingdunao, and among them was the king's brother, who aſſured us he perfectly well knew the poſition of the iſlands of Malucho.

Upon the account we received from him we changed our direction to the ſouth-eaſt. We were then in latitude ſix degrees ſeven minutes north, thirty leagues diſtant from Cavit.

We were told that at a cape on this iſland near a river are hairy men, great warriors and excellent bowmen. They have daggers a ſpan long, and when they make priſoners they eat the hearts of them raw with orange or lemon juice. They are called Benaians *.

We paſſed on our way four iſlands, Ciboco, Beraham, Batolach, Sarangani, and Candigar †. On Saturday 26th October, juſt after the cloſe of day, we experienced a hurricane, during which we took in our ſails, and prayed to God for protection. Hereupon we ſaw our three ſaints ſettle on our maſts, who diſperſed the darkneſs. They remained there upwards of two hours, Saint Elme on the main maſt, Saint Nicholas on the mizen, and Saint Clare on the foremaſt. In gratitude for the favour they had done us, we vowed them each a ſlave, and accordingly made them an offering each of one.

Purſuing our courſe we entered a port about the middle of the iſland Sarangani, towards Candigar; we anchored here, near a collection of houſes in Sarangani, where is abundance of pearls and gold. This port lies in latitude five degrees nine minutes north, fifty leagues diſtant from Cavit. The people are Gentiles, and go naked like the reſt of the inhabitants of theſe latitudes.

We ſtopped a day here, and ſeized forcibly on two pilots to conduct us to Malucho. By their advice we ſteered ſouth-ſouth-weſt, and threaded eight iſlands partly inhabited and partly deſert, which formed a kind of ſtreet. Their names are as follow: Cheava, Caviao, Cabiao, Cumunuca, Cabaluzao, Cheai, Lipan, and Nuza; at the end of this ſtreet we found ourſelves oppoſite to a tolerably handſome iſland ‡; but having a contrary wind we were unable to double the point of it, but all night long were conſtrained to be conſtantly tacking. On this occaſion it was that the priſoners we had made at Sarangani jumped overboard and made their eſcape by ſwimming, together with the brother of the king of Maingdunao; but we learnt afterwards, that the ſon of this prince, not having been able to keep his ſeat on his father's back, was drowned.

Finding it impoſſible to double the cape of the great iſland, we paſſed to windward of it, by ſeveral ſmall iſlands. This large iſland, which is called Sanghir, is governed by four kings, the names of whom are as follow: Rajah Matandatu, Raja Laga, Raja Babti, and Raja Parabu. It lies in latitude three degrees thirty minutes north, twenty-ſeven leagues from Sarangani.

Continuing the ſame courſe, we paſſed by five iſlands called Chioma, Carachita,

* Benaian is the ſouthern cape of an iſland of ſimilar name.

† In the chart of Bellin I find but two iſlands here, one of which is called Saranga. Sarangani is named in the note of the eighty-two iſlands, which in the year 1682 belonged to the King of Ternate. Hiſt. Gen. des Voyages, tom. xi. p. 17. This iſland has an excellent port for veſſels to victual in.

‡ The iſlands mentioned here belong to the groupe, among which modern geographers place Kararotan, Linop, and Cabrocana, after which comes Sanghir, the tolerably handſome iſland noticed by our author. South-ſouth-weſt of this iſland are many iſlets mentioned as he proceeds by Pigafetta. Cabiou, Cabalouſu, Limpang, and Nouſſa, are mentioned in the liſt of iſlands which in 1682 belonged to the King of Ternate.

Para,

Para, Zangalura, and Ciau *, the laſt of which is ten leagues diſtant from Sanghir. Here is ſeen a pretty large mountain, but of no great elevation. Its King is called Rajah Ponto.

We reached the iſland Paghinzara †, on which are three high mountains: its King is named Rajah Babintan. Twelve leagues eaſt of Paghinzara we found, beſides Talant, two ſmall inhabited iſlands, Zoar and Mean ‡.

On Wedneſday, 6th November, having paſſed theſe iſlands we diſtinguiſhed four others, pretty lofty, fourteen leagues eaſtward of the laſt. The pilot, whom we had taken at Sarangani, informed us that theſe were the iſlands Malucho. We now returned thanks to God, and as a ſignal of rejoicing fired a round from all our great guns; nor will it excite aſtoniſhment that we ſhould be elated, when it is conſidered that we had been at ſea now twenty-ſeven months all but two days, and had viſited an infinity of iſlands in ſearch of thoſe we had now attained.

The Portugueſe have given out that the iſlands Malucho are ſituate in midſt of a ſea impaſſable on account of ſhallows which every where abound, and the conſtant cloudineſs and fogs to which the atmoſphere is ſubject; we however found the contrary, and never had we leſs than a hundred fathoms water all the way to the Malucho Iſlands themſelves.

On Friday, 8th of November, three hours before ſun-ſet we entered the port of an iſland called Tadore §. We came to an anchorage near the land, in twenty fathoms water, and diſcharged all our guns.

The next day the King came in a pirogue and made the tour of our ſhips. We went to meet him in our boats to expreſs our thanks: he cauſed us to enter his pirogue, in which we ſeated ourſelves by his ſide. He was ſeated under a paraſol of ſilk, which perfectly ſhaded him. Before him were one of his ſons, who bore the royal ſceptre, two men, each holding a vaſe of gold with water to waſh his hands, and two others with two ſmall gilt boxes containing betre (betel).

He complimented us on our arrival, telling us that a long time back he had dreamt that ſome ſhips would arrive at Malucho from a diſtant country; and that to be certain whether his dream was true he had conſulted the moon, by which he found the veſſels would actually arrive, and that it was as he expected.

He next came on board our ſhips, and we all of us kiſſed his hand. We conducted him towards the hind-caſtle, where, that he might not be forced to ſtoop, he refuſed to enter otherwiſe than through the opening at the top. There we cauſed him to be ſeated in a chair of red velvet, and threw over him a Turkiſh veſtment of yellow velvet; and the more ſtrongly to mark our reſpect we ſeated ourſelves oppoſite to him on the ground.

When he underſtood who we were, and the object of our voyage, he told us, that he himſelf and all his people would feel happy in the friendſhip of the King of Spain, and glad to be conſidered his vaſſals; that he would receive us in his iſland as his own children; that we might come on ſhore and remain there as ſafe as in our own houſes; and that as a token of his affection for the King our Sovereign, his iſland ſhould no longer bear the name of Tadore but be called Caſtille.

* In the Atlas of Robert there are here a number of ſmall iſlands, among which are Regalarda and Siapi, names which bear a ſimilitude to Zangalura and Ciau, or Siau. Sonnerat alſo ſpeaks of this laſt. In the note of the iſlands of the King of Ternate appear Karkitang, Para, Sangalouhan, and Siau.

† Paghinzara, Tulaut, and Mahono are contained in the ſame note

‡ Zoar and Mean are in the ſame ſpots on which Robert has placed Saranbal and Meyan.

§ Now Tidor.

We

We then made a preſent to him of the chair on which he ſat, and the dreſs he wore: we likewiſe gave him a piece of fine cloth, four yards of ſcarlet, a veſt of brocade, a yellow damaſk cloth, ſome other Indian cloths of ſilk and gold, a very fine piece of Cambayan chintz, two caps, ſix ſtrings of beads, twelve knives, three large mirrors, ſix pair of ſciſſars, ſix combs, ſome glaſs goblets gilt, and other things. To his ſon we preſented a piece of Indian cloth of ſilk and gold, a large mirror, a cap, and two knives. We likewiſe made preſents to each of the nine perſonages who attended him, of a piece of ſilk, a cap, and two knives; and to the remainder of his ſuite, of each a cap, knife, &c. continuing our gifts till the King deſired us to ceaſe. He ſaid he was ſorry that he had nothing with which to preſent the King of Spain that was worthy of his acceptance but himſelf. He recommended us to moor our veſſels near the houſes, and authorized us, in caſe any of his people ſhould attempt to rob us during the night, to fire at them. After this he departed highly ſatisfied with us; but on no occaſion would he bend the head, notwithſtanding we frequently bowed to him. On his departure we fired a ſalute from all our guns.

This King is a Moor, that is to ſay an Arab*, about forty-five years of age, tolerably well made, and of handſome countenance. His dreſs conſiſted of a very fine ſhirt, the ſleeves of which were embroidered with gold; from the waiſt to the feet he wore a looſe drapery; his head was covered by a veil of ſilk, and over this veil he wore a garland of flowers. His name is Rajah Sooltaun Manzoor. He is an eminent aſtrologer.

On Sunday, 10th November, we had a ſecond interview with the King, who enquired what our ſeveral appointments were, and what our pay; in which articles we ſatisfied his curioſity. He likewiſe begged us to favour him with a ſeal of the King and a royal ſtandard; being ſolicitous, he ſaid, that his iſland, as well as that of Tarenate †, over which he intended to place as ſovereign his grandſon, who was called Calanogapi, ſhould henceforth be ſubject to the King of Spain, for whom he would for the future contend: moreover, he added, if he ſhould be ſo unfortunate as to be overcome, he would in his own veſſels proceed to Spain, and carry with him thither the royal ſignet and ſtandard. He afterwards beſought us to leave with him on our departure ſome of our people, whom he would hold more dear than all our merchandize, which would not, as he obſerved, ſo long remind him, as the ſight of theſe Spaniards, of our monarch the King of Spain.

Remarking our ſolicitude to haſten the lading of our ſhips with cloves, he told us, that not having a ſufficient quantity in the iſland in a dry ſtate to anſwer our demand, he would fetch more from the iſland Bachian, where he truſted he ſhould find the quantity we needed.

This day being Sunday we made no purchaſes. The ſabbath of theſe iſlanders is Friday.

It will no doubt be pleaſing to you, my lord, to receive information reſpecting the iſlands which produce cloves. Theſe are five in number: Tarenate, Tadore, Mutir, Machian, and Bachian ‡. Tarenate (Ternate) is the chief: the laſt King was ſovereign of almoſt the

* By Moor and Arab Pigafetta alike means Mahomedan.

† Now Ternate.

‡ It was formerly thought that cloves were only found in theſe five iſlands, properly called the Moluccas; but they were afterwards found in other iſlands, to which, on this account, the name of Moluccas was extended; ſo that at preſent are compriſed under this name all the iſlands between the Philippines and Java. The Dutch, in order to monopolize the trade in cloves, endeavoured by force and ſtratagem to deſtroy all the clove trees in the iſlands not dependent on them, but did not ſucceed. Subſequent on the French

the whole of the other four. Tadore (Tidor), where we then was, has its own king. Mutir and Machian are independent republics; and when the Kings of Tarenate and Tadore are at war with each other, theſe two democratic ſtates furniſh ſoldiers to either party. The laſt of the iſlands is Bachian, which has its diſtinct ſovereign. The whole of this diſtrict, in which cloves grow, is called Malucho (the Moluccas).

Upon our arrival at Tadore, we were told that eight months before a Portugueſe died there, of the name of Francis Serano. He was captain-general of the King of Tarenate, who was at war with the King of Tadore. Serano obliged the latter to give his daughter in marriage to the former, and moſt of the male children of the chief people of Tadore as hoſtages;—by theſe means peace was effected. From this marriage iſſued the grandſon of the King Calanopagi, of whom we have before ſpoken; but the King of Tadore never ſincerely forgave Francis Serano, and ſwore to be revenged: in fact ſome years after this occurrence, when Serano repaired one day to Tadore to buy cloves, the King had poiſon adminiſtered to him in leaves of betre, and he ſurvived but four days. The King wiſhed to have him interred after the cuſtom of his country; but three Chriſtian domeſtics, which Serano had taken with him, reſiſted his intention. Serano, at his death, left a boy and girl yet infants, the iſſue of a marriage contracted by him in the iſland of Java. The whole of his property conſiſted, almoſt excluſively, in two hundred bahars of cloves (68,800lbs. avoirdupois weight).

Serano was an intimate friend of, and was even related to our unfortunate captain-general; and him it was who influenced him in undertaking this voyage: for while Magellan was at Malacca, he learnt from Serano that he was at Tadore, where a very advantageous traffic might be carried on. Magellan did not loſe ſight of this information, when Don Emanuel refuſed the ſmall increaſe of pay he ſolicited of a teſtoon per month *; a recompenſe which he thought his ſervices to the crown had amply deſerved. In revenge, therefore, for the denial of a requeſt ſo moderate, he repaired to Spain, and propoſed to His Majeſty the Emperor a voyage to Malucho by a weſtern courſe, which propoſition was liſtened to, and originated the expedition on which we ſailed.

Ten days after the death of Serano, the King of Tarenate, called Rajah Abuleis †, who had married the daughter of the King of Bachian, declared war againſt his ſon-in-law, and drove him out of his iſland. His daughter left then her exiled huſband to mediate between her father and him, and while with her father for this purpoſe ſhe adminiſtered poiſon to him, which took him off in the courſe of two days. At his death he left nine ſons: Chechili-Momuli ‡, Jadore-Vunghi, Chechilideroix, Cilimanzoor, Cilipagi, Chialioochechilin, Catara-vajecu, Serich, and Calanogapi.

On Monday, 11th November, Chechilideroix, one of the ſons of the King of Tarenate whom we have before mentioned, approached our veſſel with two pirogues, in which were men playing on gongs. He was dreſt in a robe of red velvet. We were afterwards informed that he had with him the widow and children of Serano. Still he did not venture to come on board; and on our part we dared not to invite

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French revolution great changes took place in the South Sea. Pigafetta, who has given the Molucca Iſlands in his charts, has likewiſe delineated on one of them a clove tree, which bears no reſemblance to it whatever. AMORETTI. As well as in the South Sea, the clove-tree flouriſhes in the Iſle of France; as will be ſeen in the Voyage to the Iſle of France and Manila, by M. de Guignes, which forms a part of this Collection.

* The teſtoon of this time was of the value of half a ducat, or about five ſhillings.

† When Brito or Breo was ſent as a governor to the Molucca iſlands in 1511, Abuleis was then ſovereign of Ternate, and is called Rajah Beglif.

‡ It appears that when Pigafetta uſes the *ch* it has, after the manner of the Italians, the ſound of *k*, and not that of the *ch* of the Engliſh and Spaniards. ENG. TR.

him without permiſſion from the King of Tadore, who was his enemy, and in whoſe port we were: we conſequently ſent to learn his pleaſure. His anſwer was that we had full liberty to do as we pleaſed. In the mean time Chechilideroix, ſeeing us heſitate, became ſuſpicious, and kept a greater diſtance, on which we were induced to ſend a boat to him, with a piece of Indian cloth as a preſent, ſome mirrors, ſciſſars, and knives, which he accepted with reluctance, and afterwards ſailed away.

He had with him an Indian who had turned Chriſtian, and was called Manuel; this man was ſervant to Alphonſo de Loroſa, who on the death of Serano had come from Bandan to Tarenate; he underſtood the Portugueſe, and with the boat we ſent came on board our veſſel, and informed us that the ſons of the King of Tarenate, though at enmity with the King of Tadore, were well inclined to abandon the King of Portugal for the monarch of Spain. By his means we conveyed a letter to Loroſa inviting him on board, and aſſuring him of our friendly intentions. In the ſequel we ſhall ſee that he attended to our invitation.

On enquiry into the cuſtoms of the country, I learnt that the King may have as many women as he pleaſes, but that only one of them is regarded as his queen, the others being reckoned ſlaves. Without the town he had a large houſe, in which were two hundred of his moſt handſome women, with an equal number to wait upon them. The King always eats by himſelf, or with his queen, on a ſort of elevated platform, which commands a view of all his women, who are ſeated round him; and after dinner he ſelects which of them pleaſes him beſt for his companion for the night. After the King has dined, provided he allows of it, his women all eat together; otherwiſe each dines in her chamber by herſelf. No one is allowed to ſee the King's women but by expreſs permiſſion from him; and were any daring individual to approach the place of their abode, whether by day or by night, he would inſtantly be put to death. In order that the King's ſeraglio may be well ſupplied, each family is obliged to furniſh him with one or two girls. The Rajah Sooltaun Manzoor had twenty-ſix children; of which number eight were boys and eighteen girls *. In the iſland of Tadore there is a kind of biſhop †, who had forty women and a vaſt number of children.

On Tueſday, 12th November, the King cauſed a ſhed to be raiſed for receiving our merchandize, which was completed in a ſingle day. Thither we carried all we deſigned to barter, and three of our men were ſet to guard the ſame. The value fixed on the merchandize we meant to exchange for cloves was thus fixed: for ten yards of red cloth of a fine quality, a bahar of cloves was to be received. The bahar is four quintals and ſix pounds ‡, each quintal being one hundred pounds. We likewiſe were to have in barter the ſame quantity of cloves for fifteen yards of inferior cloth, for fifteen axes, or thirty-five glaſs goblets. After this ratio we diſpoſed of all our glaſs to the King. Moreover, a bahar of cloves was the price given for ſeventeen cathils of cinnabar, for a ſimilar weight of quickſilver, for twenty-ſix yards of linen, or twenty-five of a finer quality, for a hundred and fifty pair of ſciſſars, or as many knives, for ten yards of Guzzerat cloth §, for three gongs, or a hundred weight of copper. We ſhould

* Förſter (Cook's Third Voyage) obſerves that wherever men or even animals have many females, more of the feminine are born than of the maſculine gender; a circumſtance eaſy of explanation on the principle of the organic moleculæ of Buffon. The family of the King of Tidor is in proof of this aſſertion.

† That is to ſay a mufti.

‡ It is not clear what pounds Pigafetta alludes to, whether Spaniſh or Portugueſe; if the pound of Seville, the bahar of Molucca will be equivalent to four hundred and twelve; if of Liſbon to four hundred and ten pounds avoirdupois.

§ The Guzzerat was a kingdom in India, ſubject to the King of Cambaya, of which Barboſa, a companion of Pigafetta, makes mention in Ramuſio, tome i. p. 295.

have

have made great profit of our looking-glaſſes, but moſt of them were broke by the way, and the reſidue were almoſt wholly appropriated to himſelf by the King. Part of the merchandize I have mentioned was taken out of the junks we captured. We thus carried on a highly advantageous traffic; but we ſhould have made it ſtill more lucrative but for our eagerneſs to return to Spain. Beſides cloves, we every day laid in a conſiderable ſtock of proviſions, the Indians conſtantly repairing to us in their barks, bringing goats, poultry, cocoa-nuts, bananas, and other edibles, which they gave us for things of little value. We at the ſame time laid in a large quantity of an extremely hot water, which after an hour's expoſure to the air becomes very cold. It is pretended that this quality of the water is owing to its iſſuing from the mountain of cloves *. In this we recognized the impoſture of the Portugueſe, who have ſtudied to enforce a belief that there is no freſh water in the Malucho Iſlands, and that it muſt be obtained from very diſtant countries.

The next day the King ſent his ſon Moſſahap to the iſland Mutir in ſearch of cloves, that we might the ſooner complete our lading. The Indians, who we had taken on the way, choſe this opportunity of ſpeaking to the King, and of intereſting him in their behalf. He accordingly begged them of us, in order, as he ſaid, that he might ſend them home, accompanied by five of the iſlanders of Tadore, who by this means would have an opportunity of ſpeaking in praiſe of the King of Spain, and thus render the Spaniſh name dear to and reſpectable among thoſe nations. We delivered up to him in conſequence the three women we intended to preſent to the Queen of Spain, as well as all the men we had taken, thoſe only of Burné excepted.

The King begged of us another favour: it was that we would kill all the ſwine we had on board, for which he offered us ample compenſation in goats and poultry. We accordingly complied with his requeſt, and killed them between decks that the Moors might not ſee them; for ſuch is their abhorrence of this animal, that when by chance they meet one they ſhut their eyes and put their fingers to their noſe, that they may neither ſee it nor ſmell the odour it diffuſes.

The ſame evening the Portugueſe, Peter Alphonſo de Loroſa, came on board our veſſel in a pirogue. We were informed that the King had ſent to admoniſh him previouſly, that, though he was from Tarenate, he muſt take eſpecial care, as he ſhould anſwer for a different conduct, to be ſincere in his replies to the queſtions we might put to him. In fact, on his coming on board, he gave us information on every matter intereſting to us. We learnt from him that he had been ſixteen years in India, of which he had paſſed ten in the Malucho iſlands, whither he had come with the firſt Portugueſe, who had actually been eſtabliſhed there that ſpace of time, though this was kept a profound ſecret. He added, that a large veſſel, eleven months before, had arrived at the Malucho Iſlands from Malacca, to load with cloves, and had effectively taken in a cargo; but that it had been detained for ſeveral months by bad weather at Bandan. This veſſel came from Europe; and the Portugueſe captain, who was called Triſtan di Menèzes, told Loroſa, that the moſt important news at that time was that a ſquadron of five veſſels, under the command of Fernandez Magellan, had ſailed from Seville, to make the diſcovery of Malucho in the name of the King of Spain; and that the King of Portugal, who was the more vexed at this expedition from its being a ſubject of his who ſought to do him the injury, had ſent veſſels to the Cape of Good

* It has been remarked that many iſlands of the South Sea are volcanic; conſequently the hot water is merely a reſult of this circumſtance, or the exiſtence of pyrites in the ſubterranean channels through which the water runs previous to its riſing to the day.

Hope, and to Cape Sta. Maria * in the country of the cannibals, to intercept his paſſage into the Indian Sea, but that they had not met with him. Having received information of his paſſing by another ſea, and that he was gone to the Malucho iſlands by a weſtern paſſage, he had ordered Don Diego Lopez de Sichera †, his captain-in-chief in the Indies, to ſend ſix ſhips of war to Malucho againſt Magellan; but Sichera being informed that the Turks were at this time preparing a fleet againſt Malacca, had previouſly been obliged to diſpatch ſixty ſhips againſt them to the Strait of Mecca, in the land of Judah ‡; and having found the Turkiſh galleys here caſt on ſhore near the ſtrong and handſome town of Adem, they ſucceeded in burning them all. This expedition prevented the Portugueſe captain-general effecting what he was ordered againſt us; but ſhortly after he prepared a galeon of two tier of bombards to attack us, commanded by Francis Faria, a Portugueſe. Neither did this galeon proceed to the Malucho Iſlands againſt us; for, whether owing to running on the ſhoals near Malacca, or to currents and contrary winds, it was obliged to return to the port whence it came. Loroſa added, that a few days before, a caravella with two junks had come to the Malucho Iſlands to obtain intelligence reſpecting us. The junks went in the interval to Bachian to load with cloves, having ſeven Portugueſe on board, who, notwithſtanding the remonſtrances of the King, refuſing to reſpect the perſons either of the women or the inhabitants, nay, or the King himſelf, were all of them maſſacred. On learning this, the captain of the caravella judged expedient to ſail as quickly as poſſible, and return to Malacca, leaving the two junks at Bachian, with four hundred bahars of cloves (between ſeventy and eighty tons), and a ſufficiency of merchandize to barter for a hundred more.

He likewiſe told us that a number of junks go every year from Malacca to Banda, to buy mace and nutmegs, and thence come to the Malucho iſlands to load with cloves. The voyage from Banda to the Malucho iſlands is effected in three days, and that from Banda to Malacca in a fortnight. This commerce is the moſt profitable to the King of Portugal of any carried on with theſe iſlands, and in conſequence the greateſt care is uſed in keeping it ſecret from the Spaniards.

What Loroſa communicated was very intereſting to us; we therefore endeavoured to perſuade him to embark with us for Europe, holding out to him the expectation of ſome valuable appointment from the King of Spain.

On Friday, 15th November, the King told us he was about to proceed to Bachian to take poſſeſſion of the cloves left there by the Portugueſe, and requeſted preſents of us for the King of Mutir, to whom he meant to give them in the name of the King of Spain. He amuſed himſelf in the interval of their preparation, while on board our ſhip, in ſeeing the exerciſe of our different arms, that is to ſay, the croſs-bow, the berſil §, a weapon larger than the fuſil, and the muſket. He ſhot thrice from the croſs-bow, but could not be induced to fire the muſket.

Oppoſite to Tadore is a very large iſland called Giailolo ‖, inhabited by Moors and Gentiles. The Moors have two kings, one of whom, as we were informed by the

* The northern cape of the Rio della Plata.

† Boiſmélé, Hiſtoire de la Marine, ſays that Lopez de Sichera went to the Indies in 1593.

‡ Rather Jedda on the Red Sea, a port through which the commerce of Mecca is carried on. This account relates to the unfortunate expedition which Solyman the Magnificent undertook, at the inſtigation of the Venetians, againſt the eſtabliſhments of the Portugueſe in the Indies, to bring back to the Red Sea the commerce which the navigation round the Cape of Good Hope of the Portugueſe had annihilated. The Venetians furniſhed the Ottoman for this purpoſe with the requiſite timber for building the ſhips, and the artillery. (Robertſon, Diſquiſition on Ancient India, ſect. iii.)

§ The berſil is a large kind of croſs-bow.

‖ Gilolo.

King

King of Tadore, had ſix hundred, and the other five hundred and twenty-five children. The Gentiles have not ſo many wives as the Moors, nor are they ſo ſuperſtitious. The firſt thing they meet in the morning is the object of their adoration during the day. The King of the Gentiles is called Rajah Papua: he is very rich in gold, and inhabits the interior of the iſland. Here are ſeen, growing among the rocks, reeds as large round as a man's leg which are full of excellent water *; of theſe we purchaſed a number. The iſland of Giailolo is ſo large that a boat with difficulty can make the tour of it in four months.

Saturday, 16th November, one of the Mooriſh Kings of Giailolo came, with a number of boats, on board our veſſel. We made him a preſent of a green damaſk veſtment, two yards of red cloth, ſome looking-glaſſes, ſciſſars, knives, combs, and two glaſs goblets gilt, which much delighted him. He told us very politely that as we were friends of the King of Tadore he eſteemed us alſo as his friends, ſince he loved that monarch as dearly as his own ſon. He invited us to viſit his country, aſſuring us we ſhould be treated with great diſtinction. This King is very powerful, and much reſpected in all the neighbouring iſlands. He is of great age, and is called Juſſu.

The next morning, Sunday, the ſame King made us a ſecond viſit, and wiſhed to ſee the manner in which we fought and diſcharged our bombards; at the exhibition we made in conſequence of his requeſt, he appeared to be greatly pleaſed, for in his youth he had been of a very martial diſpoſition.

The next day I went on ſhore to ſee the clove-tree, and notice the manner in which it fruits; the reſult of my obſervations was as follows: the clove-tree attains a pretty conſiderable height, and its trunk is about as large as a man's body, varying more or leſs according to its age. Its branches extend very wide about the middle of the trunk, but at the ſummit terminate in a pyramid. Its leaf reſembles that of the laurel, and the bark of it is of an olive colour. The cloves grow at the end of ſmall branches, in cluſters of from ten to twenty; and the tree, according to the ſeaſon, ſends forth more on one ſide than the other. The cloves at firſt are white; as they ripen they become reddiſh, and blacken as they dry. There are annually two crops gathered, the one at Chriſtmas, the other about St. John the Baptiſt's day, that is to ſay about the time of the two ſolſtices, ſeaſons in which the air is more temperate in this country than at the other periods of the year, though the hotteſt of the two is that of the winter ſolſtice, when the ſun is here at its zenith. When the year is hot, and the quantity of rain that falls is little, the amount of the crop of each iſland is from three to four hundred bahars †. The clove-tree grows only on the mountains, and dies if tranſplanted to the plain ‡. The leaf, the bark, and the woody part of the tree, have as ſtrong a ſmell and a flavour equally potent with the fruit itſelf. If this laſt be not gathered juſt at the proper ſeaſon it becomes ſo large and ſo hard that no part of it remains good but the rind. There are no clove-trees of prime quality but in the mountains of the five iſlands of Malucho; for though ſome grow in the iſland of Giailolo, and on the iſlet Mare between Tadore and Mutir, the fruit of them is inferior. It is ſaid that fogs give them their ſuperior degree of perfection in theſe iſlands; however this may be, we certainly did remark every day that a fog, reſembling thin clouds,

* The bamboo, a reed which naturally contains a liquor very good to drink.

† From fifty-five to ſeventy-three tons for each iſland, or for the whole five, from two hundred and ſeventy-five to three hundred and ſixty-five tons; an amazing quantity certainly, but not more than adequate to the conſumption of Aſia, Europe, and America, which are ſupplied even now chiefly from theſe iſlands with cloves. ENG. TR.

‡ The Dutch have ſince found that they ſucceed equally well in the plain.

enveloped

enveloped firſt one and then another of the mountains of theſe iſlands. Each inhabitant poſſeſſes ſome clove-trees, which he attends to himſelf, and the fruit of which he gathers, but he uſes no ſpecies of culture. In different iſlands cloves bear different names: they are called bongalavan at Sarangani, at Tadore ghomodes, and in the reſidue of the Malucho iſlands, chianche.

This iſland likewiſe produces nutmeg-trees *, which reſemble our walnuts as well in the appearance of the fruit as in the leaves. The nutmeg when gathered is like a quince in ſhape, colour, and the down with which it is covered, but it is ſmaller. The outward huſk is of the ſame thickneſs as the green one of the walnut; beneath, a thin membrane or tiſſue envelopes the mace, which, of a very lively red colour, incloſes the ligneous ſhell containing the nutmeg.

Ginger alſo grows on this iſland; in a green ſtate it is eaten in the ſame manner as bread. Ginger is not, properly ſpeaking, the produce of a tree, but of a ſort of ſhrub, which ſhoots up ſuckers about a ſpan in length, ſimilar to the ſhoots of canes, the leaves, too, like thoſe of the cane, except in their being more narrow. Theſe ſhoots are of no value, the root only being the ginger uſed in commerce. Green ginger is not ſo ſtrong by much as when dried; and to dry it lime is uſed, for otherwiſe it could not be preſerved.

The houſes of theſe iſlanders are built in the ſame manner as thoſe of the neighbouring iſlands, but they are not raiſed ſo high from the ground, and are ſurrounded with canes ſo as to form a hedge.

The women of the country are ugly: they go naked, as the females in the other iſlands, merely covering their ſexual parts with a cloth made of the bark of trees. The men in like manner go naked; and, notwithſtanding the uglineſs of their wives, are very jealous of them. They were eſpecially very angry at ſeeing us land with our brayettes † open, as they were apprehenſive this mode of dreſs might act as a provocative to their women. Men and women alike go unſhod.

They make their cloths from the bark of trees in the following manner. They take a piece of bark and ſoak it in water until ſoftened; they then beat it with ſticks, to make it ſtretch to the length and breadth they think proper; after which it reſembles a piece of raw ſilk, with the membrane interlaced beneath as if it was woven ‡.

Their bread is thus made from the wood § of a tree which reſembles the palm. They take a piece of this wood, and after clearing it from certain black and long thorns, pound it, and make it into a bread they call ſagou. Of this bread they lay in ſtore when they go on voyages.

The iſlanders of Ternate came every day to us in their boats to offer us cloves; but as we expected others from Machian, on the return of the King, we refuſed to buy of the other iſlanders, at which thoſe of Ternate were much hurt.

On Sunday night, 24th November, the King returned to the ſound of gongs, and paſſed between our veſſels. We ſaluted him, to ſhew our reſpect, with ſeveral diſcharges of bombards. He informed us that, in conſequence of orders he had given,

* Myriſtica officinalis. Linn.

† This has reference to the ſlit dreſſes anciently worn by the Spaniards.

‡ At the preſent day a ſort of cloth is manufactured in the manner here deſcribed, from the bark of trees; an account of which may be ſeen in Cook. (Firſt Voyage, book ii.)

§ It is not of the wood but of the pith of the todda-panna of the hortus malabaricus that ſago is prepared. In the Molucca Iſlands the tree is called landan; it is of the palm ſpecies: of the down of its leaves a cottony cloth is made; its fibres ſerve for making cordage; its leaves to cover houſes; like other palms it yields wine; and its pith the nouriſhing ſago. Eng. Tr.

we ſhould have, in the four ſucceeding days, a conſiderable quantity of cloves. In fact, on Monday we had brought to us a hundred and ſeventy-one cathils *, which were weighed without deducting the tara, or tare, allowed on buying for the conſequent diminution of the weight of ſpices when taken freſh. Theſe cloves ſent by the King being the firſt we took on board, and forming the chief object of our voyage, we diſcharged ſeveral guns as a ſignal of rejoicing.

On Tueſday, 26th November, the King came to pay us a viſit; and told us he had done for us, in leaving his iſland, what none of his predeceſſors had ever done for any one before; but that he had reſolved on giving this mark of friendſhip to the King of Spain and to us, that we might the ſooner complete our cargoes and proceed home, and the ſooner return with additional forces to revenge the death of his father, who had been killed in an iſland called Buru †, and whoſe corpſe had been caſt into the ſea. He added, it was cuſtomary at Tadore, when a veſſel received the firſt part of her cargo of cloves, for the King to give an entertainment to the ſailors or merchants of the veſſels, and offer up prayers for their happy return. He, at the ſame time, intended to give a feaſt in honour of the King of Bachian, who, with his brother, had come to pay him a viſit; and for that purpoſe he had cauſed the ſtreets and highways to be ſwept clean.

This invitation generated ſuſpicion, and this the more from our learning that at the ſpot where we took took in water three Portugueſe had been murdered a ſhort time before by iſlanders concealed in a neighbouring wood. Moreover the inhabitants of Tadore were frequently ſeen converſing with the Indians whom we had made priſoners; hence, notwithſtanding a difference of opinion among us, ſome feeling inclined to accept the invitation of the King, the remembrance of what had happened at the fatal feaſt of Zubu prevailed in cauſing us to decline being of the party. We, however, ſent to return our thanks for his civility to the King, and to excuſe our non-attendance on the occaſion, beſeeching him to repair as ſoon as poſſible on board our ſhips, that we might deliver to him the four ſlaves we had promiſed, as we intended to ſail the firſt fine weather.

The King came on board the ſame day, without the leaſt ſymptom of miſtruſt. He ſaid he came among us as into his own houſe; and aſſured us he felt very much hurt at a departure ſo ſudden and ſo unuſual; as veſſels in general are thirty days in taking in their cargoes, though we had completed ours in ſo much leſs time. He added, if he had aſſiſted us, even by the unprecedented ſtep of leaving his own iſland, to haſten our lading with cloves, he had no intention thereby of precipitating our departure. He afterwards noticed that this was not a fit ſeaſon to navigate theſe ſeas on account of the ſhallows near Banda; and admoniſhed us of the probability there exiſted at this inſtant of our meeting with veſſels of our enemies the Portugueſe.

When he ſaw that all he had ſaid failed of its effect, "Very well then," added he, "I ſhall return you the preſents made me in the name of the King of Spain; for if you depart without allowing me time to get ready the preſents ſuitable to the dignity of your King, which I am now preparing, all the kings my neighbours will eſteem the Sovereign of Tadore one of the moſt ungrateful of men, in accepting favours from a monarch ſo powerful as that of Caſtille, without making a return. They will further ſay that you went away in this hurry merely from apprehenſion of ſome treachery on my part, and thus ſhall I be ſtigmatized for the remainder of my life with the odious

* Moſt probably this ſhould be bahars inſtead of cathils.

† Booroo, of which more will be ſaid in courſe of the narrative.

name

name of traitor." After this ſpeech, to remove all ſuſpicion of his good faith, he cauſed the koran to be brought to him, devoutly kiſſed it, and placed it four or five times on his head, uttering lowly certain words, which were an invocation called Zambihan. Then, in the preſence of us all, he obſerved aloud, that he ſwore by Allah (God) and the koran which he held in his hand, that he would conſtantly remain a faithful friend of the King of Spain. He delivered the whole of this harangue almoſt with tears in his eyes, and in ſuch an affecting manner that we were induced to procraſtinate our ſtay at Tadore a fortnight longer.

We then delivered him the King's ſeal and the royal ſtandard. We were afterwards informed that ſome of the chiefs of the iſland had adviſed him to maſſacre the whole of us, and thus ingratiate himſelf with the Portugueſe, who would be able to aſſiſt him better than the Spaniards, in revenging himſelf on the King of Bachian; but the King of Tadore, faithful and loyal, repelled the propoſal with indignation.

On Wedneſday, 27th, the King cauſed an advertiſement to be publiſhed, bearing that any one was at liberty to ſell us cloves, which afforded us an opportunity of purchaſing a great quantity.

Friday, the King of Machian arrived at Tadore with ſeveral pirogues; but he would not go on ſhore, as his father and brother, baniſhed from Machian, had taken refuge on that iſland.

Saturday, the King of Tadore came on board our veſſel with the governor of Machian, his nephew, of the name of Hoomai, about twenty-five years of age; and learning that we had no more cloth remaining, he generouſly ſent home for and gave us three yards of a red colour, to enable us, with the addition of ſome other articles, to make a preſent to the governor, worthy of his rank; this we did; and on their departure ſaluted them with our artillery.

On Sunday, 1ſt December, the governor of Machian took his leave; we were informed that, beſides what we had given, the King had likewiſe made him preſents, to induce him to expedite the ſending us cloves.

On Monday the King undertook another voyage with a ſimilar purpoſe to the preceding.

Wedneſday being the feſtival of St. Barbe, and at the ſame time that we might ſhew reſpect to the King who had now returned, we fired a general ſalute from our great guns, and in the evening exhibited fire-works, with which the King was extremely delighted.

On Thurſday and Friday we purchaſed a large quantity of cloves, which were afforded us at a low rate on account of our being near the time of our departure. We received a bahar (four hundred and ten pounds) for a few yards of ribband, and a hundred pounds weight for a few ſmall chains of braſs, which only coſt a marcel *. And as every ſailor was anxious to carry to Spain as much as he could, every one bartered his property for cloves.

Saturday, three ſons of the King of Tarenate with their wives, who were daughters of the King of Tadore, came to our ſhips. The Portugueſe, Pedro Alphonſo de Loroſa, was with them. We made a preſent of a glaſs goblet gilt to each of the brothers, and gave to the three women ſciſſars and other trifles. We likewiſe ſent ſome trinkets to another daughter of the King of Tadore, widow of the King of Tarenate, who objected to coming on board our ſhip.

* The marcel is a ſmall Venetian coin, ſtruck by the Doge Nicolo Marcello, in 1473, and worth about five-pence ſterling.

Sunday

Sunday, being the day of the Conception of the Virgin Mary, we fired, in order to celebrate the ſame, a number of bombards, threw ſeveral ſhells, and let off many rockets.

On Monday, the 9th, the King came on board our ſhip with three of his women, who carried his betre. I muſt here obſerve that kings and the members of the royal family alone have the privilege of taking their wives abroad with them. The ſame day the King of Giailolo came a ſecond time to ſee us exerciſe our guns.

As the day fixed for our ſailing drew nigh the King was frequent in his viſits, and it was very viſible that he felt great concern on the occaſion. He told us among other flattering things that he was like the ſuckling about to loſe its mother's breaſt. He begged of us ſome berſils for his defence.

He counſelled us not to navigate during the night on account of the ſhallows in theſe ſeas; and on our informing him that we intended to ſail by night as well as by day in order the ſooner to arrive in Spain, he replied, in that caſe, he could do nothing better than pray himſelf, and cauſe prayers to be offered up to the Almighty for the ſucceſs of our voyage.

In the mean time Pedro Alphonſo with his wife came on board our veſſel bringing with him all his effects to return with us to Europe. Two days after Chechilideroix, ſon of the King of Tarenate, came in a boat well manned, and invited him on board; but Pedro Alphonſo, who ſuſpected him of ſome bad intention, declined compliance with his invitation, and at the ſame time adviſed us not to ſuffer him to enter our ſhips, which counſel we followed. We afterwards were informed that Chechilideroix, being on very friendly terms with the Portugueſe captain of Malacca, had formed a plan to ſeize Pedro Alphonſo, and deliver him into his cuſtody. When he found himſelf prevented, he grumbled much, and threatened to puniſh thoſe with whom Loroſa had lodged, for ſuffering him to leave the iſland without permiſſion from him.

The King had informed us that the King of Bachian was about to make him a viſit, with his brother who was to marry one of his daughters, and intreated us to honour their arrival with a ſalute. In fact on the 15th December he arrived, and we did as requeſted, not firing however the guns of largeſt calibre, on account of the heavy lading we had on board.

The King of Bachian with his brother, deſigned for the huſband of the daughter of the King of Tadore, came in a large galley with three tier of rowers on each ſide, in all a hundred and twenty. The veſſel was adorned with ſeveral pavillions formed of parrots' feathers, yellow, red, and white. As it ſailed along the rowers beat time with their oars to the muſic of gongs and other inſtruments. In two boats were the young girls to be preſented to the bride. They ſaluted us by making the tour of the veſſel and the port.

As etiquette forbids one king ſetting foot on the territory of another, the King of Tadore paid a viſit to the King of Bachian in his galley. The latter, on ſeeing the King arrive, roſe from the carpet on which he was ſeated in order to give him the ſeat of honour, but the viſitor from civility declined the diſtinction and ſeated himſelf beyond, leaving the carpet between. The King of Bachian then tendered five hundred patolles as a ſort of compenſation for the wife to be beſtowed on his brother. Theſe patolles are cloths of ſilk and gold, manufactured in China, and much ſought after in theſe iſlands. In barter for each of them three bahars of cloves, more or leſs, are given according to the quantity of gold on the cloth and the value of the workmanſhip. At the death of any of the chiefs of the country, the parents wear theſe clothes.

On Monday, the King of Tadore ſent a dinner to the King of Bachian carried by fifty women dreſt in garments of ſilk extending from the waiſt only to the knees. They marched two and two with a man between them. Each of them carried a large diſh in which were ſmall plates containing different ragouts. The men carried wine in large vaſes. Ten of the oldeſt women performed the office of miſtreſſes of the ceremony. In this order they proceeded to the veſſel and preſented the whole to the King who was ſeated on a carpet beneath a red and yellow canopy. On their return the women faſtened on ſome of our people whom curioſity induced to be preſent on the paſſing of the proceſſion, and who were unable to releaſe themſelves until they had made them ſome trifling preſents. The King of Tadore next ſent proviſions to us, conſiſting of goats, cocoa-nuts, wines, and other edibles.

The ſame day we hoiſted a new ſet of ſails on which were painted the croſs of St. Iago de Compoſtella, with this inſcription: QUESTA E LA FIGURA DELA NOSTRA BUENA VENTURA *.

On Tueſday, we preſented to the King ſome of the muſquets we had taken from the Indians when we ſeized their junks, together with ſome berſils, and four barrels of gunpowder.

On board each of the veſſels we ſhipped eighty tons of water; we had to take in wood afterwards at the iſland of Mare, near which our courſe laid, and where the King had ſent a hundred men to get us a ſtock in readineſs.

The ſame day the King of Bachian received permiſſion from the King of Tadore to come on ſhore to contract an alliance with us. He was preceded by four men who carried each a poignard raiſed in their hands. He declared, in preſence of the King of Tadore and all his ſuite, that he ſhould ever be ready to devote himſelf to the ſervice of the King of Spain; that he would reſerve for him alone the cloves which the Portugueſe had left in his iſland until another Spaniſh ſquadron ſhould come to take them on board, and would diſpoſe of them to no other perſon without his conſent; and that he ſhould ſend him, by us, a ſlave and two bahars of cloves: he would indeed have ſent ten, but our veſſels were ſo deeply laden they could take no more on board.

He likewiſe preſented for the King of Spain two beautiful dead birds. They were of the ſize of a thruſh, with a ſmall head, long beak, legs of the length of a ſpan, and thick as a writing-pen: the tail of theſe birds reſembles that of the thruſh alſo; and they have no wings like other birds, but, inſtead, long feathers like tufts of different colours: the whole of the feathers, thoſe only excepted which are in lieu of wings, are of a dull colour. This bird never flies but when it blows. It is ſaid to come from the terreſtrial Paradiſe, and is called bolondilallah, that is to ſay, the Bird of God †.

The King of Bachian appeared to be ſeventy years of age. A very ſtrange matter was related to us concerning him: whenever about to combat his enemies, or to undertake any thing of importance, he previouſly ſubmitted himſelf twice or three times to the enjoyment of one of his ſervants, deſtined for this purpoſe, in the ſame manner as, according to Suetonius, Cæſar was wont to ſubmit himſelf to Nicodemus.

One day the King of Tadore ſent to adviſe the people who kept the warehouſe in which our merchandize was lodged, not to leave their home during the night, becauſe,

* This is the image of our good fortune.

† Pigafetta is poſſibly the firſt who undeceived the Europeans reſpecting the bird of Paradiſe, (avis paradiſiaca, Linn.) which previous to his relation was believed to have no legs or feet; (on account of their being cut from all that came to Europe;) and ſo ſtrongly did this opinion prevail, that the great naturaliſt Aldrovandus (De Avib. book i. p. 807.) condemns our author for attributing legs and feet to them; Aldrovandus alſo gives a repreſentation of the bird without them.

as he obſerved, there were iſlanders who, by means of certain ointments, aſſumed the figure of men without heads, and who, if they chanced to meet any one they diſliked, laid hold of them by their hand and anointed the palm of it with their unguents, in conſequence of which the perſon ſo anointed became ill and died in three or four days time. Whenever they meet with three or four perſons together, they do not touch but poſſeſs the art of ſtupifying them. The King added that he found it requiſite to keep watch for them, and that he had already cauſed many of them to be hung.

Before any new houſe is inhabited it is cuſtomary to ſurround it with a large fire, and give ſeveral entertainments; afterwards a ſpecimen of every good thing produced in the iſland is faſtened to the roof, and the people are then perſuaded that the perſon about to dwell in the houſe will never know want of any thing.

By Wedneſday, in the morning, every thing was made ready for our departure. The kings of Tadore, Giailolo, and Bachian, as well as the ſon of the King of Tarenate came to accompany us as far as the iſland of Mare. The ſhip La Vittoria ſailed firſt, and ſtood out for ſea awaiting the Trinidad; but this veſſel was a long time in raiſing the anchor, and when this was effected the ſailors perceived ſhe leaked faſt in the hold. The Vittoria then returned to her anchorage. Part of the cargo of the Trinidad was unſhipped, to allow of ſearching for and ſtopping the leak; but notwithſtanding for this purpoſe the veſſel was laid on her ſide, the water ſtill entered rapidly, as from a ſpout, but the leak could not be found. The whole of this and the next day the pumps were kept going but without the leaſt ſucceſs.

Upon intelligence of this, the King of Tadore came on board to aſſiſt us in diſcovering the leak, but his efforts in this view were ineffectual. He ordered five divers, accuſtomed to remain a long time under water, to examine the ſhip externally: they continued under water more than half an hour, but could not find the leak; and as, notwithſtanding the pumps were kept continually going, the water ſtill increaſed on us, he went to the other ſide of the iſland for three men capable of keeping a longer time under water than thoſe who had dived before.

The next morning early he returned with them. Theſe men dived into the ſea, with their long hair looſe, in expectation that the water ſtreaming through the leak, by bearing their hair with it would point out the ſpot *; but after an hour ſpent under water, in a vain ſearch, they came up again to the ſurface. The King ſeemed much affected at this misfortune, ſo much ſo indeed, that he offered to go himſelf to Spain to acquaint the King with what had befallen us; but we informed him, that as we had two veſſels we might complete our voyage in the remaining one, which however muſt ſail ſhortly, to take advantage of the eaſt winds which then began to blow; that in the mean time the Trinidad might be careened, and afterwards under favour of the weſt winds reach Darien, which is on the other ſide of the ſea, in the land of Diucatan†. The King then remarked that he had two hundred and fifty ſhipwrights, who ſhould be employed in refitting the veſſel under direction of our people; and that ſuch of our crews as remained for the purpoſe ſhould be treated as his own children. This promiſe he made in a manner ſo truly affecting, as to draw tears from our eyes.

* This might have happened; the floating hair, if the divers had been near the ſpot, by being drawn to the leak would have pointed it out. At preſent hards of hemp are put into a ſail, which is paſſed under the ſhip's bottom; the water carries theſe hards with it through the chinks or holes, and thus deſignates the leak.

† Yucatan in America, near the Gulf of Mexico, where is the Iſthmus of Darien. This veſſel, however, remained at Tidor, and became prize to the Portugueſe. (Hiſt. Generale des Voyages, tome xiv. p. 99.)

We who were on board the Vittoria, apprehenſive of her being too heavily laden, which might occaſion her foundering at ſea, determined on landing ſixty quintals of cloves, and cauſed them to be tranſported to the houſe in which the crew of the Trinidad were lodged. Some of our party, however, reſolved on remaining in the Malucho Iſlands, either from fear of our veſſel being unable to ſuſtain a voyage of ſuch length, or from remembrance of what they had already endured before they reached theſe iſlands, and dread of periſhing of hunger in midſt of the ocean.

On Saturday, 21ſt December, St. Thomas's day, the King of Tadore brought us two pilots whom we paid beforehand to take us through the channels of the iſlands. They told us the ſeaſon for beginning our voyage was excellent, and that the ſooner we ſailed the better it would be; but being under neceſſity of waiting for the letters of our comrades, who remained at the Malucho iſlands, to their friends in Spain, we did not weigh anchor till noon. The two veſſels then bade adieu to each other by a reciprocal diſcharge of artillery. Our comrades followed us as far as they were able in their boat, and we parted in tears. Juan Carvajo remained at Tadore with fifty-three Europeans and thirteen Indians.

The governor, or miniſter, of the King of Tadore, accompanied us as far as the iſland Mare; and ſcarcely had we arrived there before four boats came alongſide our veſſel, laden with wood, which in leſs than an hour was taken on board.

All the Malucho iſlands produce cloves, ginger, ſago (the tree of which bread is made), rice, cocoa-nuts, figs, bananas, almonds of larger ſize than ours, pomegranates ſweet as well as acidulous, ſugar-canes, melons, cucumbers, pumpkins, a fruit called comilicai *, extremely refreſhing, and of the ſize of a water melon, a fruit reſembling a peach, and called guava†, beſides other vegetables good to eat; oil is likewiſe extracted from the cocoa-nut and gengili. As for uſeful animals, here are goats, fowls, and a ſpecies of bee, not larger than an ant, which builds its hive in the trunks of trees, in which it depoſits its honey, of excellent flavour. There is a great variety of parrots, among others white ones, called catara, and red ones denominated nori, which are the moſt valued, not only on account of the extreme beauty of their plumage, but alſo for their ſpeaking more plainly the words they are taught than the others do. A parrot of this ſpecies coſts a bahar of cloves.

Scarcely fifty years are paſt ſince the Moors firſt came to and ſubdued the Malucho Iſlands, and introduced their religion. Before this they were peopled by Gentiles, who paid but little attention to the clove-trees.

The iſland Tadore lies in latitude twenty-ſeven minutes north, longitude one hundred and ſixty one degrees from the line of demarcation. It is nine degrees thirty minutes ſouth-eaſt by ſouth of the firſt iſland of this archipelago, called Zamal.

The iſland Tarenate lies in latitude forty minutes north. Mutir is exactly upon the equinoctial line.

Machian is ſituate in latitude fifteen minutes ſouth. Bachian in latitude one degree ſouth.

Tarenate, Tadore, Mutir, and Machian have high and cone-ſhaped mountains on which the clove-tree grows. Bachian, though the largeſt, is not diſtinguiſhed from the four other iſlands. Its mountain of clove-trees is not ſo much elevated nor ſo pointed at its ſummit, as thoſe of the other iſlands, but its baſe covers a larger area.

* A ſpecies of anana, or pine apple.

† Piſidium pyrifera, Linn.

BOOK IV.

Return from the Malucho Iſlands to Spain.

KEEPING on our courſe we paſſed between ſeveral iſlands, the names of which are as follow: Caioan, Laigoma, Sico, Giogi, Cafi, Laboan *, Toliman, Titameti, Bachian †, of which we have already ſpoken, Latalata, Iabobi, Mata, and Batutiga. We were told that in the iſland of Cafi, the inhabitants are ſmall as pigmies: they are ſubject to the King of Tadore.

We ſteered weſtward of Batutiga, on a courſe weſt-ſouth-weſt. Southward we ſaw ſeveral ſmall iſlands. Here the pilots from the Molucha Iſlands recommended we ſhould anchor in ſome port, that we might not be ſubject to run aſhore on the numerous iſlets and ſhallows. We conſequently tacked to the ſouth eaſt, and made an iſland ſituate in latitude three degrees ſouth, diſtant fifty-three leagues from Tadore.

This iſland is called Sulach ‡. The inhabitants are Pagans, and have no king: they are anthropophagi, and, both men and women, wear no other clothing than a ſmall piece of cloth, made of the bark of trees, two fingers broad, which conceals their ſexual parts. There are in the neighbourhood other iſlands, the inhabitants of which feed on human fleſh. The names of ſome of them are: Silan, Noſelao, Biga, Atulabaon, Lertimor, Tenetum, Gonda, Kaiabruru, Manadan, and Benaia §.

We afterwards coaſted along the iſlands Lamatola and Tenetum.

After a run of ten leagues in the ſame direction from Sulach, we came to an anchorage on a large iſland called Buru, where we found proviſions in abundance; for example, hogs, goats, fowls, ſugar-canes, cocoa-nuts, ſago, a diſh compoſed of bananas called canali, and chiacares, known here by the name of nanga. Chiacares ‖ are a fruit reſembling water melons, but of which the rind is full of knobs. Internally it is full of ſmall red ſeeds, ſimilar to the ſeed of the melon; they have no lignous rind, and are of a medullary ſubſtance, ſimilar to that of our white beans, but larger; they are very tender, and in taſte reſemble cheſnuts.

We likewiſe found here another fruit ſimilar in its exterior to pine cones, but of a yellow colour; internally it is white, and when cut bears ſome reſemblance to a pear; it is however much more tender than that fruit, and is of exquiſite flavor: it is called comilicai ¶.

The inhabitants of this iſland have no ſovereign: they are gentiles, and, like the people of Sulach, go naked. The iſland of Buru lies in latitude three degrees thirty minutes ſouth, ſeventy-five leagues from the Malucho iſlands **.

* Laboan, or Labocca, is regarded at preſent as forming part of the iſland Bachian. (Hiſt. Generale des Voyages, tome xi. p. 14.)

† Bachian, one of the five principal iſlands called the Moluccas. Almoſt all theſe iſlands are laid down in chart xviii. of Monti, who, however, does not ſtate on what grounds he gives them. Many of the names of theſe iſlands occur in the note of the dominions of the King of Ternate, in Prevot's Coll. of Voyages, loc. cit.

‡ The Xulla of Robert, and of Moll, the Xoula of the Dutch charts.

§ The author, giving the names of the iſlands merely from the account of the pilots, is oftentimes incorrect. He mentions ten iſlands, and has laid down only ſix; and of the ten he ſpeaks of three or four he names again ſhortly after. Leytimor is only a peninſula of the iſland of Amboyna.

‖ Perhaps the cucurbita verrucoſa, Linn. ¶ The pine-apple.

** Mr. de Bougainville calls this iſland Boëro. He places it in the ſame latitude marked by our author; and in his xviith chart has given Sulla, Boëro, Kilang, and Bouva, the Sulach, Buru, Kailaruru, and Benaia, of Pigafetta.

Ten

Ten leagues eaſtward of Buru there is a ſtill larger iſland, which is little diſtant from Giailolo, and is called Ambon *. It is inhabited by Moors and Gentiles; the former dwell near the ſea, the other in the interior. The latter are anthropophagi. The productions of this iſland are the ſame as thoſe of Buru.

Between Buru and Ambon are three iſlands ſurrounded by ſhallows: to wit, Vudia, Kailaruru, and Benaia †. Four leagues ſouth of the iſland of Buru lies the little iſland Ambalao ‡.

At a diſtance of thirty-five leagues from Buru, in the direction ſouth-weſt by ſouth, is the iſland of Banda, with thirteen other iſlands. In ſix of theſe iſlands mace is grown, and nutmegs. The largeſt is called Zoroboa; the ſmaller are Chelicel, Sanianapi, Pulai, Puluru, and Raſoghin §; the other ſeven are Univeru, Pulan, Barucan, Lailaca, Mamican, Man, and Meut ‖. In theſe iſlands nothing is cultivated but ſago, rice, cocoa-nuts, banana, and other fruit trees. They lie very near each other, and are all of them inhabited by Moors who have no ſovereign. Banda is ſituate in latitude ſix degrees ſouth, longitude one hundred and ſixty-three degrees thirty minutes, from the line of demarcation. As it laid out of our courſe we did not go thither.

Steering ſouth-weſt by weſt from Buru, after traverſing eight degrees of latitude, we found ourſelves off three iſlands, contiguous one to the other, called Zolot ¶, Noumamor, and Galian. While ſailing between theſe iſlands we experienced a tempeſt, which made us apprehenſive for our lives; ſo that we made a vow to go on pilgrimage to our Lady of Guida, provided we eſcaped the threatened danger. We went direct before the wind, and made for a tolerably lofty iſland, called Mallua, where we anchored, but before we came to our anchorage, we ſuffered much from the currents and ſqualls which came from the gullies in the mountains.

The inhabitants of this iſland are ſavages, and reſemble beaſts more than men; they are anthropophagi, and wear no other clothing in common than a narrow ſlip of cloth made from the bark of trees, to hide their privities; but when they go out to fight they cover their breaſts, back, and ſides, with pieces of the buffalo's hide, ornamented with corniole **, and the teeth of ſwine: behind and before they attach tails made of goat's ſkin. Their hair is turned up and faſtened with combs, having large teeth. Their beard they wrap up in leaves, and encloſe it in boxes made of reed, a cuſtom which made us laugh immoderately. In one word, they are the ugliеſt people we met with in the whole courſe of our voyage.

They have bags made of leaves of trees, in which they place their food and drink; their bows as well as their arrows are made of reeds. When their women firſt perceived us, they advanced towards us with their bows in their hands in a menacing attitude, but on our making them ſome trivial preſents we became good friends.

We paſſed a fortnight on this iſland in repairing the ſides of our veſſel, which were much ſtrained in the ſtorm: we found on it goats, poultry, fiſh, cocoa-nuts, wax, and pepper. For a pound of old iron we received in barter fifteen pounds of wax.

* Ambon is Ceram. From the native appellation the Dutch derived Ambaya, a name given to a fort on the ſouth-weſtern ſhore of Ceram, and Amboyna the appellation of a fort and town conſtructed in an iſland contiguous to Ceram. ENG. TR.

† In the Atlas of Robert are ſeen the iſlands Menga, Kelam, and Bone; and in the Dutch chart, (Hiſt. Gen. des Voyages, tome xi.) Manipa, Kelam, and Bonoa. ‡ At preſent called Amblan.

§ In the Dutch chart are found Guananapi, Puloay, Pulorhun, and Roſingen.

‖ The Recueil de Voyages pour l'eſtabliſſement de la Campagnie des Indes, tome xi. p. 213, mentions the iſlands Vayer, Tonjonburong, and Mumuak.

¶ The Solor of modern charts.

** The corniole alluded to appear to be univalve ſhells, ſuch as terebratuli, &c.

There

There are here two kinds of pepper, long and round; the fruit of the long pepper-tree reſembles the flowers of the hazel. The plant, like the ivy, is a climber, which adheres to the trunks of trees; but its leaves are ſimilar to thoſe of the mulberry. This pepper is called luli. Round pepper grows on a like climber, but its fruit, as maize, is in ears, and is beaten out as that grain; this ſpecies of pepper is called lada. The fields of the country are covered with pepper plants, formed into bowers.

At Mallua we took a man on board who engaged to conduct us to an iſland more abounding in proviſions. The iſland Mallua lies in latitude eight degrees thirty minutes ſouth longitude, one hundred and ſixty-nine degrees forty minutes from the line of demarcation.

Our old pilot from the Maluccas related to us on our way that in theſe parts is an iſland called Arucheto, the inhabitants of which, men as well as women, are not more than a cubit high, and have ears as long as their body, ſo that when they lie down to reſt one ſerves as a mattraſs to lie upon, and the other for a coverlid *. Their hair is ſhorn, and they go entirely naked: their voice is ſharp, and they run with much ſwiftneſs. Their dwellings are caverns under ground, and their aliment fiſh and a kind of fruit they obtain from between the back and ligneous body of a certain tree. This fruit, which is white and round as comfits made of coriander, is called by them ambulon. We would willingly have viſited this iſland, but were prevented by the ſhallows and currents.

On Saturday, 25th January, 1522, at twenty-two o'clock, (half-paſt two), we ſailed from the iſland Mallua, and after a courſe ſouth-ſouth-weſt of five leagues, reached a tolerably large iſland called Timor. I went on ſhore alone to treat with the chief of a village, called Amaban, for hogs. He offered me buffaloes, hogs, and goats; but when the merchandize to be given in barter was mentioned we could not agree, as he required much, and we had little remaining to give. Upon this we determined on retaining the chief of another village, called Balibo, who had come on board of his own accord, bringing his ſon with him. We told him if he wiſhed to recover his liberty he muſt procure for us ſix buffaloes, ten hogs, and as many goats. This man, who was apprehenſive of being put to death immediately, gave the neceſſary orders for all we required to be brought to us; and as he had but five goats and two hogs, he gave us ſeven buffaloes inſtead of ſix. This effected, we ſent him again on ſhore, well ſatisfied, as on releaſing him we gave him ſome linen, a piece of Indian cloth, ſilk, and cotton, ſome axes, Indian cutlaſſes, knives, and mirrors.

The chief of Amaban, to whom I firſt went, had none but women to wait on him, who went naked like thoſe of the other iſlands. In their ears they wear ſmall gold earrings, to which they faſten ſmall ſkeins of ſilk. On their arms they wear ſo many bracelets of gold or braſs, as to cover the arms to the elbow. The men are likewiſe naked, but round their neck they have a collar of round plates of gold, and their hair is faſtened up with combs of bamboo, ornamented with gold. Some, in lieu of golden rings, wear in their ears circles made from the neck of the pumpkin dried.

White ſandal is found on this iſland alone. It contains, as we have ſhewn, buffaloes, hogs, and goats, beſides fowls and parrots of different plumage. Here, likewiſe, grow

* It is worthy of remark that this ſingular fable is to be ſeen in Strabo (Geog. lib. xv.) Strabo copied it from Megaſthenes, one of the captains of Alexander the Great. Even in our time theſe iſlanders amuſe themſelves with relating ſimilar wonderful ſtories to travellers. Some of them wiſhed to make Cook believe that in a certain iſland the men were of ſtature ſo gigantic, and of ſuch amazing ſtrength, that they would be able to carry his ſhip away with them.

rice,

rice, bananas, ginger, ſugar-canes, oranges, lemons, almonds, and French beans; and wax is alſo abundant.

We caſt anchor off that part of the iſland on which are ſome villages inhabited by their chiefs. In another quarter of the iſland are the reſidences of four brothers, who are its kings. The villages where theſe reſidences are, are called Orbiſh, Lichſana, Sinai, and Cabanaza; the firſt of them the moſt conſiderable. We were told that a mountain near Cabanaza produces abundance of gold, and that the inhabitants purchaſe with the grains of it they collect, whatever articles they ſtand in need of. Here it is that the people of Malucca carry on a traffic in ſandal wood and wax. We found there, likewiſe, a junk newly come from Lozon, to load with ſandal wood.

Theſe people are Gentiles. They told us that when they go to cut ſandal wood a demon preſents himſelf under different forms, and aſks them in a very courteous manner what it is they want. But notwithſtanding his civil demeanor the apparition frightens them ſo much that they are always ill in conſequence for ſeveral days together *. They cut ſandal at particular phases of the moon, at which alone it is good. The merchandize beſt ſuited for bartering for ſandal is red cloth, linen, axes, nails, and iron.

The iſland is wholly inhabited; it extends conſiderably from eaſt to weſt, but from north to ſouth is very narrow. It lies in latitude ten degrees ſouth, longitude from the line of demarcation one hundred and ſeventy-four degrees thirty minutes.

In all the iſlands of this archipelago viſited by us, and in this more than any other, the malady of Saint Job is very prevalent. It is called, For Franchi, that is to ſay, the Portugueze diſeaſe †.

We were told that at a day's ſail weſt-north-weſt of Timor is an iſland called Ende, where much cinnamon grows. The inhabitants of it are Gentiles, and have no king. Near it is a chain of iſlands ſtretching as far as Java Major and the Cape of Malacca, the names of which are, Ende, Tanabuton, Crenochile, Birmacore, Azanaran, Main, Zubava, Lumboch, Chorum, and Java Major, which the inhabitants call Jaoa, and not Java.

The largeſt villages of this part of the world are in Java, and the chief one is called Mugepaher, the King of which, while living, was reputed the greateſt monarch of the iſlands of this part; his name was Rajah Patiunus Sunda. Much pepper is gathered here. The other iſlands are, Dahaduma, Gagiamada, Minutarangam, Ciparifidain, Tubancreſſi, and Cirubaia. Half a league diſtant from Java Major are the iſlands of Bali, called Little Java and Madura: theſe two iſlands are of ſimilar dimenſions.

We were told that it is cuſtomary in Java to burn the bodies of the chiefs who die; and for the wife cheriſhed moſt to be burnt alive in the ſame fire. Adorned with garlands of flowers, ſhe cauſes herſelf to be carried by four men on a ſeat through the town, and, with a tranquil and ſmiling countenance, comforts the relations who bewail her approaching end, telling them, "I am going this evening to ſup with my huſband, and ſhall ſleep with him to-night." On her arrival at the funeral pile ſhe again comforts them with ſimilar ſpeeches, and throws herſelf into the conſuming flames. Were

* Bomare ſays that the people employed in felling the ſandal tree (ſantalum album, Linn.) are much affected by a miaſmata, or rather effluvia which exhale from the tree.

† Were the malady of St. Job, as ſuſpected to be, another deſignation for the venereal diſeaſe, it is here found in the Moluccas and the Philippines at the beginning of the ſixteenth century; and as it is here called the Portugueſe diſeaſe, we are led to conclude that it was carried thither by that nation. It is indeed true that the term Franchi is appropriate to all Europeans; but it is alſo true that of theſe the Portugueſe was the only people which, till this expedition, had viſited the Southern Iſlands. However the malady of Saint Job may poſſibly be the term here applied to the leproſy, a diſorder common enough in Aſia.

ſhe to refuſe to act thus, ſhe would no longer be regarded as a reputable woman, or a good wife.

Our old pilot related to us a ſtill more extraordinary practice: he affirmed that when the young men are amorouſly inclined, and wiſh to obtain the favors of any particular female, they faſten ſmall round bells on them between the glans and the prepuce, and thus dance under the window of their miſtreſs whoſe paſſions they excite by the ſound of theſe bells. The lady conſtantly inſiſts on the lover wearing theſe trinkets.

He told us moreover that an iſland called Ocoloro, below Java, is peopled by women alone, who are rendered pregnant by the wind. Should they produce a boy they kill him immediately; if a girl it is preſerved. If a man at any time preſumes to viſit the iſland they put him to death.

Other tales were likewiſe related to us. North of Java Major, in the Gulf of China, called by the ancients Sinus Magnus, there is ſaid to be a very large tree, called campanganghi, on which certain birds rooſt, called garuda, of ſuch immenſe ſize, and ſo ſtrong, as to be able to fly away with a buffalo or an elephant, when they carry it to a part of the tree called puzathaer. The fruit of the tree, which is called buapanganghi, is larger than a water-melon. The Moors of Burné told us they had ſeen two of theſe birds, which their ſovereign had received from the King of Ciam. This tree cannot be approached on account of the whirlpools about the iſland, which extend three or four leagues from ſhore. To this account was added that the hiſtory of this tree became known in the following manner: A junk was drawn in by theſe whirlpools, and ſhipwrecked on the ſhore near the tree, and the whole of thoſe on board periſhed on the occaſion, a ſmall child only excepted, who was miraculouſly ſaved by means of a plank. On reaching the tree he climbed up it, and concealed himſelf under the wing of one of theſe large birds, without being perceived. The next day the bird flew to the main to ſeize upon a buffalo, when, on its touching the ground, the child ſlipped from beneath the wing, and eſcaped. By this means the hiſtory of theſe birds was known, and of the fruit of ſuch conſiderable ſize ſo often found in theſe ſeas.

The Cape of Malacca lies in latitude one degree thirty minutes ſouth. Eaſtward of the cape are many villages and towns, of which theſe are the names: Cingapola, ſituate on the Cape itſelf; Pahan, Calantan, Patani, Bradlini, Benan, Lagon, Chireyigharan, Trombon, Joran, Ciu, Brabri, Banga, Iudia (reſidence of the King of Ciam, called Siri Zacabedera), Jandibum, Laun, and Langonpiſa. Theſe towns are all of them built after our manner, and belong to the King of Ciam.

We were likewiſe told that on the banks of a river of this kingdom there are large birds who live on dead carcaſes only; but which never devour the carrion until ſome other birds have made their prey of the hearts of them.

Beyond Ciam lies Camoyia. The king of this country is called Saret Zacabedera; next follows Chiempa, the king of which is the Rajah Brahami Martu. In this country it is that rhubarb grows *, which is found in this manner: a company of twenty or five-and-twenty men go together into the woods, where they paſs the night in trees, to be ſecure from the attacks of lions and other wild beaſts, and at the ſame time the better to diſtinguiſh the rhubarb, which they ſeek by the ſmell, the odour of it being borne by the wind. Rhubarb is the putrid wood of a large tree, and acquires its ſmell from the putrefaction it undergoes: the beſt part of the tree is the root, though the trunk, which is called calama, poſſeſſes equal medicinal virtue.

* The deſcription of rhubarb afforded by Pigafetta is far from correct; but attention muſt be paid to the circumſtance of our author having collected all theſe tales from a Mahometan on board his ſhip. Fabre ſtates that no credit was given to theſe ſtories.

To Chiempa ſucceeds the kingdom of Couhi, the ſovereign of which is called Rajah Siri Bummipala. After this follows Great China, the king of which country is the moſt powerful monarch upon earth. His name is Santoa Rajah. Seventy ſovereigns wearing crowns are dependent on him, and each of theſe have from ten to fifteen others ſubject to him. The port of this kingdom is called Guantan*, and among its numerous cities the two principal are Nankin and Comlaha: the king reſides in this laſt. In his palace he has four prime miniſters, each of whom gives audience in one of the four fronts of it, which look towards the cardinal points. All the kings and lords of Greater and Upper India are obliged to erect in the middle of the ſquare, as a mark of dependence, the image of an animal ſtronger than the lion, called chinga, which image is alſo engraven on the royal ſignet, and all veſſels entering the port of this monarch have the ſame image in ivory or wax on board. Whenever any of his lords ſhew ſigns of diſobedience, they are flayed alive; and their ſkins, dried, pickled, and ſtuffed, are placed in ſome conſpicuous part of the ſquare, the head bent, and the hands tied over the head in the act of making the zongu, or reverence to the king †. This monarch never ſhews himſelf to any one; and whenever deſirous of ſeeing any of his ſubjects, he cauſes himſelf to be carried on a peacock, made with much ingenuity, and richly ornamented, accompanied by ſix women dreſſed entirely like himſelf, ſo that one cannot be diſtinguiſhed from the other. He then places himſelf in the hollow image of a ſerpent, called Naga, ſuperbly decorated, which has a glaſs window in its breaſt, through which the king ſees what he pleaſes, without being ſeen himſelf. — He marries his ſiſters, that ſo the royal blood may not be intermingled with that of his ſubjects. His palace is ſurrounded by ſeven walls, and to every wall are ten thouſand guards, which are relieved every twelve hours. Each wall has its gate, and every gate likewiſe its guard. At the firſt gate is a man with a large whip in his hand; at the ſecond, a dog; at the third, a man with an iron club; at the fourth, another with a bow and arrows; at the fifth, again another with a lance; at the ſixth, a lion; and at the ſeventh, two white elephants. In the palace of this monarch are ſeventy-nine halls, which contain women alone for the ſervice of the king, and which are conſtantly lighted with flambeaux. It takes an entire day to make the tour of the palace. At the extremity of the palace are four halls, whither the miniſters repair when they wiſh to ſpeak to the king. The walls, the vaulted roof, and even the floor of one of theſe halls, are ornamented with bronze; in the ſecond, the ornaments are of ſilver; in the third, of gold; and in the fourth, of pearls and precious ſtones. In theſe halls are depoſited the gold and other valuables given in tribute to the king. I have ſeen nothing of all this which I now relate, but merely repeat the account of a Moor, who aſſured me that he had himſelf been witneſs of what he delivered.

The Chineſe are fair, and wear clothing; like us they eat off tables. With them croſſes are likewiſe ſeen, but of the uſe they put them to I am wholly ignorant.

From China it is that muſk is brought: the animal which produces it is a ſpecies of civet, which feeds entirely upon a ſoft wood of the thickneſs of the finger, called chamaru. In order to extract muſk from this animal a leach is faſtened on it, which, when well filled with blood, is cruſhed, and the blood received on a plate that it may be dried in the ſun the ſpace of four or five days, in order to perfect it. Every one who keeps one of theſe animals is bound to pay a certain tribute. The grains of muſk brought to Europe are no other than ſmall pieces of goat's fleſh ſteeped in real muſk. The blood

* Canton.

† Bruce (Travels to diſcover the Sources of the Nile) more than once ſaw grandees of Abyſſinia, who had revolted, puniſhed in this manner.

is ſometimes clotted, but it is readily purified. The cat which produces muſk is called the caſtor, and the leach is termed linta.

Coaſting along China many different nations are found; to wit: the Chiencis, who inhabit the iſlands near which pearls are fiſhed, and which produce cinnamon. The Lecchii inhabit the main oppoſite to theſe iſlands. The entrance into the port of theſe people is under a large mountain, whence all junks and veſſels on going into or leaving the port, are obliged to lower their maſts. The king of this country is called Moni, and is ſubject to the King of China, but he has twenty ſovereigns under his command. His capital is called Barunaci, and here it is the Eaſtern Cathay is ſituate.

Han is an iſland very lofty and cold, productive of copper, ſilver, and ſilk: it is under the dominion of Rajah Zotru. Mili, Jaula, and Gnio, are three countries on the continent, of rather cold temperature. Friagoula and Frianga are two iſlands which yield copper, ſilver, pearls, and ſilk. Baſſi is a low country on the main. Sumbdit Pradit is an iſland very rich in gold, in which the men wear a ring of gold round the leg at the ancle. The neighbouring mountains are inhabited by people who kill their parents after they have attained a certain age, in order to prevent their ſuffering the maladies incident on old age. The whole of the people we have deſcribed are Gentiles.

On Tueſday, 11th February, at night, we quitted the iſland of Timor, and entered the great ſea called Laut Chidol. Bending our courſe weſt-ſouth-weſt, we left northward on our right, from dread of the Portugueſe, the iſland of Zumatra, anciently called Taprobana; Pegu, Bengal, Urizza, Chelim, inhabited by Malays, ſubjects of the King of Narſinga; Calicut, dependent on the ſame monarch; Cambuia, inhabited by the Guzzarats; Cananor, Goa, Armus *, and the whole of India Major.

In this kingdom there are ſix claſſes of people; to wit: the Nairi, Panicali, Franai, Pangelini, Macuai, and Poleai. The Nairi are the chiefs; the Paniculi, citizens; theſe two claſſes converſe together: the Franai collect palm-wine, and bananas; the Macuai are fiſhermen; the Pangelini tailors; and the Poleai ſow and gather in rice †. Theſe laſt conſtantly inhabit the fields, and never enter towns. When any thing is given to them, it is put on the ground for them to take. When on their journey any where they conſtantly keep exclaiming, po, po, po; that is to ſay, take care of me. It was related to us that a Nairi who accidentally had been touched by a Poleai, cauſed himſelf to be put to death, unable to ſurvive ſo great an infamy.

In order to double the Cape of Good Hope we aſcended as high as forty-two degrees ſouth; and we were obliged to remain nine weeks oppoſite to the Cape with our ſails lowered, on account of the weſt and north-weſt winds which conſtantly blew, and which terminated in a dreadful tempeſt. The Cape of Good Hope lies in latitude thirty-four degrees thirty minutes ſouth, ſixteen hundred leagues diſtant from the Cape of Malacca. It is the largeſt and the moſt dangerous cape known.

Some of our men, eſpecially the ſick, were deſirous of making the ſhore at Mozambique, where is a Portugueſe eſtabliſhment, as our veſſel was very leaky, the cold we endured extremely ſevere, and above all, as we had no other than rice and water to live upon; for all the meat which, for want of ſalt we had been unable to pickle, had become putrid. But the major part of the crew being ſtill more attached to honor than to life, we determined on uſing every exertion to return to Spain, however great the perils we might have to undergo.

At length, by the help of God, on the ſixth of May we doubled this terrible cape;

* Ormus.

† Theſe claſſes, called caſts, exiſted in India in the time of Alexander, and have conſtantly been preſerved down to the preſent day. Strabo Geog. lib. xv. Diodor. lib. ii. Sonnerat, Voyage aux Indes.

but to effect this we were forced to approach within five leagues of it, as otherwiſe, from the conſtancy of weſt winds, we could never have effected this end *.

We afterwards ſteered north-weſt for two whole months together, (the months of May and June) without any reſt, and in this interval loſt twenty-one men, including Indians. We made a ſingular obſervation on throwing them into the ſea; the corpſes of the Chriſtians floated with the face towards heaven, but thoſe of the Indians with the face downwards.

We were now almoſt wholly deſtitute of proviſions, and had not heaven favoured us with fine weather, we ſhould all have periſhed with hunger. On the 9th of July, on a Wedneſday, we diſtinguiſhed Cape Verd Iſlands, and anchored off that called Sant Jago.

As we knew we were in an inimical country, and expected we might excite ſuſpicion, we had the precaution of enjoining the men in the long boat, whom we ſent on ſhore for proviſions, to ſay that we had touched at this port on account of our foremaſt being ſplit on croſſing the line, which occaſioned us to loſe ſo much time, that the captain-general, with two other veſſels, had continued his courſe to Spain without us. We moreover ſpoke in ſuch manner as to cauſe them to imagine we came from the ſhores of America, and not from the Cape of Good Hope. We obtained credit, and our long-boat was twice laden from ſhore with rice, in exchange for different merchandize.

In order that we might diſcover if our journals had been regularly kept, we enquired on ſhore what day it was, and was anſwered Thurſday; this occaſioned us much ſurpriſe as, according to our journals, it appeared to be Wedneſday. We could not be ſatisfied of having loſt a day; and for my part I was ſtill more aſtoniſhed at the circumſtance than the reſt, for I had enjoyed ſo perfect a ſtate of health as to be able, without interruption, to mark the days of the week, and the months. We afterwards found that there was no miſtake in our calculation; ſince, having conſtantly travelled weſtward and followed the courſe of the ſun, on our return to where we departed from we ought naturally to have gained twenty-four hours on thoſe who remained on the ſpot; this, to be convinced of, requires but a moment's reflection.

The long-boat on its third trip, we perceived, was detained, and we had reaſon to ſuſpect by the movements of certain caravellas, that a deſign was meditated againſt our ſhip; in conſequence, we reſolved on immediate flight. We afterwards were informed that it had been ſtopped on account of one of the ſailors having divulged our ſecret, by relating that the captain-general was dead, and that our ſhip was the only one of the ſquadron of Magellan which had returned to Europe.

Thanks to Providence, on Saturday, 6th September, we entered the bay of San Lucar; and of ſixty men of which our crew conſiſted on our leaving the Malucho Iſlands, but eighteen remained, moſt of whom were ſick. The reſidue had either ran away from the ſhip at the iſland of Timor, had for different crimes there been puniſhed with death, had died of hunger, or become priſoners to the Portugueſe at Sant Jago.

From our departure from the bay of San Lucar to the day of our return, we reckoned to have ſailed upwards of fourteen thouſand ſix hundred leagues, having circumnavigated the globe from eaſt to weſt.

On Monday, 8th September, 1522, we caſt anchor near the Mole of Seville, and fired the whole of our artillery.

On Tueſday, we repaired in our ſhirts, barefooted, and carrying a taper in our hands, to the church of our Lady of Victory, and to that of Sta. Maria de Antigua, as we had vowed to do in the hour of danger.

* The ſame occurred to Captains Dixon and Landsdown. (Dixon's Voyage.)

On leaving Seville, I went to Vagliadolid, where I preſented to His ſacred Majeſty Don Carlos (Charles V.) neither gold nor ſilver indeed, but things far more precious in his eyes: among other articles, I preſented him a book written with my own hand, in which, day by day, I had ſet down every event on our voyage.

I left Vagliadolid as early as I was able, and repaired to Portugal, to preſent to King John a narrative of what I had ſeen. Afterwards I travelled through Spain to France, where I preſented different articles from the other hemiſphere to the Queen Regent, mother of the Moſt Chriſtian King, Francis I.

At length I returned to Italy, where I devoted myſelf for ever to the ſervice of Signor Philippe de Villers l'Ile-Adam, Grand Maſter of Rhodes, to whom alſo I gave the narrative of my voyage.

IL CAVAGLIERO ANTONIO PIGAFETTA.

EXTRACT

EXTRACT FROM THE TREATISE ON NAVIGATION OF IL CAVAGLIERO ANTONIO PIGAFETTA.

PREFACE OF AMORETTI,

Tranſlator of the Voyage into modern Italian and into French.

THE Treatiſe on Navigation, which, in our manuſcript is found at the end of the Voyage, is not aſſuredly a work calculated for the inſtruction of navigators of the preſent day; nevertheleſs it deſerves publication in my eſteem, as much on account of the honor it does its author, as its ſerving to throw light on the hiſtory of the human mind, by ſhewing the progreſs made in the art of navigation at the commencement of the ſixteenth century.

All, acquainted with the ſciences, at this time know the method by which the latitude and longitude are determined any where, even in the open ſea, and are alſo apprized of the variation of the magnetic needle; but in the time of Pigafetta the knowledge of theſe matters was a myſtery to all except the higher claſs of the learned. The nautical inſtruments were the aſtrolabe and the compaſs, of the variations of which latter even pilots, in general, were ignorant, as is deduced from the ſpeech of Magellan to his ſquadron *. Regiomontanus had indeed already invented his meteoroſcope †, to determine the diſtances of places from each other, as well in longitude as in latitude; and by means of a ſimilar inſtrument it was that Amerigo Veſpucci, in 1499, after a tempeſt in which the whole of thoſe on board his veſſel had loſt their reckoning, aſcertained his poſition in midſt of the Atlantic Ocean, by an obſervation of the conjunction of the moon with Mars, which had been calculated by Regiomontanus himſelf for the latitude of Ferrara ‡. But the uſe of theſe inſtruments, as well as ſuch calculations, were ſo little known, that Veſpucci was regarded by the ſhip's company as a wonderful man, to whom, in conſequence, they gave the command of the veſſel: he was afterwards entruſted with other grand enterprizes, in one of which he found occaſion to give his name to the new continent.

Now, theſe methods, with which few perſons at that time were acquainted, and of which Pigafetta had made himſelf maſter, are nearly the ſame as thoſe now in uſe. The latitude of a place is aſcertained by taking the elevation of the pole at night, and by obſervations of that of the ſun at noon. The elevation of the pole is found by that of ſome ſtar the latitude of which is known, generally the polar ſtar, which, in the ſpace of twenty-four hours, deſcribes a ſmall circle round the pole. This circle was known to Pigafetta; and he was not aſſuredly very wrong in his ſtatement, for its radius was $3^{\circ}\ 17'\ 37''$, notwithſtanding it is now but $1^{\circ}\ 46'$, the polar ſtar approaching gradually towards the pole, after a rate which, in the lapſe of ſo many years, has occaſioned this difference. In order to find the vertical diſtance of the polar ſtar from the pole, as now, it was the cuſtom then to obſerve the poſition of ſome ſtar about the polar, under the

* See Book ii. of the Voyage of Pigafetta, page 323.
† See the Introduction to above Voyage, parag. iii. and note.
‡ Bartolozzi Ricerche critiche ſulla vita d' Amerigo Veſpucci.

ſame meridian, or making ſome known angle with it. In the preſent day it is uſual to obſerve the ſtar γ of Caſſiopea, which is called the Girdle *, and is nearly under the ſame meridian. In the time of Pigafetta they obſerved the relation the polar ſtar bore to the ſtars β and γ of the Leſſer Bear, which form a triangle with the polar ſtar and the pole. After which they faſtened a triangular rule on the centre, or pole, of the aſtrolabe, by the obtuſe angle on which it turned †. Even now a rule nearly ſimilar is uſed, and the inſtrument uſed for this purpoſe is called nocturlabe ‡. But, ſpite of the different poſition and diſtance of the ſtars, and notwithſtanding the inſtruments uſed in the preſent day are diſſimilar to thoſe at that time adopted, it is viſible that the method of aſcertaining the latitude by the height of the pole at night, and of the ſun by day, are ſtill the ſame; and theſe methods it is that our author teaches for finding the latitude at ſea.

With reſpect to the aſcertainment of the longitude, Meſſieurs de la Lande and Bougainville conceive the method by taking the horary angles of the moon is the ſafeſt and moſt convenient §; and Trieſneker ‖, with Bouguer ¶, affirm, that the beſt method is by the conjunction with, and eclipſes of the ſtars by the moon. Our author recommends the ſame in the two firſt of the three methods he gives for this purpoſe. And as he fails to ſpeak of the mode of finding the longitude by ſolar eclipſes, it is evident that with this he was unacquainted, and conſequently that he did not ſee Magellan practice it at the river of Sta. Cruz, as Caſtagneda affirms **.

I am aware that all the obſervations made were computed upon the almanacks of the day, and that theſe almanacks were far from calculating with that preciſion which is admired in the ephemerides of the preſent time the different phenomena of the heavens: I know that the lunar tables were then much leſs perfect than they now are, and that Pigafetta had not the advantage of being enabled, as the teleſcope had not yet been invented, to obſerve the eclipſes of the ſatellites of Jupiter. All reſults then reſted on obſervations made with very imperfect inſtruments, and eſpecially the aſtrolabe, of which Pigafetta often ſpeaks, the meteoroſcope, the torquetum, the backſtaff, and the univerſal circle, inſtruments and machines which were neither certain in their reſults nor eaſy or commodious to uſe, as are now the ſextant of Hadley, the Engliſh quadrant, the circle of Borda, and other inſtruments ſo formed that the motion of the veſſel is no impediment to their being uſed, nor capable of affecting their exactitude. The correctneſs of the reſult of obſervations for determining the longitude neceſſarily depends on the preciſeneſs of the time at which the obſervations are made, and the relation it bears to that of the country the longitude of which is known, or ſuppoſed to be known: at that period the only means of determining the hour was by the ſand glaſs, in the conſtruction and uſe of which it is impoſſible to be exact, ſo that indeed Pigafetta himſelf did not rely on it. But at preſent we have excellent chronometers and ſea-watches, which are not liable to any variation, or which, if they experience any, are readily corrected. By means of theſe it is that we obtain that preciſion of time which allows of the longitudinal diſtance being aſcertained with the utmoſt exactitude, a matter as difficult until this invention as it was material for navigators; and for the diſcovery of

* Bouguer, Traité de Navigation.

† Theſe machines are to be ſeen in Apiano. Aſtronomicum Cæſareum; and in Lucini. Arcano del mare.

‡ Dictionnaire de la Marine, artic. Nocturlabe, where the figure of this inſtrument is given.

§ Bougainville Voyage, tome xl. p. 65.

‖ Allgemeine Geogr. Ephem. Jan. 1798.

¶ Traité de Navigation.

** Page xxxix. note ii.

which

which Spain and Holland, and after them England and France, have proffered, and already given very conſiderable rewards. It is therefore evident that Pigafetta, having no exact data, could only give doubtful reſults; but this does not take away from the aſtronomers and navigators of his time the merit of having conceived, nor from our author that of having practiſed, methods which, in modern times, have been brought to perfection, by removing the uncertainty reſulting from the uſe of bad inſtruments, and a want of correct aſtronomical and phyſical obſervations.

The celebrated navigator, Bougainville, ſome ſhort time back read a memoir to the National Inſtitute of Paris *, in which he drew a compariſon between the means poſſeſſed by Magellan and the immortal Cook: were I to repeat his remarks, we ſhould, without doubt ſee that, if Cook made more extenſive and important voyages, Magellan, deſtitute as he was of the grand means poſſeſſed by the Engliſh Commodore, undertook a voyage which exacted a man of far ſuperior talents to his contemporaries, as well as of much greater energy of character. And, as Pigafetta wrote his treatiſe after the Voyage †, it is highly probable that he received from Magellan himſelf the nautical inſtructions he has given, and that this captain-general was taught them by the aſtronomer Faleiro, whoſe knowledge was ſo admirable in his time as to cauſe him to be ſuſpected of being inſpired by ſome demon.

One cannot, it is true, attribute praiſe to our author when he attempts to explain the movements of the planets and ſtars by the ſyſtem of Ptolemy, the abſurdity of which is now demonſtrated; but on the other hand this error cannot be conſidered as blameable in him, when we reflect, that it was then in meaſure conſecrated, and call to mind the misfortunes of Galileo, which were owing to his daring to oppoſe the ſyſtem of Copernicus, a century even later. Pigafetta was moreover in error when he pretended to have diſcovered the longitude by means of the variation of the magnetic needle; but even this error is excuſable on referring to the age in which he lived, and conſidering that he was deceived by a falſe theory; for he imagined that there were in the heavens ſome fixed ſpot towards which the needle conſtantly pointed ‡; and he was in ſome meaſure confirmed in his opinion by the fact; for at that time the magnetic needle on the firſt meridian, fixed by Ptolemy at the iſland of Ferro §, was ſubject to little, if any deviation, and in other places the degrees of longitude correſponded with the degrees of deviation of the needle from the north. Add to all this that the author of the Arcano del Mare, a claſſical book on navigation, among other means of finding the longitude at ſea, recommends the paying attention to the variation of the compaſs ‖; and that the celebrated Halley, after attentively noticing the obſervations of navigators on the deviation of the needle, conceived it poſſible to form circles by means of which the longitude of places might be determined by the variation, he himſelf being ignorant that this variation is progreſſive, and inconſtant in its progreſſion, and that conſequently it cannot be ſubjected to calculation; and moreover that computation, as was obſerved

* Allgemeine Geogr. Ephem. Decemb. 1798, p. 553.

† In the Treatiſe he quotes his Voyage, in which he ſpeaks of the ſtars round the ſouthern pole.

‡ It muſt nevertheleſs be obſerved that he only adopts this explanation of the phenomenon for want of a better.

§ By the table of the declenſions of the magnetic needle, publiſhed by the learned Lambert in the ephemerides of Berlin, (Aſtronomiſche Jahrbuch for the year 1779) it will be found, by means of a ſhort calculation, that at the beginning of the ſixteenth century the magnetic equator, or the ° of deviation, was near the iſland of Teneriffe. At preſent it is diſtant, and every day becomes further from it. M. de Bougainville found the declenſion of the needle in this part to be 14° 41′ W.; and Staunton, who accompanied Lord Macartney on his Embaſſy to China, 17° 35′ W.

‖ Tome i. p. xi.

by

by Cook *, will always be vague, on account of the variation in the ſame place and at the ſame time being different with different needles.

Among the means of aſcertaining every day the longitude of any ſpot while at ſea, Pigafetta does not mention the log-book or log,—not becauſe he was unacquainted with it; for he obſerves that they meaſured the way they made by means of the chain †, which is the ſame thing; but probably becauſe he knew the inadequacy of this mode, eſpecially in navigating from one parallel to the other, in the direction of ſecondary winds, and where borne away by currents the rate of which cannot be duly aſcertained. After indicating the means of determining the latitude, Pigafetta gives a long catalogue of the latitudes, boreal as well as auſtral of the countries, ports, promontories, &c. known to navigators in his time; but this catalogue, being merely a copy of what may be ſeen in books of geography of the ſixteenth century, I have thought it unneceſſary to publiſh.

I ſhould occaſionally have found it highly difficult to comprehend this Treatiſe on Navigation, adapted by the author to the information, but eſpecially to the inſtruments of his time, but for the muſæum of our library, which furniſhed me with aſtrolabes, compaſſes, the machine pointing out the winds, and other inſtruments and books uſed by navigators at the commencement of the ſixteenth century. By comparing theſe inſtruments and drawings in the books with what he wrote, I ſucceeded at length in comprehending a number of words and phraſes made uſe of by him. Still I think it juſt to declare to the reader, that, generally ſpeaking, I have much abridged this treatiſe, not only becauſe in many parts it contained trivial information, and that ſometimes repeated, but alſo, and that more eſpecially, on account of the text being frequently unintelligible, more, I have no doubt, owing to the negligence of the copyiſt, than that of the author. I thought it better, where this has been the caſe, wholly to omit what was not eaſy of comprehenſion than to torture my brain with endeavours at gueſſing the meaning of the author, and putting in his mouth poſſibly words that he never uttered.

EXTRACT OF THE TREATISE ON NAVIGATION OF PIGAFETTA.

Deſcription of the Armillary Sphere.

THE armillary ſphere, the deſign of which Pigafetta promiſes to give, is uſed by him to explain the ſyſtem of the univerſe according to Ptolemy, and might be uſed as an aſtrolabe; for on the top of it is a kind of ſemicircle, or ring, which ſerves for its ſuſpenſion when employed as an aſtrolabe. Pigafetta begins his treatiſe with a deſcription of the ſyſtem of the world, in imitation of all thoſe who have preceded or followed him in writing on the elements of the art of navigation.

"The earth," he ſays, "is round; it is ſuſpended and motionleſs in midſt of the celeſtial bodies. The primum mobile is reſident in the axis of the two poles, the arctic and antarctic; which two poles are ſuppoſed to be united through the poles of

* Third Voyage, book i.

† Book ii. of this Voyage.

the earth: this axis revolves from eaſt to weſt, and in its revolution carries with it the planets and all the ſtars. Beſides this there is an eighth ſphere, the poles of which are 23° 33′* from the equinoctial line; the axis of this ſphere turns from weſt to eaſt.

" The circumference of the earth is ſuppoſed to be divided into three hundred and ſixty degrees, and to each degree are aſſigned ſeventeen leagues and a half: the circumference of the earth is conſequently ſix thouſand three hundred leagues. The league by land is three miles, the ſea-league is four†.

" The ten circles of the armillary ſphere, the ſix larger of which have the ſame centre as the earth, ſerve to determine the climates and geographical ſcite of places. The ecliptic ſhews the courſe of the ſun and planets. The two tropics point out the diſtance to which the ſun diverges from the equator, northward in ſummer, and in winter ſouthward. The meridian, ever variable as it paſſes through all the point of the equator, cutting it vertically, deſignates the longitudes, and on this circle it is that the latitudes are marked."

Of the Latitude.

After a deſcription of the ſyſtem of Ptolemy, and after explaining every part of the armillary ſphere, the author teaches the manner of taking the height of the pole, by which means the latitude is found. He places the pole at 0 and the equator at 90° ‡. It is well known that at preſent we reckon from 0 to 90, beginning from the equator and proceeding to the pole.

" I. The polar ſtar," he ſays, " is not preciſely on the point correſponding with the axis of the earth, but like all the other ſtars it revolves about this point. In order to know the true poſition of the polar ſtar with reſpect to the pole, that of the guards

* The declination of the ecliptic, which anſwers to the poles of the eighth ſphere of our author, is now 23° 28′ 30″.

† Suppoſing the terreſtrial globe under the equator to be ſo divided that half its circumference ſhould conſiſt of land and half of water, *and giving conſequently to each league three miles and a half*, we ſhall have for the circumference of the globe under the equator twenty-two thouſand and fifty miles; a ſum differing but little from that which reſults from giving ſixty miles to each degree, which makes the circumference twenty-one thouſand ſix hundred miles. AMORETTI.

Here the Italian editor wholly miſtakes his author, and ſhews greater ignorance than could have been ſuppoſed in a librarian having acceſs to works on navigation, and digeſting a treatiſe on this ſcience. All that was meant by Pigafetta in his obſervation that a league by land is but three miles, while a league at ſea is four, is to admoniſh the reader that in his computation of the circumference of the earth at ſix thouſand three hundred leagues, he means ſea and not land leagues, for if the latter were taken the circumference would be eight thouſand four hundred. That this is the caſe is evidently clear from his obſerving that the ſea league is of ſuch length that ſeventeen and a half go to a degree, conſequently ſeventy miles. Now the degree of longitude on the equator is 69,$\frac{2}{10}$ Engliſh miles, and the circumference of the globe 24,902 of theſe miles, which comes very nigh the computation of Pigafetta. Geographical miles were utterly out of the queſtion with him, (thoſe to which Amoretti adverts in computing 60 to a degree). It is not however equally evident what mile he alludes to when he ſtates the league to conſiſt of four; the degree meaſures 67,$\frac{25}{100}$ of the preſent miles of Milan, 68,$\frac{25}{100}$ of thoſe of Tuſcany, 60,$\frac{62}{100}$ of thoſe of Venice, and 74,$\frac{7}{10}$ of thoſe of Rome. ENG. TR.

‡ This again is another error on the part of Amoretti, which attention to the text of the voyage in every inſtance where the latitudes are marked will clearly ſhew; it is alſo evidently a miſ-ſtatement from the tenor of the two inſtructions which follow for finding the latitude, firſt by an obſervation of the polar ſtar, and ſecondly of the ſun. Poſſibly, though he ſays he declined bewildering his brain in endeavouring to ſolve ſome apparently incomprehenſible parts of this treatiſe, Amoretti did not deſiſt from the attempt until it had become conſiderably clouded; at leaſt thus much may fairly be conjectured from the ſtatements which have produced this and the preceding note. ENG. TR.

muſt

muſt be obſerved *: if they ſhould be on the weſtern arm †, the polar ſtar is 1° above the pole; if on the rule or line ‡, the polar ſtar is 3° 30′ beneath the pole §; if on the eaſtern arm the polar ſtar is 1° below the pole. When deſirous of taking the height of the pole, after obſerving in what poſition the guards are, and after aſcertaining the height of the polar ſtar from the horizon, the degrees that this ſtar is above the pole, or below, muſt be ſubtracted, or added. I have ſpoken of the antarctic pole in the narrative of my voyage.

"II. The latitude of a place may likewiſe be found by the height of the ſun: 1ſt. When between the equator and the arctic the ſhade at noon falls towards that pole, the number of degrees and minutes of the ſun's declination on that day muſt be ſought for in the almanack, and be deducted from the degrees and minutes of its elevation, taken by obſervation; ſubtracting afterwards the remaining degrees from 90°; the reſult will be the boreal latitude. 2d. When, being in the northern hemiſphere, the ſun has a northern declination, and the ſhadow falls towards the ſouth ‖, the declination of the ſun on that day being found, it muſt be added to its elevation above the horizon, and the ſum of the two be deducted from 90°; the remainder is the latitude north. 3d. When the ſun is between the equator and the antarctic pole, and the ſhadow falls at noon towards the ſouth, the amount of the declination of the ſun muſt be deducted from its elevation, as in the firſt rule, and the remainder be ſubtracted from 90°, which will give the latitude ſouth. 4th. When, as well as the ſun, the obſerver is between the equator and the antarctic pole, and the ſhadow at noon falls towards the north, the ſum of the declination of the ſun muſt be added to its elevation, as in rule the ſecond, and the amount be deducted from 90°; the remainder gives the latitude ſouth. 5th. When the height of the ſun is 90°, the diſtance of the obſerver from the equator will be equal to the declination of the ſun; and if the ſun has no declination on that day he will be on the equator. 6th. If the obſerver be north of the equator, and the ſun be in the ſouthern ſigns, the amount of its declination on that day muſt be added to its elevation, and the ſum be deducted from 90°; the reſidue is the diſtance north from the equator. 7th. By a ſimilar operation, when the obſerver is ſouth of the equator, and the ſun in the northern ſigns, the latitude ſouth may be found."

Of the Longitude.

"Longitude indicates the degrees from eaſt to weſt. I have ſtudied different methods of aſcertaining it, and ſelected three, which appear to me the beſt ¶. The laſt is the moſt convenient for thoſe unacquainted with aſtrology. Pilots now a days are ſatisfied with knowing the latitude, and are ſo preſumptuous they refuſe to hear mention of longitude.

* See the preface to this Extract, page 384.

† By this the arm of the inſtrument uſed is to be underſtood; this inſtrument was probably the meteoroſcope of Regiomontanus, which had a croſs in the middle, or perhaps the common aſtrolabe, with the dioptre, or medeclino as Pigafetta calls it, on the equator.

‡ Pigafetta means the meridional line from the pole to the equator.

§ I have previouſly remarked that, although the radius of the circle deſcribed by the polar ſtar meaſures at this time no more than a degree and a half, in the time of Pigafetta it meaſured 3° 17′ 37″; conſequently when our author ſays 3° 30′ he is not very wide of the truth: and when the imperfection of the different inſtruments uſed by him is conſidered, there can remain no cauſe for ſurprize at an error of ſuch little magnitude.

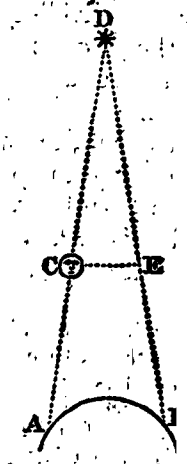
‖ As occurs when the obſerver is between the place of the ſun in the ecliptic and the equator.

¶ Theſe three methods are probably thoſe which, according to Caſtagneda were taught Magellan by the aſtrologer Faleiro.

"1ſt. By the latitude of the moon one may form a judgment of the longitude of the ſpot where the obſervation is made. By the latitude of the moon is underſtood its diſtance from the ecliptic. The ecliptic is the line of route or orbit of the ſun. The moon in her rotation conſtantly gets further from this line until at her greateſt diſtance from it; afterwards ſhe approaches it again until in conjunction with the dragon's head or dragon's tail *, when ſhe cuts the ecliptic. Now, as the moon, on receding from the ecliptic, at the ſame time paſſes to the weſt, ſhe muſt neceſſarily have a greater latitude on one part of the globe than the other; and when her latitude is known, which is aſcertained in degrees and minutes by the aſtrolabe, her poſition eaſt or weſt is found, and the number of degrees and minutes ſhe diverges to either quarter. But the longitude of the ſpot of obſervation cannot be determined without knowing exactly in what latitude and longitude the moon ought to be at the ſame inſtant at the place of departure, at Seville for example: when the latitude and longitude of the moon at Seville in degrees and minutes are known, by comparing them with the latitude and longitude of the ſpot, the difference will ſhew how many hours and minutes the meridian in which the obſerver may be, is diſtant from that of Seville; and thus the longitude from that city may be aſcertained.

"2d. The moon furniſhes me with another method of determining the longitude of any ſpot; but for this purpoſe muſt be known the preciſe inſtant when at Seville the moon is in conjunction with a certain ſtar or planet, or when ſhe is in oppoſition to the ſun, or forms an exactly aſcertained angle with that planet, which I gather from an almanack. Now, as either phenomenon occurs in the eaſt before it does in the weſt, I diſcover my longitude weſt by the time that has elapſed between its occurrence at Seville and the inſtant at which it is obſerved by me. But if the phenomenon takes place at the point of obſervation before it happens at Seville, the difference of time points out the longitude eaſtward. For each hour fifteen degrees of longitude muſt be reckoned.

"No great genius is required to comprehend what I have mentioned. It ſhould be known that the moon has a peculiar movement, oppoſite to the general one of the heavens, ſeeing her courſe is from weſt to eaſt, and every two hours ſhe paſſes over a degree and ſome minutes. And as the moon is placed in the firſt heaven and the ſtars in the eighth, ſhe occaſionally eclipſes certain ſtars, by paſſing between them and us, or intercepts their rays from our obſervance, an event which cannot take place at the ſame time to be ſeen at Seville and at Valentia, which the figure beneath will explain †."



* That is to ſay, the nodes or orbit of the moon cut the ecliptic.

† This figure was wanting in the manuſcript, but was eaſily ſupplied from the text.

By

By this figure is ſeen that the rays of the ſtar D are intercepted by the moon at C from the obſervance of thoſe at A, but not from that of thoſe at B; although when the moon proceeds to E, the ſame ſtar will in like manner be concealed from the gazer at B.

" III. The compaſs may likewiſe furniſh a much more ready means of diſcovering the longitude. It is well known that the compaſs, or the magnetic needle which it contains, conſtantly points to one fixed ſpot, on account of the tendency of the magnet towards the pole. The cauſe of this tendency is the magnet finding no point at reſt in the heavens except the pole, to which conſequently it ever directs itſelf. This, at leaſt, is the explanation I propoſe of this phenomenon, and that which I ſhall deem a good one, until experience produce a better.

" To know, by means of the magnet, the longitude of a place, form a great circle, in which the compaſs may be placed, and divide this circle into three hundred and ſixty degrees: turn the compaſs until the magnetic needle points to 360°, where the arctic pole is indicated. When the needle is at reſt draw a thread from the arctic to the antarctic pole, which may cut the centre, and let this thread be of greater length than the diameter of the compaſs. After this take the line of noon, which is to be determined by the greateſt elevation of the ſun: turn then the compaſs until the thread which traverſes it is on the line of the true meridian, that is to ſay, on the ſhadow caſt by the dial at noon; then, with the remainder of the thread, draw a line from the antarctic pole of the needle which paſſing through the centre may cut the fleur-de-lis which points out the north, and obſerve how many degrees the needle is diſtant from the meridional line, that is from the true pole; the number of degrees diſtant will indicate the number of degrees of longitude from the ſpot where the compaſs points true *: conſequently, the more exact the obſervation of the true meridian, the more exactly will the degree of longitude be determined. By what I have ſaid will be ſeen that the meridian muſt never be determined by the compaſs, becauſe it north-eaſts or north-weſts † immediately after a departure from the true meridian, but with the aſtrolabe at noon; and the noon muſt be found by aſcertainment of the inſtant of the greateſt elevation of the ſun.

" When the height of the ſun at noon cannot be taken, it may be determined by a ſand-glaſs, by reckoning the hours of the night, from the inſtant the ſun ſets to that of its riſing. When the length of the night is thus known, that of the day is gathered by ſubtracting it from twenty-four; by dividing this by two the ſum is the time from ſun-riſe till noon, at which inſtant the gnomen will indicate the meridian. But the ſand-glaſs being oftentimes incorrect, it is far better to take the height of the pole, by means of the aſtrolabe and its mediclino ‡.

" The true meridian may alſo be found, or rather the equinoctial line which cuts the meridian at right angles, by obſerving the points at which the ſun riſes and ſets, and meaſuring its deviation north or ſouth from the equinox. To effect this, an aſtrolabe is made of the earth; that is to ſay, a circle is formed repreſenting the circumference of the earth divided into three hundred and ſixty degrees. Fix two pins

* That is to ſay, when the magnetic needle coincides with the meridian.

† Meaning it declines towards the eaſt or the weſt from the north.

‡ I cannot find that any aſtronomer or aſtrologer in the days of Pigafetta, for example Regiomontanus, Apianus, Gimma Friſius, Danti, Clavius, &c. make any mention whatever of the mediclino; but by what our author here ſays, as well as in other places, it ſeems the mediclino is the moveable rule fixed on the centre of the aſtrolabe, which is ſometimes denominated alhidade, at others dioptre, and in Italian traguardo.

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in this circle in ſuch manner that a line from one to the other may cut the centre, and at ſun-riſe turn this circle in ſuch manner that the pins may be in a line with the centre of the ſun; at the inſtant the ſun ſets repeat the ſame operation. By this means you will find the declination of the ſun from the equinoctial line, whether northward or ſouthward. When you have determined the angle at which the ſun riſes and ſets from the equinoctial line, you obtain the mean diſtance, which is the meridional line; and you will thus ſee how much the needle north-eaſts or north-weſts: by the degrees of deviation of the needle you will know your longitude from the Fortunate iſlands, that is to ſay, from Teneriffe, whether eaſtward or weſtward. This method has the ſanction of experience *."

On Steering the Ship.

" Would you navigate to any country, it is firſt requiſite you ſhould know its geographical poſition, that is to ſay its latitude and longitude. After which, by the help of the compaſs you will ſteer directly towards it. And as the needle north-eaſts or north-weſts, its deviation muſt be found by the means I have preſcribed; then ſubtract or add what is neceſſary to the compaſs in order that the prow of the ſhip, regulated by the compaſs, may conſtantly point in the direction required.

" If unfortunately the compaſs ſhould be loſt, or if its real deviation from the meridional line ſhould be unknown, the pilot muſt regulate himſelf by the ſun at noon. When the meridian is ſo fixed that it cuts directly acroſs the veſſel its prow may be directed any way at pleaſure. For example; ſuppoſing the pilot would ſteer from north-eaſt to ſouth-weſt, turn the compaſs in ſuch manner that the veſſel may have its prow towards the weſt and its poop towards the eaſt; then on the circle of the winds, divided into three hundred and ſixty degrees, or four times ninety, fix two pins, one at forty-five degrees from the eaſt and the north, the other at equal diſtance from the weſt and ſouth; turn then the helm ſo that the two pins may be on the meridian, and the prow will point whither the veſſel is to ſteer: provided the pins ſhould not be on the true meridional line, the courſe will be a falſe one, and muſt be rectified. When the veſſel makes the land the truth of what I ſay will appear.

" By means of an aſtrolabe compoſed of plates †, the meridional line may readily be found, as well as the poles and the equinoctial line by obſervation of the ſun by day, and at night of the moon and ſtars. For theſe laſt, inſtead of the verghezita ‡, two ſmall ſticks muſt be placed in the middle of the aſtrolabe, through which the ſtar may be obſerved."

After thus deſcribing the method of giving the direction wiſhed for to the veſſel, Pigafetta proceeds to teach the means of determining the point of the compaſs to which the veſſel in ſailing from one part to another ſhould ſteer. In order to make himſelf the better underſtood he adduces ſeveral examples. " Are you deſirous," ſays he, " of going from ſouth to north, or from north to ſouth, under the ſame longitude, keep conſtantly on the ſame meridional line. Would you ſail from eaſt to

* I have already obſerved that in the time of Pigafetta the needle at the Canaries was nearly on the magnetic equator; and it muſt further be obſerved that chance has carried navigators into certain parts where the degrees of declination correſponded with the degrees of longitude from the iſland of Teneriffe.

† We have aſtrolabes made of different kinds of plates, the largeſt for ſake of lightneſs being of paſteboard; the others are of braſs or copper.

‡ This probably is the ſame thing with the mediclino. See Note, page 389.

weſt,

weſt, or the contrary, keep always under the ſame parallel. If inclined to proceed from one ſpot to another which is diſtant as many degrees of longitude as of latitude, you muſt ſteer 45° towards the north-weſt or north-eaſt, or towards the ſouth-weſt or ſouth-eaſt. If the difference of the latitude is greater than that of the longitude, add to 45° the number of degrees which the latitude has more than the longitude to the pole to which you are ſteering. For example; ſuppoſe I wiſhed to go from Cape St. Vincent to Cape Bojador, I compute the degrees of longitude and latitude to know the difference between the two capes; I find the difference of longitude to be 5° 30′, of latitude 11°: I therefore deduct 5° 30′ from 11°, and find the remainder 5° 30′ more than north-eaſt towards the north, and leſs than ſouth-weſt towards the ſouth. If the longitude is greater than the latitude, the inferior number of degrees is in like manner deducted from the greater; and the courſe to ſteer will be the remainder of 45°, after ſubtracting the quotient. For example; ſuppoſe I wiſh to go from the iſland Ferro to Guadaloupe, I find the former lies in latitude 27°, the other in 15° north; I thus aſcertain the difference to be 12° of latitude. I next obſerve on the chart their longitudes; as that of Ferro is ſeen to be 1°, and that of Guadaloupe 45°, the difference is 44°; from this I ſubtract the 12° of latitude, and have for a remainder 32°; this reſidue I deduct from 45°, and have 13° for the difference. The courſe to ſteer muſt therefore be from north-eaſt 13° north, to ſouth-weſt 13° ſouth *."

Direction of the Winds.

" The compaſs, on which the rhumbs are marked, divided into 360°, will give a better idea of what I have juſt now remarked, it being firſt underſtood that the pilot muſt reckon his point of departure from the centre of the compaſs; he muſt at the ſame time take care to determine preciſely the true pole by the elevation of the ſun, and not from the needle, prone to deviate from the north towards the eaſt and weſt.

In order to learn whence the wind blows, fix a ſmall ſtick with a vane in the middle of the compaſs, ſo placed as that the north and ſouth may be upon the true meridional line. The direction of the vane acted upon by the wind will ſhow whither it blows. On the equinoctial line of the compaſs are the eaſt and weſt; at 45° you find the north-eaſt, north-weſt, ſouth-eaſt and ſouth-weſt; at 22½° north-north-eaſt and north-north-weſt, and ſo with the reſt."

* This laſt is an error. Where the longitude is greater than the latitude, the ſurplus ſhould be added to the longitudinal direction, whether eaſt or weſt. Thus, inſtead of ſteering ſouth-weſt 13° ſouth, in the inſtance of this problem, the veſſel ſhould be ſteered ſouth-weſt 13° weſt. ENG. TR.

PARTICULARS RESPECTING THE CAVALHERO M. BEHAIM,

A CELEBRATED PORTUGUESE NAVIGATOR;

With a DESCRIPTION of his TERRESTRIAL GLOBE.

Tranſlated into French from the German of Mr. De Murr, by H. J. Jansen, and from the French into Engliſh, for the firſt time, for this Work.

Qui mare, qui terras, qui deſcripſitque profundum
Terræ orbem radio, adgreſſus fabricumque globumque,
Ingentem hunc nautam conor comprendere chartis.
Resendius Lusitanus.

WHAT Martin Behaim really was will here be found without exaggeration or detraction; *uni æquus veritati.* I have made a point of ſearching with nice ſcrutiny into all that relates to this celebrated navigator; a labour in which I have been greatly facilitated by the complaiſance of the individual who at this time holds poſſeſſion of the papers belonging to the family. Finding myſelf thus richly provided with authentic documents, I have ſpared no care nor pains to throw light on a matter ſo important in the hiſtory of navigation as the life and merits of this great man. If I have not wholly ſucceeded, at leaſt I hope, by my exertions to have fulfilled the wiſh expreſſed by Profeſſor Gebauer, in his Hiſtory of Portugal, page 123.

"It appears to me," ſays he, "extremely uncertain whether or no Martin Behaim was really the firſt who diſcovered the new world, as Ricciolus affirms; and whether or no, as is inſiſted upon by Benzon, he ever paſſed the Straits of Magellan. We are not to conclude, from what is advanced by Schedel, in his Latin Chronicle, of the diſcovery of Congo being attributable to Martin Behaim and James Canus; of their having paſſed the equinoctial line, and ſailed ſo far towards the ſouth that, on fronting the eaſt their ſhadow fell on their right hand; that therefore they muſt have proceeded as far as to America; for the circumſtance adverted to thus takes place always in the ſouthern hemiſphere. The ancient deeds and diplomas conſulted by Wuelfer, Wagenſeil, Stuvenius, and Doppelmayr, make mention of no ſuch fact. But what, in my mind, renders the aſſertions of Ricciolus and Benzon exceedingly dubious, or rather what ſtands almoſt utterly in oppoſition to their aſſertions, is the globe of Behaim, which muſt have been conſtructed as late as 1492, the year on which Chriſtoval Colon began his voyage. Doppelmayr has given a plan of this globe; and the more I examine this, the more I conceive doubtful that glory which Colon and Magellan have hitherto had aſcribed to them. It would not conſequently be labor loſt in any one to make public the life of the Cavalhero, Martin Behaim, written in the ſtyle of the preſent day, and without curtailing any thing, or making any addition to the actual truth, deducing the facts from authentic documents alone. By ſuch a procedure numerous errors would doubtleſs be diſcovered, as well in what has been ſaid in favour of, as againſt this navigator, errors which, as is juſtly obſerved by the Emperor Maximilian, are inſeparable from the hiſtory of thoſe who viſit diſtant countries. This obſervation will be well confirmed by the following ſpecimen: Pieter Vander Ax, in a collection

of

of voyages published by him in Dutch, under the general title of 'A Collection of the most memorable Voyages and Travels to the East and West-Indies *,' at the beginning of the second volume, page vii. while speaking of the inducements by which Colon was prompted to attempt his discoveries, remarks, "he was confirmed in this opinion by Martin Van Boheeme, a Portuguese of the island Fayal, his friend, and a great geographer †. It perhaps would be difficult to find in any other author so great a number of errors in so small a space." Still this statement has been copied by Robertson.

Wagenseil, as appears from a passage in a letter written by him from Leibnitz, to Burnet ‡, in 1697, intended to have given to the world some memoirs relative to Martin Behaim; but it is fair to presume that, without the advantage of reference to the authentic documents intrusted to me, he would have produced little that could be new.

It is surprising that Mr. Robertson should have wished to deprive Germany of the honor of having given birth to the Cavalhero Behaim; and that he should affirm him to be a Portuguese, called Martino de Boemia, merely because Herrera § speaks of a certain Martino de Boemia, as a particular friend of Colon; and because Gomera ‖ says that the King of Portugal possessed a globe made by this Martin of Bohemia; and that on such slender authority he should make the extraordinary conclusion ¶, "that the Germans were probably induced to infer from the name of this artist, (Martin, of Boemia), that he was born in Bohemia, and on this conjecture founded their imaginary claim."

If a writer would give a history of America, it is fit he should first be acquainted with the treatise of Stuvenius. That mistakes may be avoided similar to what I have noticed of Robertson, I have communicated the result of my enquiries to Mr. Russel, who is now employed on a history of America, in which many errors of Mr. Robertson will be corrected; and in the critique which Mr. Forster is about to publish on the work of Robertson, the gross mistake I have noticed will no doubt excite his attention.

As in repeating the words of Behaim, I shall frequently have occasion to refer to his terrestrial globe, I conceive it necessary to preface what I have to deliver by a description of it, after first saying a few words of the globes and charts of the ancients.

From a passage of Ptolemey we may conclude that, a hundred and fifty years before the Christian æra, Hipparchus traced the figures of stars on a globe **. Still, the first inventor of a terrestrial globe is unknown; probably it was Anaximander, a disciple of Thales, for in a passage of Diogenes Laertius (Book ii. chap. i.) he states, speaking of him, that "he marked the confines of the land and seas upon a globe." Globes of this description, that is to say, terrestrial globes, are seen on ancient medals, and in paintings of antiquity ††. Demetrius Poliorcetes caused a terrestrial globe to be represented on his royal mantle ‡‡. Xiphilin says, after Dion, that Domitian ordered Metius

* Verfameling der gedenkwaardigfte zee-en-land-riffen na Ooft, en Weft Indien 30 deelen in 8°. Amfterdam, 1706.

† Deeze meining wierd hem door Martin Van Boheeme, van t'eyland Fayal geboortig, een Portugees, zynen vriend, een groote weereldkundiger, beveftigd.

‡ We are led to expect the memoirs of a gentleman of Nuremberg, reputed to have known America before Colon. Mr Wagenseil speaks of this at least in a work of geography published by him. (Pera juvenili; Synops. Geog. p. 105.)

§ Decad. i. lib. i. cap. ii et Decad. ii. lib. ii. cap. xix.

‖ Hiftoria General de las Indias, ch. xci.

¶ Note xvii. Book 2d of his History of America.

** Montucla. Hiftoire des Mathematiques, tome i. p. 274.

†† Pitture d'Ercole, tome xx tav. 8.

‡‡ Plutarch. Life of Demetrius.

Pompoſianus to be put to death for having a terreſtrial globe painted in his room, as if he aſpired to ſupreme power. * With reſpect to the antiquity of geographical charts, Fabricius * and Hauber † may be conſulted. More than one interpreter of the Scriptures pretend that geographical charts are alluded to in the Book of Joſhua, chap. 18th. In Egypt, Seſoſtris, whom Father Tourmenine imagines to be the Pharaoh of Scripture, directed geographical charts to be conſtructed ‡. Ariſtagoras, tyrant of Miletus, ſhewed to Cleomenes, King of Macedonia, a table of braſs, on which was repreſented the poſition of all the lands, ſeas, and towns from Sparta to Suza, the capital of Perſia §. This verſe alſo of Propertius is well known:

Depicted worlds I ſtrive from charts to know ||.

As well as the chart of Peutinger, of the time of Diocletian, (and not of Theodoſius), which my deceaſed friend, M. Scheyb, publiſhed at Vienna in 1753. Agathodemon, the mechanic of Alexandria, who lived in the fifth century, was the firſt who conſtructed charts for the geography of Ptolomey. Theſe are the twenty-ſeven charts yet in exiſtence, but which aſſuredly had undergone conſiderable changes previous to their being rendered into Latin, in 1471, by Nicholas Donis, a Benedictine of Reichenback; before which time the names were written in Greek characters. In 1762, I ſaw, in the poſſeſſion of Mr. Reimarus, at Hamburgh, the fragment of a chart of Italy, (Ptolomey, tab. viii.) with the names in Greek, made in the eleventh century. In 1478, a copy of this chart was taken at Rome, on braſs or pewter, the names of the places on which were engraven with the punch. In 1482, Leonard Hal cauſed this chart to be carved on wood, together with five other charts of modern geography, planned by Nicolas Donis. Twenty-three charts of this collection at Ulm, which were reprinted in 1486, are to be found given upon vellum, and illuminated in the Latin manuſcript of Ptolomey, written in 1502, which belongs to the library of the town of Nuremberg. In the library of Ebner there is a beautiful manuſcript of Ptolemey, conſiſting of one hundred and three large ſheets in folio, with the twenty-ſeven charts of Nicolas Donis, in gum painting. How ridiculous the opinion of the firſt Chriſtians of Alexandria reſpecting the form of the earth, may be gathered from the repreſentation given of it in the Chriſtian Topography, which ſome writers aſcribe to Roſmas Indopleuſte ¶. Charlemagne was accuſtomed to dine from a ſilver table, on which a map of the world was engraven; ſo, at leaſt, we are told by Eginhard.

In a volume which contains a collection of the Voyages of Marco Polo, Saint Brandan, Mandeville, Ulric de Friuli, and Johan Schildperger, and which is ſtill in the library of the city of Nuremberg **, the ancient owner of this book, Matthew Bratzl, receiver-general of the domains of the Elector of Bavaria, among other notes inſerted by him in the year 1488, placed the following: "I have collected and joined together the above-mentioned book, on account of a very beautiful and valuable map of the world, which I have cauſed to be planned with greateſt care, in order that it may be of ſervice to thoſe who ſhall read the narratives of theſe travellers, and inſtruct them reſpecting countries hitherto unknown; teach them the manners and cuſtoms of the inhabitants; and enable them, where the text may be inſufficient for this purpoſe, to diſcover the proper road, &c. I moreover requeſt and will, that ſuch of my heirs as may

* Page iv. edit. Reimarius. † Biblioth. Antiq. p. 195. ‡ Euſtathius ad Dionyſ. Parieg.
§ Herodotus, lib. iv. chap. 49. || Cogor et e tabula pictos ediſcere mundos.—Lib. iv. eleg. iii. v. 35.
¶ Fabricius, Bibl. Gr. lib. iii. p. 613. ** Catal. Bibl. Solg. i. No. 34.

poſſeſs

poſſeſs this map of the world, have likewiſe poſſeſſion of the above-mentioned volume, and that the two be never ſeparate the one from the other." This map of the world is no longer to be found among the manuſcripts of the library of Nuremberg, and there is ſtrong reaſon to conclude that it has long ago been loſt.

DESCRIPTION OF THE TERRESTRIAL GLOBE OF MARTIN BEHAIM.

THE terreſtrial globe of Martin Behaim is one foot eight inches, Paris meaſure, in diameter, and is ſupported on a ſtand of iron of ſome height, having three branches. It is preſerved among the archives of the family of Behaim.

The meredian is of iron, but the horizon of braſs; this latter is of more recent formation, (probably made by John Werner,) as ſeems to be indicated by the inſcription on the border, which is, "Anno Domini, 1510, die Novembris."

The countries belonging to different powers are marked on this globe by flags bearing their arms. Theſe flags, as well as the dwellings and figures of the inhabitants of the reſpective countries, are painted with great nicety. The names of places are marked in red and yellow ink. The globe is covered with black vellum. Every thing upon it is indicated according to the deſcriptions of Marco Polo and Mandeville, and exactly after the manner conceived by Colon; that is to ſay, that Cipango, or Japan, is that country which ſtretches fartheſt towards the eaſt; this was the cauſe that, on his making diſcovery of America, he miſtook that continent for a part of Aſia; that he gave it the name of the Weſt-Indies; and that he preſerved to the cloſe of life the project of finding a route to the Eaſt-Indies by this courſe; a project conceived alſo by Cortez *, at the very time Magellan had already paſſed the famous ſtrait which bears his name into the South Sea, and diſcovered there the Philippine Iſlands: for formerly nothing in this quarter was thought of but Cipango and Cathay. If when Colon diſcovered the iſland Guanahani, which is one of the Lucayes, he had continued his courſe in a direct line, he would infallibly have entered the Gulf of Mexico. Thus alſo he failed of diſcovering, in 1502, on his fourth voyage, the country of Yucatan, and the whole coaſt of the Mexican Gulf, from which he was but thirty leagues diſtant †.

Among the archives of the family of Behaim is a toterably exact and pretty well executed drawing of this globe, on two ſheets of vellum.

At the lower part of the globe, near the antarctic pole, in a circle of ſeven inches diameter, is painted the eagle of Nuremberg, and with it the head of a young madonna. Below this, in the middle, are the arms of Nutzel; on the right of the eagle, thoſe of the families Volkamer and Behaim; and on the left thoſe of the families of Groland and Holzſcheuer. Round theſe paintings, on five lines, is inſcribed as follows: "At the requeſt and order of the wiſe and venerable magiſtrates of the noble imperial city of Nuremberg, at preſent in office, Gabriel Notzel, P. Volkamer, and Nicolas Groland, this globe was deſigned and executed, from the diſcoveries and indications of the Cavalhero Martin Behaim, a man well verſed in the coſmographic art, and one who has ſailed over more than a third of the globe. The whole remainder, collected with attention from the works of Ptolomey, Pliny, Strabo, and Marco Polo, and placed, the ſeas, as well as the different lands, according to their form and poſition, in purſuance to the order of the before-mentioned magiſtrates delivered to George Holzſchuer, who aſſiſted in the execution of this globe in 1492; which globe was left by the ſaid Martin Behaim to the city of Nuremberg, as a token of remembrance and homage, previous to his

* Robertſon, Hiſtory of America. † Herrera, lib. v. cap. v.

return to his wife, ſettled in an iſland ſeven hundred leagues diſtant, where he propoſes to end his days."

On the lower part of the globe, beneath the equinoctial line, the following inſcription is ſeen:—

"Be it known that this figure of the globe repreſents the whole extent of the earth, in latitude as well as in longitude, laid down geometrically, 1° according to Ptolemey, from the Coſmographia Ptolomæi; 2° from the relations of the Cavagliero Marco Polo, who travelled into the eaſt in the year 1250, from Venice; 3° from what the reſpectable Doctor, Sir John Mandeville, publiſhed in 1322, in his work on the countries in the eaſt unknown to Ptolomey, and on all the iſlands pertaining thereto, from which we draw our ſpices and precious ſtones; and 4° from the voyages cauſed to be undertaken by Don Juan King of Portugal, in 1485, to the remaining parts of the globe in the ſouth which were unknown to Ptolomey, at the diſcovery of which I, who made this globe, was preſent. Towards the weſt is the ſea called the Ocean, on which alſo we have navigated beyond the limits deſcribed by Ptolomey, from the columns of Hercules to the Azores Iſlands, Fayal and Pico, inhabited by the noble and pious Ritter, Job de Huerter, of Moerkirchen, my dearly beloved father-in-law, who reſides there with the coloniſts tranſported from Flanders, and who poſſeſſes and governs them. Moreover, towards the gloomy regions of the north, are found on this globe, beyond the ſpace known to Ptolomey, Iceland, Norway, and Ruſſia, countries newly diſcovered, and to which every year veſſels are diſpatched, notwithſtanding people in general are ſimple enough to imagine, that, from the form of the globe all parts cannot be travelled over or navigated."

Beneath Prince's Iſland, and thoſe of Saint Thomas and Saint Martin, is written:—"Theſe iſlands were diſcovered by the veſſels which the King of Portugal ſent to theſe keys of the countries of the Moors in the year 1484. They were then no other than deſerts, in which no man was found, nor any thing but foreſts and birds. The King of Portugal annually tranſports hither ſuch of his ſubjects as have merited death, men and women, and gives them lands to cultivate for their ſupport, to the end theſe iſlands may be peopled with Portugueſe."

"Item.—In theſe countries ſummer reigns while with us it is winter; and all the feathery tribe, and all the quadrupeds, are differently formed to thoſe of our country. Much amber grows here alſo, which we, in Portugal, call algalhia."

Doppelmayr has given a repreſentation of this globe on a very ſmall ſcale, though, generally ſpeaking, in a pretty correct manner. However there are ſeveral places laid down on the globe which Doppelmayr does not quote. I ſhall ſubjoin all that is written upon it from a faithful copy taken by me from the globe itſelf.

At the Cape of Good Hope is written:—

"Here the columns of the King of Portugal were erected, in the year of our Saviour 1485."

"In the year from the birth of Jeſus Chriſt, 1484, the illuſtrious Don Juan, King of Portugal, cauſed two veſſels to be equipped, called caravellas, well furniſhed with men, and with proviſions and arms for three years. This equipment was ordered to ſail paſt the columns raiſed by Hercules in Africa, navigating conſtantly towards the ſouth, and towards the countries where the ſun riſes as far as might be poſſible; the ſaid King moreover cauſed theſe veſſels to be laden with all kinds of merchandize, to be ſold or bartered; as well, he put on board eighteen horſes, richly capariſoned, deſigned as preſents for the Mooriſh Kings, one to each, as we might deem expedient. Specimens were likewiſe given to us of all kinds of ſpices, to exhibit to the Moors, that they might know

know what objects we came in ſearch of among them. Thus equipped, we ſailed from the port of Liſbon, ſteering for Madeira, where the Portugal ſugar grows; and after doubling the Fortunate Iſlands, and the barren iſlands the Canaries, we found ſome Mooriſh Kings, to whom we made preſents, and from whom we received others in exchange. We arrived in the country called the kingdom of Gambia, where grows the cardamom-tree; it is eight hundred German leagues diſtant from Portugal: after this we arrived in the dominions of the King of Furfur, which is twelve hundred German miles or leagues further diſtant, and in which the pepper grows called Portugal pepper. Beyond is a country in which we found the cinnamon-bark. Being now two thouſand three hundred leagues away from Portugal, we tacked about, and, after a voyage of nineteen months, returned to our king and country."

On the other ſide of the ſouth cape of Africa, near Riotucunero (now Targonero) and Porto Bartholo Viego, the Portugueſe flag is painted, and by the ſide of it appears the following:—

"Thus far the Portugueſe veſſels advanced, and here they erected their column; and after a voyage of nineteen months they returned to their own country."

Cape Verd.

"It ſhould be known that the ſea, called the Ocean, which lies between Cape Verd and this country, has a rapid current towards the ſouth. When Hercules had arrived thus far with his ſhips, and noticed this phenomenon, he returned, and planted his columns, the inſcription on which * proves that Hercules was not imagined to have proceeded farther; but the writer of this article was diſpatched beyond this point in the year 1485, by the King of Portugal."

From the globe of Behaim, on which America is entirely left out, it is apparent that he had no knowledge of this diviſion of the globe at the period of its conſtruction, and we may readily conclude that Stuvenius would never have written his treatiſe De vero Novi Orbis Inventore, if he had ſeen this globe, of which he knew only by report, as he himſelf acknowledges †. What Behaim ſays of the iſland Antilia, or Septe Ritade, as well as of that of Saint Brandan, is given by him merely from the relation of others.

"The Fortunate Iſlands, or thoſe of Cape Verd, poſſeſs a healthy climate, and have been inhabited by the Portugueſe ever ſince the year 1472."

The Iſlands Azores, or Catherides.

"Theſe iſlands were peopled in the year 1466, when the King of Portugal gave them, after much entreaty, to Iſabella, the Ducheſs of Burgundy, his ſiſter. At that time an obſtinate war raged in Flanders, with a great dearth; and the ſaid Ducheſs ſent from Flanders to theſe iſlands a number of people, men and women, and of all trades; with them likewiſe ſhe ſent prieſts, and every appendage to religious worſhip, and ſeveral veſſels freighted with furniture, and all things requiſite for the culture of the land and conſtruction of houſes; ſhe moreover made them a preſent of neceſſaries for ſubſiſtence ſufficient for two years, on condition that they, for time to come, ſhould think of her at maſs, and every one ſay for her one ave-maria. The number of perſons ſent on this occaſion amounted to two thouſand; ſo that what with their deſcendants, and thoſe who have been added to their number from abroad, the population now

* Ne plus ultra. † Page 43. Edit. Francof ad Mœnum, 1714, in 8vo.

amounts

amounts to many thouſands. In 1490, alſo, many thouſand perſons, Germans as well as Flemings, reſided here, who had emigrated under the noble knight Job de Huerter, Lord of Mœrkirchen, in Flanders, my dear father-in-law, to whom theſe iſlands were given for himſelf and his deſcendants by the ſaid Ducheſs of Burgundy. In theſe iſlands grows the Portugal ſugar, fruits ripen twice in the year, and all kinds of proviſion are very cheap; ſo that they are competent to ſupport a ſtill greater number of inhabitants who may go thither to ſeek ſubſiſtence.

In the year of our Lord 1431, when the infant Don Peter reigned in Portugal, two veſſels were fitted out by his orders, ſtored with every requiſite for two years' ſubſiſtence of the crews, and diſpatched for the exploration of the countries behind St. Jago de Finiſterre. Theſe veſſels, thus equipped, conſtantly made ſail towards the weſt for the ſpace of nearly five hundred German leagues. At length they one day diſcovered theſe ten iſlands, and on their landing found only deſerts, and birds which were ſo tame that they never avoided man; in theſe deſerts no man was found, nor any quadruped, which accounts for the tameneſs of the feathered race. On this account theſe iſlands received the name of Azores (Aſtures) or goſs-hawks. Furthermore, in compliance with orders from the King of Portugal, in the ſucceeding year ſixteen veſſels were diſpatched hither, carrying with them all kinds of domeſtic animals, a portion of each of which was landed on every iſland that they might multiply thereon."

The Iſland Antilia, called alſo Septe Ritade.*

"In the year of Chriſt, 734, that year in which the whole of Spain was conquered by the Pagans from Africa, the iſland Antilia, called alſo Septe Ritade, was peopled by an archbiſhop from Porto, in Portugal, accompanied by ſix biſhops and a number of Chriſtians, men and women, who had fled from Spain with their cattle and effects. It was a Spaniſh veſſel which, in 1414, approached the neareſt to this iſland."

The Iſland Saint Brandan†.

"In the year of Chriſt, 565, Saint Brandan touched at this iſland and landed here, ſeeing many wonderful things; and after the lapſe of ſeven years, returned to his own country."

The

* This is one of the moſt remarkable things on the globe of Behaim. The Portugueſe from this appear to have known, even thus early, the name of Antilles, the explanation of which term is thus given in the great Portugueſe Dictionary of Blutean, under the head Antilhas. "Hé o nome de humas pequenas ilhas do archipelago da America Meridional aſſikchamadas, como quem diſſera ilhas oppoſtas, ou frontieras as grandes ilhas da America." This is the name of certain ſmall iſlands of the archipelago of Southern America, ſo denominated to ſignify their being oppoſite to or limitaneous of the great iſlands of America.

† "This iſland," ſays Honorius Philoponus, of the order of Benedictines (Nova typis tranſacta navigatio novi orbis Indiæ Occidentalis R. R. patrum monachorum ordinis S. Benedicti, 1621 fol. pag. 14.) "ſome geographers and hydrographers call the iſland of Saint Brandun. It is ſituate in the Northern Ocean, off the Cortereal region, or that of New France in North America." It is placed, on the globe of Behaim, between the latitudes 0° and 8° N. from 42° to 48° weſt of the iſland of Ferro. The poſition given by the deſcription of Philoponus is that of Newfoundland, while excepting in his aſcribing to it a more weſtern longitude than what that country has in reality (an error pardonable in his age) the ſite of the imaginary iſland of Behaim correſponds with that of Guiana.

This imaginary iſland ſeems alſo to have been called Ima, and the fabulous voyage of St. Brandan is noticed in the fifth and ſixth chapters of the Bibliotheca Horacenſi of Jean de Bos. St. Brandan is likewiſe mentioned in the Actis Sanctorum, d. xvi. Maii (t. iii. p. 602); the paſſage runs as follows:—

"With his maſter (Brandan) and his companions he prepared to viſit an iſland of great celebrity, ſituate in thoſe parts of the Ocean, and called Ima, which was ſaid to bear no ſmall reſemblance to Paradiſe. A

veſſel

The Feminine and Maſculine Iſlands.

" Theſe two iſlands were peopled in the year 1285, the one by men, the other by women only; the two have communication with each other only once every year. They are Chriſtians, and have a biſhop dependent on the archbiſhop of Scoria *.

The Iſland Scoria.

" This iſland is ſituate five hundred miles from the Feminine and Maſculine Iſlands. The inhabitants are Chriſtians, and are governed by an archbiſhop. Very good ſilk ſtuffs are manufactured there; and much amber grows, as is related by Marco Polo in the 38th chapter of his third book.

" Item.—I muſt obſerve that the ſpices which are ſold in the iſlands of the Eaſt Indies paſs through a number of hands before they reach our country.

" In the firſt place the inhabitants of the iſlands called Great Java buy them in the other iſlands, where they are collected by their neighbours.

" Secondly, thoſe of the iſland Seylan †, where St. Thomas was interred, buy them in the iſland of Java, and tranſport them to their own country.

" Thirdly, they are landed again in the iſland of Seylan, to be ſold or exchanged with the merchants of the iſland Aurea, in the Cherſoneſus, where they are warehouſed.

" In the fourth place, the merchants of the iſland Taprobane buy them in Seylan, and remove them thence to their own iſland.

" Fifthly, the Mahomedans reſort to Taprobane from Aden, buy the ſpices, pay the duties, and tranſport them to their own country.

" Sixthly, the people of Algiers afterwards purchaſe them, and remove them, partly by ſea, but a greater diſtance by land carriage.

" In the ſeventh place, the Venetians and others buy them of theſe people.

" Eighthly, the Venetians part with them in barter, or ſell them to the Germans.

" Ninthly, they are then expoſed for ſale at Frankfort, Prague, and other places.

" In the tenth place, they reach England and France.

" The eleventh hands they paſs through are thoſe of the retailers, of whom, in

" The twelfth place, the conſumer purchaſes them; hence may be ſeen the great charges to which they muſt needs be ſubject, and the vaſt profit collectively deduced.

" Twelve ſeparate gains are derived from them, excluſive of their being ſubject many times to a duty of one pound on ten of their value. It muſt moreover be noticed, that

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veſſel of good ſize being fitted out for the purpoſe, with all things proper and neceſſary, they embarked, the number of brethren being about ninety-five, truſting and hoping at all times in Jeſus Chriſt, whom, the only begotten of God the Father, the winds and ſeas eternally obey. After long wandering over the main, and a conſiderable time had elapſed without any accident befalling them, or loſs even of one of their number, and after their ſearch for the iſland had proved wholly fruitleſs, tired of their long voyage, doubling the Orcades and the reſt of the Northern Iſlands, they returned to their own country."

In chapter ſixth, likewiſe is ſaid—

" Machutus, being ordained a biſhop, with his holy maſter Brandan, and other equally ſanctified men, departed on a voyage to the iſland before-mentioned, an iſland exceedingly extolled by many, and reputed to be peopled by a celeſtial hoſt. In this voyage they employed ſeven years, and each returning year ſucceſſively celebrated the holy feſtival of Eaſter at ſea." After this follows the well known hiſtory of giants brought to life after death, of whales, &c. The learned Jeſuit, Godfrey Henſchenius, who minutely ſcrutinized the hiſtory of the life of St. Brandan, ſays, Cujus hiſtoria, ut fabulis reperta, omittitur.

* Marco Polo writes Scoira. † With Marco Polo, Seylam.

in

in the eaſtern countries years of dearth often occur, ſo that it is by no means ſurpriſing when the ſpices reach the conſumer they ſhould obtain almoſt their weight in gold. This is what Matteo Bartolomeo, a Florentine, relates, who returned from India in the year 1424; and who accompanied Pope Eugene IV. to Venice, and recounted to him what he had obſerved during twenty-four years reſidence in the Eaſt."

Iſland Taprobane.

"Many wonderful things are told reſpecting this iſland in ancient hiſtory, of the manner in which its inhabitants ſuccoured Alexander the Great, and how they marched to Rome, and made alliance with the Emperor Pompey. This iſland is four thouſand leagues in circuit, and is divided into four kingdoms, in which are a great quantity of gold, pepper, camphor, aloes, and gold duſt. The people adore idols; the men are of large ſtature, robuſt, and good aſtronomers.

Iſland Madagaſcar.

"The ſailors in the Indies where Saint Thomas is buried, in the province of Moabar, generally go in twenty days from that country to the iſland of Madagaſcar; but when they return home they are more than three months on the voyage, on account of the currents, which run very ſtrong towards the ſouth. This is what Marco Polo relates in his third book, chapter 39."

Iſland Zanziber.

"This iſland, called Zanziber, is two thouſand leagues in circumference; it is governed by its peculiar king, has a language of its own, and the iſlanders are idolaters. They are of extraordinary ſize, four times as ſtrong as we are, and eat as much as five common men. They go entirely naked, are perfectly black, very ugly, have large long ears, enormous mouths, and frightful eyes, four times as large as men in general. Their women are equally ſhocking in appearance. Theſe people live on dates, milk, rice, and meat. No wine is made among them, but they prepare a very palatable beverage from rice and ſugar. They carry on a conſiderable trade in amber and ivory. Many elephants rove through the country, and on the coaſts a number of whales are caught. Leopards, camelopardales, lions, and other animals, materially different from thoſe of our country, are likewiſe taken in numbers. From the account of Marco Polo, Book iii. chapter 41."

Iſland Seylan.

"In the iſland of Seylan abundance of precious ſtones and eaſtern pearls are found. The king of this country poſſeſſes the largeſt and handſomeſt ruby that ever was ſeen. The inhabitants go entirely naked, the women as well as the men. The country yields rice, but no corn. The king is independent on any ſuperior power, and worſhips idols. The iſland is two thouſand leagues in circumference, according to Marco Polo, in the 21ſt chapter of his third Book.

"Some years back the great Cham of Cathay ſent to the King of Seylan, and offered a conſiderable value for this ruby; but the king returned for anſwer, that, as this ſtone had long pertained to his anceſtors, he thought it would be unjuſt in him to deprive

deprive his country of ſuch a treaſure. This ruby is ſaid to be a foot and a half long, a ſpan in breadth, and without any flaw."

Iſland Java Minor.

"This iſland is two thouſand Italian leagues in circumference, and contains eight kingdoms. The inhabitants have a diſtinct language, and are addicted to the worſhip of idols. The country produces all kinds of ſpices. In the kingdom of Boſſiman * are many unicorns, elephants, and monkeys, with a human countenance. Item, no corn is grown on the iſland, but bread is made in it from rice; inſtead of wine the people uſe for drink a liquor which is extracted from trees. This is of a red as well as a white colour; it is tolerably pleaſant to the taſte, and is met with in great plenty in the kingdom of Samara. In the kingdom of Dageram † it is cuſtomary, when the idol affirms that a ſick individual will not recover, to ſtifle him immediately after the oracle is delivered; his friends then cauſe his fleſh to be cooked, and partake of it with much rejoicing, in order, as they ſay, that it may not become the food of worms. In the kingdom of Jambri ‡, the inhabitants of both ſexes have a tail growing from their rump like dogs. In this kingdom is an extraordinary abundance of ſpices; and animals of all deſcriptions are found, ſuch as unicorns, &c. In the other kingdom, called Fanfur, the beſt camphor in the known world is produced, which is ſold for its weight in gold. Here alſo are large trees, from between the bark and the heart of which a kind of flour is collected; it ſerves to make bread, and is excellent food §. Marco Polo ſays, in the ſixteenth chapter of his third book, that he reſided five months on this iſland."

Iſland Java Major.

"After leaving the great country of Cathay, going by the way of the kingdom of Ciamba, and ſailing fifteen hundred Italian leagues towards the eaſt, you arrive at the iſland called Java Major, three thouſand Italian leagues in circumference. The king of this iſland is tributary to no one, and adores idols. Here, all kinds of ſpices are found, ſuch as pepper, nutmegs, mace, ginger, galanga, cloves, cinnamon; and all kinds of roots, which are tranſported thence to different quarters of the globe, and which render this country the reſort of a number of merchants at all times."

Iſland Angama ‖.

"In the 22d chapter of the laſt book of Marco Polo it is ſaid, that the people of the iſland Angama have the head, eyes, and teeth of dogs; and that they are a very uncivilized and cruel race of men. They prefer human to other fleſh, and eat rice cooked in milk in lieu of bread. They worſhip idols, and cultivate all kinds of ſpices in great abundance, as well as many fruits, peculiar to their country, and differing much from thoſe which grow with us in the weſt."

* Marco Polo writes the name of this kingdom Baſman.
† According to the above-noticed author, Dragoian.
‡ Called by Marco Polo, Lambri.
§ An erroneous account of the ſago-palm.
‖ Marco Polo writes Anganiam.

Iſland Zipangu *.

" The iſland Zipangu is ſituate in the eaſtern part of the globe; the people of the country are idolators. The ſovereign of the iſland is independent. The iſland produces an extraordinary quantity of gold, and contains all ſorts of precious ſtones and eaſtern pearls. Thus much Marco Polo relates of it in his third book, chapter 2d.

" Marco Polo likewiſe affirms in his third book, chapter 42, that ſailors have truly obſerved that in this ſea of India there are more than twelve thouſand ſeven hundred inhabited iſlands, in many of which are found precious ſtones, fine pearl, and gold mines; the inhabitants of them are men differing alſo from the generality of mankind; but the detail of theſe matters would be too long to give in this place.

" The ſea here produces many wonderful things; ſyrens, for example, and other fiſh.

" Thoſe who are anxious of information reſpecting theſe ſingular people, and theſe extraordinary ſea-fiſh, as well as the terreſtrial animals, may conſult the works of Pliny, Iſidorus, Ariſtotle, Strabo, the Specula of Vincent de Beauvais, and other authors.

" In their writings will be found a deſcription of the inhabitants of the iſlands, of the ſea, of many wonders; and of their terreſtrial animals, roots, precious ſtones, &c."

Iſland Candia.

" The iſland Candia, with all the other iſlands, as well Little Java as Angama, Neucuran, Pentham, Seylan, with all India Magna and the country of St. Thomas, are ſo much to the ſouth that the polar ſtar, which with us is called the arctic pole, is there never ſeen; but in its ſtead another ſtar is viſible, called the antarctic; hence theſe countries are exactly our antipodes, ſo that when day with us it is night with them, and when the ſun ſets with us it riſes with them; and half the ſtars which are beneath and inviſible to us are ſeen by them: this therefore proves that the earth, with all its maſs of water, was formed by God of a round figure, as is ſtated by Sir John Mandeville in the third part of his voyages."

Iſland Neucuran †.

" Marco Polo, in his third Book, chap. 20, ſays, the iſland Neucuran is ſituate a hundred and fifty Italian miles from the iſland Great Java, and that this iſland produces nutmegs, cinnamon, and cloves in abundance. In it are likewiſe whole foreſts of ſandal wood, and all ſorts of aromatics.

" This iſland produces a great quantity of rubies, emeralds, topazes, ſapphires, and eaſtern pearls."

Iſland Pentan ‡.

" On ſailing towards the ſouth from the kingdom of Loach, you arrive at the iſland Pentan, covered with foreſts of odoriferous trees. The ſea which ſurrounds this iſland is

* The author before noticed writes Zipangri.
† The Necuram of Marco Polo.
‡ Called Petan by the laſt quoted author.

only

only two fathoms deep, as is obſerved by Marco Polo, lib. iii. chap. 12. The great heat of the climate obliges the inhabitants to go entirely naked.

" The people of this kingdom are imitated by thoſe of the country of Vaar, who alike go without cloaths, and, as do the inhabitants of Pentan, adore an ox."

Iſland Coylur *.

" In this iſland Coylur, Saint Thomas the Apoſtle ſuffered martyrdom.

" Here, in the time of Sir John Mandeville, was found an iſland, the inhabitants of which had the heads of dogs; and here the polar ſtar, called with us the arctic pole, is not viſible. Thoſe who navigate this ſea are under neceſſity of uſing the aſtrolabe, as the compaſs in this part does not point.

" All this country, and all theſe ſeas, with the iſlands and their kings, were given by the three holy kings to the Emperor Preſter John. The inhabitants of almoſt all of theſe iſlands and countries profeſſed Chriſtianity at one time, but at preſent only ſeventy-two nations are Chriſtian.

" Thoſe who inhabit theſe iſlands have tails like animals, according to Ptolemey, who makes this ſtatement in his eleventh table of Aſia.

" Theſe iſlands are ten in number, and are called the Manilla Iſlands. Veſſels framed with iron cannot navigate among them, on account of the loadſtone in them."

The River Ganges.

" In the book of Geneſis is ſeen that the country through which the Ganges flows is called Havilah. Here ſhould grow the fineſt gold in the known world. In holy writ, in the 3d Book of Kings, chapters ix. and x. it is ſaid that King Solomon ſent hither his veſſels in ſearch of this gold, as well as of pearls and precious ſtones, which he cauſed to be brought from Ophir to Jeruſalem."

Tartary.

" Marco Polo (lib. iii. cap. 47.) ſays that, in the northern parts, among mountains and deſerts under the arctic pole, dwell a people of Tartar race, called Permians. They adore an idol made of furs, and called Natigai. The occupations of theſe people are limited to repairing in ſummer northward to the arctic pole, where they catch ermines, martins, rein-deer, foxes, and other animals, on which they ſubſiſt, and the ſkins of which ſerve them for clothing. During ſummer they inhabit the country for the ſake of hunting; and at approach of winter retire towards the ſouth to Ruſſia, where they dwell in caverns under ground to ſhelter themſelves from the bleak wind called aquilo, and line their caverns, for warmth, with the ſkins of animals. With them in winter there is very little day, but in ſummer the ſun never leaves them at night. In the very midſt of ſummer ſome few herbs and roots grow with them, but the earth yields neither corn nor wine, on account of the intenſeneſs of the cold."

Iceland.

" In Iceland fair men are found, who are Chriſtians. The cuſtom of its inhabitants is to ſell dogs at a very high rate, while they willingly part with ſome of their children to merchants for nothing, that they may have ſufficient to ſupport the remainder.

* By Marco Polo written Coylum; with this author moreover it is not denominated an iſland, but a kingdom of the iſland of Seylam, or Ceylan. On the globe of Behaim this iſland is a peninſula of Aſia, in form of a peninſula.

" Item.—In Iceland are found men eighty years old, who have never taſted bread. In this country no corn grows, and in lieu of bread dried fiſh is eaten. In Iceland it is the ſtock-fiſh is taken which is brought to our country."

BESIDES this globe of Behaim there are moreover two other ancient globes in the library of the city of Nuremberg. They are executed each of them with much nicety, and the names of places are written on them. The moſt ancient of the two was made by John Schœner, the firſt profeſſor of mathematics in the univerſity of Nuremberg: he conſtructed it in Bamberg, at the expence of John Seyler, his protector; by whom, when he came to inhabit this city, it was brought hither. This globe is three feet in diameter, and bears an inſcription in Latin verſe expreſſive of the particulars related.

The author of the other terreſtrial globe is unknown.

The year after Martin Behaim conſtructed his globe, Anthony Robuger cauſed geographical charts to be engraven on wood for the chronicle of Hartman Schedel.

In the library of Ebner there is a map of the world, deſigned and engraven on vellum in 1529, by Diego Ribera, the geographer of the King of Spain, with an explanation in the Spaniſh language. On it is marked in a very diſtinct manner the limits of the new world from the demarcation of Pope Alexander VI.

MARTIN II. Behaim was born at Nuremberg, probably in the year 1430. His father, Martin I. was a councillor of that city, in which he died in 1474, and was buried in the church of the Dominicans. His mother was Agnes Shopper, of Shopperſhof. Martin Behaim had a ſiſter and four brothers, the youngeſt of whom, Wolf, or Wolfrath, carried off the prize, at a tournament held at Nuremberg in 1503, and afterwards went to join his brother at Liſbon, where he died in 1507, and was buried in the church of our Lady of the Conception. The uncle of Martin Behaim, called Leonard Behaim, with whom he maintained a literary correſpondence during four and twenty years, died in 1486. The ſon of this Leonard, Michel Behaim, born in 1459, died a ſenator of Nuremberg in 1511. At the houſe of this couſin Martin reſided, when at Nuremberg in 1491 and 1492.

That certain writers* aſſume the family of Martin Behaim to have come from Kramlau, in Bohemia, may be attributed, either to his anceſtors being really Bohemians, that is to ſay of the circle of Pilſner; or from Martin himſelf, in his youth, having paſſed ſome time there for purpoſes of trade.

Philip Beroald the elder, and Regiomontanus, are reputed to have been the maſters of Behaim †, but it would be difficult to prove that he was a diſciple of Regiomontanus, whoſe real name was John Muller, who did not viſit Nuremberg before the year 1471, and who, in 1475, went to Rome, where he died the next year.

* Chriſtoph. Cellarius, Hiſt. medii ævi, p. 213; Geog. Nov. p. 460, 1698.

† Olfert Dapper Beſchryving van Amerika, Amſterdam, 1673, in folio, where Behaim is ſaid to have been a ſcholar of Monteregius or Koningſberger.

And ſtill leſs probable is it that he was a ſcholar of Beroald, who never quitted Italy except on occaſion of a ſhort viſit to Paris; for it is merely conjectural that Behaim really went, as he once propoſed, to Venice, in 1457, as alſo that he remained there till 1476; and the conjecture, as I have found by the correſpondence he maintained with his uncle Leonard, is altogether ungrounded, ſeeing the interval between 1455 and 1479 (a circumſtance hitherto not generally known) was ſpent by him, as was common enough among the nobility of that time, in commerce. Later than the date of the laſt of his letters from Antwerp, in the Low Countries, the 8th June, 1479, nothing is found reſpecting him. It is highly probable that in the year 1481 he had repaired to Portugal, where then reigned Alphonſo V.

Before I proceed farther it may be proper I ſhould controvert the tale which the writer of a German Dictionary * has endeavoured to accredit, that it was Martin Behaim who, in 1460, diſcovered, under Iſabella, widow of the Duke Philip III. of Burgundy, the iſland of Fayal, and that he peopled it with a colony in 1466. Theſe facts are rather attributable to Job de Huerter, Lord of Moerkirchen, and father-in-law to our Behaim, as he expreſſes with ſufficient perſpicuity on his globe †. It was only in 1467 that Iſabella became a widow; and her ſon, Charles the Bold, then thirty-four years of age, aſſumed the reins of government immediately after his father's death. How is it poſſible then that Iſabella, as regent, could have cauſed a veſſel to be fitted out by Martin Behaim, who, in 1479, was ſtill carrying on the linen trade, as appears by his letter of the 8th of June before quoted?

It was undoubtedly the Normans who firſt ſailed to the Azores in the ninth century; and, according to the Preſident De Thou, it was Jean de Betancourt who diſcovered theſe iſlands, to which afterwards the names Terceres was given, the Flemiſh Iſlands, and the Iſlands of Goſs-hawks, (Ilhas dos Açores.)

The Portugueſe, in 1418, diſcovered Porto Santo, and in 1420, Madera, the two Fortunate Iſlands.

In 1433 they doubled Cape Bojador, in Africa, before then regarded as the Ne plus Ultra of navigation. The Azores Iſlands were diſcovered in the following order:—

Santa Maria, the 15th Auguſt, 1432, by Gonzalez Velho Cabral. It was the firſt port made by Criſtoval Colon, on the 13th February, 1493, when aſſailed by a tempeſt on his return from America.

San Michael, diſcovered likewiſe by Cabral, on the 8th May, 1444.

Tercera, diſcovered in the interval between the years 1444 and 1450.

Saint George, and La Gracioſa, in 1450 and 1451.

It is not poſſible to fix with preciſion the date of the diſcovery of the iſlands Flores and Carvo; but it is aſcertained that they were known in 1449.

Pico and Fayal were diſcovered by mariners from St. George and La Gracioſa. The firſt colony by which theſe iſlands were peopled was compoſed of Flemings, who were brought to Pico by Job de Huerter, whoſe daughter Jane of Macedo afterwards became the wife of Martin Behaim.

Barros ‡, the chief hiſtorian of the voyages of the Portugueſe, who knew nothing either of Stuvenius §, or Tozen ||, his opponent, ſays, on ſpeaking of the proprietory of

* Nurenbergiſchen Gelehrte Lexicon und Munzbeluſtigungen.

† See page 396.

‡ Decada i. lib. ii. cap. i.

§ Joh. Fred. Stuvenius, de vero novi orbis inventore, diſſertatio hiſtorico-critica. Francof. ad Mœnum, 1714, 8vo.

|| Chriſtoval Colon, the firſt who really diſcovered the new world, defended againſt the unfounded pretenſions

of the Azores iſlands: " In the diplomatic archives is found that, in 1449, the King, Alphonſo V. granted permiſſion to Don Henry to ſend colonies to the ſeven iſlands of Azores, which had already been diſcovered. Thither ſheep and horned cattle had already been tranſported, in conſequence of orders from the ſame Infant, on board the fleet of Admiral Gonzalez Velho. In 1457, the King ceded to his nephew Don Fernan all the iſlands hitherto diſcovered, with full juriſdiction, but with ſome reſtrictions. In 1460, the infant Don Henry ceded to Don Fernan, his nephew and adopted ſon, the iſlands of Jeſus and La Gracioſa, retaining thoſe only belonging to the order of Chriſt, of which he was the protector. The King ratified this ceſſion at Liſbon on the 2d September, the ſame year."

Antonio Herrera, in his deſcription of the Azores iſlands, publiſhed in 1582 and 1583, page 161, makes mention of their diſcovery, but ſays nothing of Martin Behaim.

In an old Dutch chart by Juſt Dankerts, the iſland Fayal is placed immediately below that of Flores. It owes its name of Fayal to the number of beech-trees upon it.

For the different diſcoveries, it is obſervable that foreigners were in general preferred *: " Hence" ſays Barros†, " Antonio de Nolle, a fellow-countryman of Colon, was employed on occaſion of the diſcovery of the iſland of Sant Jago, near Cape Verd, to the capitancy or government of which his ſucceſſors were in part appointed; a certain Jean Baptiſte, a Frenchman, was entruſted with the government of the iſland Mayo; and Job Dutra (the Portugueſe manner of writing the name of De Huerter), the father-in-law of Martin Behaim, with that of Fayal." For this reaſon, near the iſland Fayal, flags are painted on the globe of Behaim, with, on them, the arms of the city of Nuremberg, and thoſe of the family of Behaim.

In the life of the infant Don Henry ‡ a very detailed account is afforded of the diſcovery and population of the Azores iſlands, in which however no mention is made of Martin Behaim. The perſon on whom, at that time, the iſland Fayal was beſtowed is ſtated to be (page 335.) Jorge de Ultra, a Fleming of noble extraction; and it is further ſtated that it was he who firſt founded a colony there, the property in which was ceded to him by the Infant.

According to the moſt recent account we poſſeſs of the iſland Fayal §, its preſent population is fifteen thouſand, diſperſed through twelve pariſhes, a third part of the number in Horta, a town ſituate on the weſtern ſide, with an excellent port. The inhabitants are reckoned to be an honeſt race, careful, laborious, and generally better clad than thoſe of Madera. In this iſland wheat is cultivated, maize, and excellent flax, which grows to an unuſual height.

It is not improbable that the name of Horta, given to this town, is derived from Huerter, who planted the firſt colony on the iſland Fayal; notwithſtanding this term may be interpreted alſo to mean the Town of Gardens. Linſchoten || obſerves, that

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pretenſions of thoſe who attribute the honour of the diſcovery to Amerigo Veſpucci and Martin Behaim, by L. Tozen. (In German.) Gottingen, 1761. 8vo.

* For the plaineſt reaſon; the Italians and Flemings, being the chief navigators and moſt experienced ſeamen, had the moſt ample knowledge at this time of the ſea. ENG. TR.

† As Decadas iii. primeiras de Aſia de Joano de Barros, l. iii. cap. ii. fol. 56. Liſbon, 1628.

‡ Vida do infante D. Henrique, eſcrita per Candido Luſitano. (Father Joſeph, of the Congregation of Oratorians.) Em. Liſboa, 1758. 4to.

§ Afforded by Forſter in the 2d vol. of the Voyage of Captain Cook round the World, in the years 1772 to 1775.

|| Navig. cap. xcvii. p. 118.

in

in his time the Flemiſh language was entirely loſt among the inhabitants, who ſpoke the Portugueſe only; though they received with partiality ſuch individuals as came from the Low Countries, whom they regarded as the countrymen of their anceſtors.

As Criſtoval Colon reſided in Portugal from 1471 to 1484, and as it appears very probable he was acquainted with Martin Behaim *, I think it right to point out preciſely the origin of the opinion that the latter participated in the diſcovery of America, and even of the Straits of Magellan.

Colon, a native of Terra Roſſa, in 1471 married the daughter of the captain of a Portugueſe veſſel, called Bartolomeo Pereſtrella †, whom Prince Henry of Portugal had employed on his firſt expedition to the Indies. This young lady was denominated Philippina Moniz Pereſtrella. Colon, who thus became poſſeſſed of the nautical charts and journals of his father in law ‡, ſet ſail for Africa, and from divers cauſes drew the concluſion that by ſailing conſtantly weſtward, acroſs the Atlantic Ocean, new countries would be diſcovered. In 1482 he laid his project before the ſenate of Genoa, his country §, but it was diſregarded. In 1483, he conſequently addreſſed himſelf to Don Juan II. King of Portugal, who, in his conception, was likely to comprehend it more fully; but at this court he was equally unſucceſsful, as the project of Colon was formed, as pretended there, wholly on the reveries of Marco Polo reſpecting Cipangu, that is to ſay, Japan ‖.

In Vaſconcellos ¶ are found the reaſons which prevented Diego Ortiz, biſhop of Ceuta, as well as the coſmographers Rodrigo and Joſeph, from countenancing the propoſitions of Colon: their objections are chiefly to be attributed to the perfect ignorance of the Portugueſe at that time of the countries in the weſtern part of the globe **.

This circumſtance ſeems to prove that Martin Behaim, who at this period was at Liſbon, was intimate with Rodrigo and Joſeph, and well known to Colon himſelf, en-

* Poſſibly it might be from Behaim that Colon learnt that the ſea had one day caſt on ſhore at the Azores two dead bodies with extraordinarily large faces.

† Barros relates (Dec. i. lib. i. cap. 2.) that this Pereſtrella was firſt a gentleman belonging to the court of Don Juan, brother of Don Henry, and that, ſome little time before the beginning of the year 1430, the latter entruſted him with a veſſel and people to colonize the iſland Porto Santo. MURR. The name Pereſtrella, it is highly probable, was given him in addition to that of Moniz, on account of his excelling in obſervance and knowledge of the polar ſtar, and ſteering his veſſel by its guidance, Pereſtrella, in Portugueſe meaning, by the ſtar. ENG. TR.

‡ This no doubt gave riſe to the tale, that a certain captain of a ſhip, driven by the winds on to a country utterly unknown, died in the houſe of Criſtoval Colon, and bequeathed to him the journal and charts of his voyage. Gomera cites this as a fact; Hiſt. de las Ind. part i. fol. 10. a. Oviedo, in his Hiſt. Gen. de las Indias. Salamanca, 1545. lib. iii. cap. ii fol. 3. a. inſiſts upon this being merely an invention on the part of its author, copied by Benzon; while, on the other hand, Stuvenius has carried the point ſo far, not only to accredit the ſtory, but even as to aſſume that this captain was Behaim himſelf. (Stuvenius, de Novo Orbis Inventore, cap. vi. parag. v. and vi. p. 46.)

§ Herrera, Hiſt. de las Indias Occidentales, Dec. i. lib. i. cap. 7.; and Mr. Robertſon, Hiſtory of America.

‖ Barros, As Dec. iii. primeiras de Aſia. Dec. i. lib. iii. cap. 2.

¶ Vida del Re Don Juan el Segundo de Portugal. Madrid, 1639, lib. iv.

** Colon had previouſly carried on a correſpondence by letter in 1474, with Marco Polo, on the diſcovery of unknown countries in the weſtern part of the globe. Marco Polo conceived that the firſt lands which would be diſcovered would be Cathay or China, and the empire of the Great Cham. See Herrera, Dec. i. lib. i. cap. 2. p. 3 and 4.; and in fact the repreſentation of this country on the globe of Behaim exhibits no intervening ſpace between Europe and Aſia weſtward, Cathay being placed oppoſite to the Azores iſlands.

The Marco Polo alluded to in the preceding note, if the ſtatement be not altogether a very groſs miſconception, on the part of Mr. Murr, of what he had read, cannot be the Marco Polo whoſe Travels are publiſhed, ſince he died before the end of the 13th century, his travels taking place in 1250 to 1270, two centuries before. ENG. TR.

tertained

tertained at that time no opinion of the diſcovery of a new world; as otherwiſe he certainly would have ſupported the project of Colon with his influence.

This great man left Portugal, indignant at the rejection of his project, and landed in Spain in 1484. At the ſame time he diſpatched his brother Bartolomeo to Henry VII. of England. After the lapſe of ſeven years, Colon, who had continually experienced diſappointments, reſolved on going to England to join his brother, of whom he had heard nothing in all the lapſe of time which had taken place ſince their parting. Bartolomeo indeed had been captured, ſtripped, and kept in priſon by corſairs for ſome years before he reached London.

The Engliſh editor of the voyage of Hackluyt cites the following verſes, written on the chart of the terreſtrial globe preſented by Bartolomeo Colon to Henry VII. King of England, on the 13th of February, 1488.

Janua cui patria eſt, nomen qui Bartholomœus *
Columbus de Terrâ rubrâ, opus edidit illud
Londiniis, anno Domini 1480, atque inſuper anno
Octavo, decimo die cum tertiâ menſis
Februarii. Laudes Chriſto cantentur abunde.

Heaven, however, ordained that Spain ſhould gather the fruit of the patient-bearing and reſearches of Colon. Don Juan Perez de Marchena, prior of the convent of Franciſcans of Rabida, near Palos, a convent in which Colon had placed his children to be educated, entreated him to delay his departure for ſome days. He even had the boldneſs to addreſs the Queen on the occaſion, who was then at Santa Fé. Donna Iſabella commiſſioned Perez to perſuade Colon to have patience for awhile. After ſome time, the city of Grenada was taken, when Alonzo de Quintanilla, comptroller of the finances of Caſtille, and Lewis de St. Angel, receiver of the eccleſiaſtical revenues in Arragon, ſo earneſtly entreated Iſabella, that ſhe conſented to recall Colon, who, by this time, wearied of the long procraſtination, had already ſailed, and proceeded ſome leagues out to ſea. He arrived the 17th April, 1492, at court, and a treaty was ſigned. The expence of the outfit amounted to no more than ninety thouſand French livres of that day; and three wretched ſhips were entruſted to Colon. With theſe he ſailed from Palos, the 3d Auguſt 1492, and fortunately he brought them back after making the diſcovery of the new world.

The original journals of Colon, Pinzon, Ovando, Balboa, Ponce de Leon, Hernandez de Cordove, Cortez, &c. are among the archives of the crown at Simancas, two leagues from Valladolid. The charters and diplomas which reſpect America, and which by the order of Philip II. were depoſited there in 1566, occupy the largeſt room, and form eight hundred and ſeventy-three large packets, which Mr. Robertſon ſought in vain for permiſſion to examine. It is, however, to be preſumed that Herrera and Solis will have been more favoured, and have made every requiſite extract. In addition, it is much to be deſired that liberty were granted to explore the archives of the crown of Portugal at Torre do Tombo, as aſſuredly, ſome manuſcripts would be found regarding Huerter de Moerkirchen, as well as Behaim and his ſons.

* Bartolomeo Colon, who was a good geographer, and perfectly acquainted with navigation, was ſtill abſent from Spain when his brother returned from America. Colon did not ſee him again for thirteen years. From England he repaired to Paris, where he firſt heard, from Charles VIII. of France, that his brother had effected the diſcovery of the New World. Before his ſecond voyage, Criſtoval left behind him a ſealed letter addreſſed to his brother. Fernan of Spain gave him three veſſels, and the two brothers met in the port of Iſabella, in 1494. Colon nominated his brother Adelante, or Lieutenant-General of the Indies. Bartolomeo died in Hiſpaniola in 1514.

Before

Before he went to Portugal in 1480, Martin Behaim undoubtedly was converſant in the mathematics, and in nautical affairs; but on this account it does not naturally follow that he had been a diſciple either of Regiomontanus or Beroald.

It is moreover perfectly clear that he was an excellent coſmographer, and that he participated in the diſcovery of the uſe of the aſtrolabe, or rather of the application of it to navigation, as is ſeen by the following extract from Emmanuel Telleſius Sylvius *.

" John II., that the unknown ſea might be navigated with leſs danger, enjoined his phyſicians Roderigo and Joſeph, in conjunction with Martin Behaim, men for that time deeply converſant in mathematics, to bend their ſtudies to forming ſome means by which mariners might ſteer their ſhips, whether in our own or ſome new ſea, with greater ſafety, and by which they might aſcertain, by obſervations of known ſtars and known ſhores, in what latitude, and what part of the ſea they might be. In conſequence, after indefatigable ſtudy and long meditation, they made improvements on the aſtrolabe, an inſtrument previouſly uſed in aſtronomical obſervations; by which improvements, its utility was much increaſed, and the inſtrument made ſubſervient to the art of navigation, to the great convenience of ſailors. For this benefit is Europe indebted to John II.; a fact which no one can deny †."

This fact is confirmed by Pierre Matthieu ‡, and by the learned Jeſuit Maffeus, in his Hiſtory of the Indies §.

Were it a matter made evident that our Behaim had for inſtructor the celebrated Regiomontanus, who reſided at Nuremberg from 1471 to 1475, one ſhould have ground for ſuppoſing that from him it was that he acquired his information reſpecting the uſe of the meteoroſcope, or the inſtrument adapted to the aſcertainment of latitudes and longitudes by means of the ſtars ‖, which Regiomontanus fancied he had diſcovered from a paſſage in Ptolomey, (Geog. lib. i. cap. 3.) as he relates in a letter to Cardinal Baſſarion. Regiomontanus likewiſe wrote a treatiſe on the armillary aſtrolabe, which is found in the edition of his works printed at Nuremberg in 1554 ¶. Notwithſtanding this it is fair to preſume that Behaim ſucceeded in perfecting the uſe of the ſea-aſtrolabe, as is more lately obſerved by Mr. Wales**, who looks upon him

* In his work De Rebus geſtis Johannis II. Luſitanorum Regis (Hagæ Com. 1712. 4to. p. 99.) cited by Gebauer. Hiſtoire de Portugal, p. 123. Telleſius Sylvius is the only Portugueſe writer who mentions Behaim.

† The original runs as follows: " Ut minore cum errandi periculo ignotum mari navigari poteſt, Roderico et Joſepho, medicis ſuis nec non Martino Bohemo, ea ætate peritiſſimis mathematicis, injunxit Johannis II. ut adhibito inter ſe conſilio, excogitarent aliquid, quo nautæ curſum navium, licet in noſtro novoque pelago, tutius dirigerent, ut vel abſtracti a notis ſideribus, cognitiſque litoribus, quam cœli ac pelagi partem tenerent, aliquo modo cognoſcerent: ii poſt indefeſſum ſtudium longamque meditationem aſtrolabium, inſtrumentum, quod ante aſtronomiæ tantum inſerviebat, utiliori invento ad navigandi artem, maximo navigantium commodo, tranſtulere; quod beneficium tota Europa Johanni debere, inficiari non poteſt.

‡ In Notis ad Jus Canonicum ad VII Decretal. LI. tit. IX. de Inſulis Novi Orbis, p. 80. edit. Francop. 1590. fol.

§ Hiſt. Indiæ, lib. i. p. 51. edit. Venetæ, in 4to. He died in 1603.

‖ Johannis de Regiomonte. Epist. ad reverendiſs. pat. et dom. Beſſarionem card. Nic. ac Conſtantinop. de comp, et uſu cujuſdam meteoroſcopi. This letter is found at the end of the works of Werner, publiſhed in folio at Nuremberg in 1514, and reprinted in 4to. in 1537. Werner himſelf wrote five books on different meteoroſcopes invented by him, the manuſcript of which at his death fell into the hands of George Hartman, who in 1542 made a preſent of it to the celebrated mathematician George Joachim, ſurnamed Rheticus.

¶ M. Joh. Regiomontanus. Scripta de torqueto, aſtrolabio armillari, regula magna Ptolomaica baculoque aſtronomico, et obſervationibus cometarum.

** Original aſtronomical obſervations, made in the courſe of a voyage towards the ſouth pole, and round the world, in His Majeſty's ſhips the Reſolution and Adventure, 1772—5, by William Wales, F. R. S. and William Bayly. London, 1777, in 4to.

to have been a ſcholar of Regiomontanus. Notwithſtanding this poſſible error, that writer appears to have had more knowledge of the Cavalhero Behaim than Robertſon.

In proportion to the truth of the fact that Martin Behaim participated in the invention and adaptation of the aſtrolabe for obſervations at ſea, is the falſity of the tale, founded on a badly interpreted paſſage in the chronicle of Schedel, that it was he who firſt diſcovered the Azores, and conducted thither a colony of Flemings on his ſecond voyage to the Atlantic Ocean; that he ſailed as far as to the Strait of Magellan; and that he, owing to a chart of his, ſeen by Magellan in the cabinet of the King of Portugal, gave origin to the voyage in which this ſtrait was explored.

This ſuppoſed fact was firſt bruited by Wagenſil, in his Sacris Parentalibus B. Georgio Fred. Behaimo dicatis (Altdorfii, 1682, in fol. p. 16, 17.); but more eſpecially in his Pera librorum juvenelium. (Synops. Hiſtoriæ Univerſalis, part iii. page 52. 1695, in 8vo.) in which he ſays,—

"Chriſtopher Columbus, of a Placentine family, born at Paleſtrella, but afterwards an inhabitant of the Genoeſe territories, when firſt he viſited the iſland Madera, where he occupied himſelf in planning and delineating geographical charts, whether of his own accord, as he was a man well informed in what regards aſtronomy, coſmography, and phyſics, whether actuated by ſome intimations from Martin Bohem, or as the Spaniards affirm, from a pilot named Alphonſo Sanchez de Helba, who by accident had touched at an iſland, afterwards called Dominica, meditated a voyage to Weſtern India.

"The preceding paragraph I adduce, in common with Ricciolus in his excellent work of Geographia et Hydrographia reformatæ*; and here an apt opportunity occurs of publiſhing a pleaſing fact hitherto in concealment, which adds to the celebrity not only of Nuremberg, my birth-place, and one of the firſt of cities, but alſo of all Germany; and of which to keep the world longer in ignorance would be a culpable neglect. Of a certainty, this Martin Bohem, who Ricciolus thought it probable had generated in Columbus the project of that fortunate expedition which terminated in the diſcovery of the iſlands of the new world, was a citizen of Nuremberg, of the ancient and noble family of Behaim, a family which others have been accuſtomed and ſtill are wont to pronounce Bohem, and the ſtem of which has lately been raiſed to baronial dignity. He was the ſon of Martin and Agnes, the daughter of Sebald Schopper. As from his earlieſt youth, he had been accuſtomed with the moſt diligent attention not only to trace the ſurface of the earth, and the diſpoſition of its lands and ſeas, but alſo to contemplate the heavens and the ſtars, he framed at length the reſult of his ſtudies into a work which he tendered to Iſabella, the daughter of Juan King of Portugal, who, after the death of her huſband Philip of Burgundy, ſurnamed the Good, had the adminiſtration of affairs; he even obtained from her a ſhip, in which, after navigating beyond the utmoſt boundaries then known of the weſtern ocean, he firſt diſcovered the iſland Fayal, called thus from the abundance of beech-trees found upon it, which in the Portugueſe language have the term fayas. He alſo afterwards explored the more diſtant iſlands, and gave to the whole the denomination Azores, from the number of hawks which built their neſts there (the Portugueſe calling theſe birds by that name); in theſe iſlands he left colonies of Flemings, whoſe deſcendants are yet found in the iſlands: hence the Azores have likewiſe been called the Flemiſh Iſlands. Proceeding further over the Atlantic Ocean, he arrived at thoſe iſlands which

* Lib. iii. cap. 22. Bonon. 1661, in folio.

Columbus afterwards explored and made public. What I have advanced in this paragraph is from documents of undoubted veracity in the archives of the republic of Nuremberg*.

" I have obtained further information from the archives belonging to the family of Behaim, among which are a likeneſs of Martin Behaim, and a terreſtrial globe made by him, on which but a ſmall portion of the American continent is laid down, but many iſlands of that diviſion of the earth ſpread through a great extent of ſea, though without any denomination. Authentic documents exiſt alſo among them, by which it appears that Martin married Jane de Macedo, the daughter of a Portugueſe captain, and that he died in the year 1506, leaving behind him a ſon who returned to the poſſeſſions of his family at Nuremberg.

" Moreover, the Emperor Maximilian I. an admirer of the ventureſome expeditions of Martin, thus expreſſes himſelf regarding our navigator: 'No citizen of the empire ever travelled more than Martin Bohem, or explored more diſtant regions.'

" Johannis Metalius Metellus, in his Speculum Orbis Terræ, towards the end of the work makes mention of an hydrographic table preſerved by Emmanuel King of Portugal, in his muſeum, in which the ſite of the Molucca Iſlands is marked.

" A memorable paſſage alſo occurs in a book of Cardinal Æneas Sylvius, on the State of Europe under the Emperor Frederic III. cap. 44. corroborative in a degree of what I have advanced. The paſſage runs thus:

'*In the year of our Lord M CCCC.LXXXIII. John II. King of Portugal, a man of great ſpirit, fitted out certain galleys, furniſhed with all neceſſaries, and ſent them beyond the columns of Hercules on a voyage of diſcovery towards Ethiopia. He moreover gave the command of theſe to two captains, Jacob Cam, a Portugueſe, and Martin Behaim,*' &c.

This laſt paſſage is an extract from the chronicle of Schedel, and was not inſerted by the profeſſed author of the book in queſtion until long after the death of Pius II. an event which happened in 1464. I ſhall here preſent the entire paſſage from the manuſcript written by Schedel himſelf, preſerved in the library of the city of Nuremberg. In the edition of Roburger, who printed this work in 1793, when Martin Behaim reſided in Nuremberg, it occurs page ccxc.

" The Infant Henry obſerving how narrow the limits of the kingdom of Portugal, and ſolicitous of extending them, by the perſuaſion of certain geographers was induced to the exploration of the Spaniſh Ocean, and diſcovered many different iſlands never inhabited before by man. Among others, he ſailed to a famous iſland, which he found, much to his ſatisfaction, though wholly unpeopled by men, was extremely fertile, covered with wood, abounding in ſprings, and well adapted to the ſupport of man. Hither he ſent men of different nations for the purpoſe of putting it in culture. Among other articles which it was ſuited to produce was ſugar, which is now made here in ſuch abundance that it has become more plenteous than heretofore throughout all Europe: the name of this iſland is Madera, whence the denomination of Madera ſugar. He likewiſe diſcovered many other iſlands, which he cauſed to be peopled with Chriſtians; for example, thoſe of St. George, Fayal, and Pico, of one of which, productive of wheat, he made a grant to certain Germans to be peopled with Flemings. In aftertime, that is to ſay, in the year 1483, John II. King of Portugal, a man of great ſpirit, fitted out certain galleys, furniſhed with all neceſſaries, and ſent them to

* Fol. nimirum 119 vol. membran. de Patriciorum Noriberg. orig. et fol. 285. T. I. Annalium Norib. MS.

explore the country towards Ethiopia, beyond the columns of Hercules. He moreover gave the command of them to the two captains, Jacob Cam, a Portugueſe, and Martin Bohem, a German from Nuremberg, of a good family in Bohemia, a man expert in geography, well capable of bearing with patience the toil of a ſea life, well read in the latitudes and longitudes towards the weſt of Ptolomey, and uſed to long voyages. Theſe two, by the help of the gods, ploughing the ſea at ſhort diſtance from ſhore, having paſſed the equinoctial line, entered the nether hemiſphere, where, fronting the eaſt, their ſhadow fell towards the ſouth, and on their right hand. Thus did his induſtry throw open a new world hitherto unknown, and which none for many years before had attempted to explore, except the Genoeſe, who failed in the attempt. The object of the voyage being now effected in this manner, in the twenty-ſixth month from their departure the navigators returned to Portugal, though not without loſing a number of men, who died from the extreme heat of the weather. As a token of their ſucceſs they brought back with them pepper, grains of paradiſe, and many other articles too numerous to mention. Owing to the diſcovery of this new world, a great quantity of pepper is brought to Flanders; and although it may not be ſo wrinkled in its exterior as the pepper from the eaſt, it poſſeſſes the pungency, is of the ſame form as, and anſwers all the purpoſes of, the real pepper. Much might be written on this ſubject, which, leſt I ſhould be tedious, I omit."

Although the chronicle, from which this extract is given, be in the hand-writing of Schedel, the extract itſelf is added in a different hand. In the manuſcript German tranſlation of this book by George Ult, which he finiſhed the 5th October 1493, theſe lines do not appear; they muſt therefore have been added ſince that time.

The whole, however, that can be gathered from this paſſage is, as is juſtly remarked by Councillor Gebauer and Profeſſor Tozen, "that the King of Portugal, John II. in 1483, diſpatched James Cam, a Portugueſe, and Martin Behaim of Nuremberg, with ſome galleys, on a voyage to Ethiopia; that they entered the South Sea, keeping at a ſhort diſtance from ſhore; that after paſſing the line they arrived in the other hemiſphere, where, when they looked towards the eaſt, their ſhadow fell on their right hand; that in this hemiſphere they diſcovered countries before unknown, which, for many years before, none but the Genoeſe had attempted to explore, and they in vain; finally, that after a voyage of twenty-ſix months they returned to Portugal, and, as a proof of the truth of the relation they gave of their voyage, brought back pepper and cardamoms.

Who, on reading this paſſage with attention, a paſſage inſerted in the book written by Æneas Sylvius, De Europæ ſub Frederico III. Imperatore Statu, and which he extracted from Schedel, who, I ſay, but muſt perceive that it does not relate to the part of the globe to which afterwards the name of America was given, and particularly not to the Brazils. It is well known that Diego Cam extended the navigation of the Portugueſe, who before had never failed further than Guinea, and that as early as 1484, (and not in 1490) he diſcovered the kingdom of Congo; a diſcovery to which I ſhall hereafter allude in ſpeaking of the voyage of Martin Behaim off the coaſt of Africa.

To theſe paſſages, wrongly interpreted, are to be attributed all the falſities with which the hiſtory of our celebrated navigator is diſfigured. Some writers, not content with affirming that he was the firſt who diſcovered America, aſcribe to him likewiſe the diſcovery of the famous Strait of Fernan Magellan, atchieved by the latter in 1419. It is William Poſtell who firſt advanced theſe aſſertions. In two of his works he gives the title of Fretum Martini Bohemi to the Strait of Magellan. It is poſſible he may have

have gathered the tale from Jerome Benzon, whose book was not published at the time of Postell advancing the assertion. In his Cosmographica Disciplina, he says *:—

"With the very slight exception of the lands immediately under, or adjacent to the south pole, and the Chamasian and South Atlantic promontories, opposite to each other, beyond the equators, this stretching as far as 54 degrees, the latitude of Martin Bohem's Strait, denominated by some the Strait of Magaglan from the Portuguese of that name, and that to 35 degrees, the parallel of the Cape of Good Hope, the whole face of the earth, intersected only by two divisions of the sea, may be said to spread almost uninterruptedly from east to west, and be prominent towards the northern part of the globe.

In the first book De Universitate, the following passage occurs:—

"There is a portion of land hitherto undiscovered at the Nadir or on the meridian which forms the antipodes of our regions, which, however it may be, whether or not pertaining to the Atlantic continent, being almost adherent to it at Martin Bohem's strait, we annex to that land which forms a part of the new world †. In the second book Postel repeats what he had said before: "But the new world," he says, "stretches from pole to pole uninterruptedly except where the connexion is broken by Martin Bohem's Strait, at 55 degrees beyond the equator, through which Strait Magalen passed to circumnavigate the world, and from which he sailed to the Moluccas ‡."

After the publication of this book of Postel, Benzon produced his History of the New World §, which he dedicated to Pope Pius IV. This book was printed at Geneva in Latin, in 1578, 1581, 1586, 1600, and 1670, in 8vo. under the title Novæ Orbis Historiæ, &c. Benzon likewise translated this book into French, and editions in that language in 8vo. appeared in 1579 and 1580. It was published in German at Basle, in folio, in 1579; in Dutch at Amsterdam, in 4to. 1650. It was likewise given in English at London, in folio, in 1625; and is inserted book iv. page 1448, of the new edition of Purchas's Collection of Voyages, published also in London, 4to. 1773.

In the work of Benzon himself no mention is made of Martin Behaim, but he is alluded to in the Latin remarks of Chauveton, in words of which the following is a translation:—

"The exploration of this Strait is to be attributed to Magellan, for the commanders of the other vessels were of opinion that the sea here afforded no passage, and merely opened into a bay Magellan however knew that it was a strait, owing, as is said, (this he might have heard from Postel) to his having seen it laid down in a sea chart of that celebrated navigator Martin Bohem, preserved in the museum of the King of Portugal ‖.

This statement was copied by Theodore de Bry, in his America ¶, and is inserted in the French translation of Benzon, 1579 **. From Chauveton also, Metellus, who is quoted by Wagenseil, extracted the observation, and in short all succeeding authors, the one copying the other. Indeed Chauveton is the person who has given the greatest

* Published at Basle in 4to. and Ludg. Batav. 1636, 16mo. edit. tert. c. ii. p. xxii.

† Guliel. Postelli. de Universitate liber. Parisis, 1563, 4to. lib. ii. Lugd. Batav. 1635, edit. tert. lib. ii. p. xxxvii.

‡ Ibid. p. cclvi.

§ Novæ Orbis Historiæ, i. e. Rerum ab Hispanis in India Occidentali hactenus gestarum, et de acerbo illorum in eas gentes dominatu libri tres, primum ab Hieronymo Benzone, Italico sermone conscriptæ, nunc in Latinum translatæ et notis illustratæ ab Urbano Calvatone.

‖ See book i. of the Voyage by Pigafetta, page 316. where this statement is made by Pigafetta himself; see also the remarks of Signor Amoretti, parag. xii. of the Introduction to the Voyage. ENG. TRANS.

¶ Francof. ad Mœn. 1594, 1596, and 1599, in folio, part iv. p. lxvi. ** Page cxxxvi.

currency

currency to this tale of the diſcovery of the Strait of Magellan by Behaim. Not the ſlighteſt indication of any ſuch ſtrait is viſible on the globe conſtructed by Behaim, in 1492; it is even altogether unlikely that after his return to Portugal, or rather to the iſland Fayal, Behaim could have had any knowledge of a ſtrait unthought of by any navigator before Magellan, and conſequently previous to the year 1519.

Marco Antonio Pigafetta in like manner gave currency to the tale of the diſcovery of America by Behaim in his Itinerario. (Londra, 1585, 4to.) I am ignorant whether or no any mention be made of Martin Behaim in his Relazione di Congo e delle circonvicine contrade, tratta dagli ſcritti e raggionamenti di Odoardo Lopez, Portogheze, per Philippo Pigafetta; (Roma. 1591, fol. fig.) for I have not ſeen the book.

When therefore we read in the Gottingen Almanac that "Criſtoval Colon, a Genoeſe, diſcovered, in 1492, the fourth diviſion of the globe, to which poſterity ungratefully have given the name of America, from Americo Veſpucci, a Florentine," and that "the family of Behaim, at Nuremberg, lay claim to this honour, which they attribute to one of their anceſtors named Martin Behaim, relying chiefly on the teſtimony of Pigafetta, a Spaniſh writer of that time. At leaſt it appears indiſputable that this Martin Behaim diſcovered the Brazils in 1485, under the reign of John II. King of Portugal. He died at Liſbon in 1506."—When, I ſay, one reads this paſſage, one can but feel ſurpriſe that, in 1778, it ſhould be pretended Pigafetta was a Spaniſh writer, and that Behaim diſcovered the Brazils in 1485.

Barros, who gives an exact account of the expedition of Magellan *, ſays not a ſingle word of Martin Behaim, or his chart.

Following chronological order, we muſt now paſs to the teſtimony of Herrera, a Spaniſh author. This excellent hiſtorian advances, on ſimple hearſay, that Behaim was a Portugueſe, born in the iſland Fayal, one of the Azores, and that it was him who confirmed Colon in his project †; it is moreover merely from rumour that he aſcribes in part to him the diſcovery of the Strait of Magellan ‡.

Varenius § fixes the date of the diſcovery of the Strait of Magellan, in the year 1513, and attributes it to one Vaſquez Nunez de Valboa. "Magellanus," he ſays, "firſt diſcovered and ſailed through it in the year 1520; though before him, that is to ſay, in the year 1513, Vaſcus Nunius de Valboa is ſaid to have had an idea of its exiſtence ‖ when on a voyage to this part for the purpoſe of exploring the ſouthern region." It is this ſame Vaſquez alſo, and not Martin Behaim, to whom Varenius adverts in the paragraph that follows in the fourteenth chapter, written to prove that the ocean flows conſtantly from eaſt to weſt within the zone called the Torrid, that is, between the two tropics. This is the tranſlation of the paſſage: "Thus the ſea is ſtated to run with a ſtrong current from eaſt to weſt through the Strait of Magellan, whence Magellan, (or he who, as ſome affirm, diſcovered it before him), conjectured it to be a ſtrait by which the Atlantic communicated with the Pacific Ocean."

Jan Wuelfer ¶ aſſerts the ſame in ſpeaking of Behaim as was advanced by Wagenſeil, after examining the papers of the family in the archives of Nuremberg. But the hiſtory and the globe of Behaim controvert all theſe pretended facts, and ſhew that he had no

* Decada terceira, lib. v. cap. viii. ix. x. folio 139—148 Liſboa, 1628 folio.

† Ant. de Herrera, Dec. i. lib. i. cap. ii. p. iv. Y eſta opinion le (Colomb.) confirmó Martin de Bohemia, Portugues, ſu amigo, natural de la iſla de Fayal, gran coſmografo.

‡ Decad. ii. c xix. p. lxvi.

§ Geog. gen. c. xii. p. vii. et c xiv. prod. vii. p. 110. Napoli.

‖ "Illud animadvertiſſe dicitur" is the expreſſion. ENG. TRANS.

¶ Orat. de Majoribus Occani Inſulis. Nurimb. 1691, 8vo. 98—102 Omeis de claris quibuſdam. Norimb. p. xiii.

knowledge

knowledge whatever of America. Still by this declaration I do not mean to infer but, within the time between 1494 and 1506, during which he reſided at Fayal, he might have had ſome information reſpecting the new world, and even the Strait of Magellan.

Meſſrs. Schwartz *, Moerl †, Bielefeld ‡, Fuerer §, and Will ‖, adduce nothing on the principal point which materially differs from what is found in Wagenſeil, Wuelfer, Stuvenius, and Doppelmayr.

Had writers looked into Spaniſh and Portugueſe authors they would not have publiſhed ſo many erroneous ſtatements reſpecting Martin Behaim.

The name of Martin Behaim is not to be found in any Portugueſe work, that alone excepted of Manuel Tellez de Sylva ¶, and in no one in the Spaniſh tongue but in the two paſſages of Herrera, before alluded to, in which his name is ſtated to be Martin de Boheme, that he was by birth a Portugueſe, and born in the iſland of Fayal, an error copied by Mr. Robertſon in his Hiſtory of America.

Martin Behaim was at Antwerp in the month of June of the year 1479; and in this city it doubtleſs was that he became acquainted with ſome of the Flemings reſident in the iſland Fayal, that del Pico, or that of Job de Huerter; and ſhortly afterwards in all likelihood he went to Portugal, where he was ſo highly eſteemed on account of his knowlege of coſmography, as to obtain a poſt in the fleet deſigned for a new voyage of diſcovery off Africa, under the command of Diego Cam, the propoſals of Colon having been rejected the year before, owing to the king preferring real advantages to projects which were regarded at beſt as doubtful.

The cruſades had afforded to Europeans frequent opportunities of viſiting the coaſts of Africa. The Normans, in 1365, attempted to aſcend the Senegal River with a view of avoiding the duties paid at Alexandria, but it was the Infant Don Henry ** who, by his glorious enterprize, was the principal inſtigator of after maritime expeditions, by doubling Cape Bojador, and by his diſcovery of the Azores Iſlands.

King John II. ſhortly after his acceſſion to the throne in 1481, cauſed twelve veſſels to be equipped for the purpoſe of following up previous diſcoveries. This fleet was entruſted to Don Diego Dazambuya. The Portugueſe conſtructed on the coaſt of Guinea, Fort St. George de la Mina, with permiſſion of Caramanſa, the ſovereign of the country, and in aftertime tranſmuted it into a town.

Martin Behaim, from his own obſervance in perſon at the time, has indicated a number of places diſcovered on the ſecond expedition, in 1484. I ſhall enumerate here the names of the whole of them along the coaſt of Africa.

* Diſſert. de Columnis Herculis, Altdorfii, 1749, 4to. parag. ult. Popowitſch has likewiſe thrown light on this paſſage, in his Reſearches relative to the Sea. Nurem. 1750, p. xxxi.

† Don Joh. Sigiſm. Moerlii Orat. inaug. de Meritis Norimbergenſium in Geographiam; in the Muſæum Noricum, p. cxxiii. (Altdorf. 1759, 4to.)

‡ De Bielefeld. Progrès des Allemands dans les Sciences, les Belles Lettres, et les Arts, ch. iii. des Inventions and des Decouvertes des Allemands, p. 48—52.

§ Joh. Sigiſm. Fuerrei, Oratio de Martino Behaimo, in Muſ. Nor. p. ccclxxxv.—cccc.

‖ In Nurenbergiſchen Gelehrten Lexicon, book i. p. lviii. and in the Mundſbeluſtigungen.

¶ Note, ſee page 409. of this work.

** The Infant Don Henry Duke of Viſeu was the fourth ſon of John I. by Philippina of Lancaſter, ſiſter of Henry VI. of England. He died 13 November, 1463, though Vaſconcellos pretends his death took place ten years earlier. See Barros, Decad. i. lib. i. cap. xvi.

NORTHERN COAST OF AFRICA.

Targa, Alcadia, One, Oran, Bones, *Alger* *, Bogia, Bona Bezzert, Cartago, Sieſſa, Comeras, Affrica, Kathalia, *Tunis*, *Ptolemais*, *Sultan, a King of the Holy Land, a Prince poſſeſſed of many kingdoms in Arabia, Egypt, and at Damaſcus.*

Tripoli, Barbarum, Brata, Las Vechas, Caſar, Toſar, Dibrida, Bayda, Modebare, Ptolemais, Veſeli, Salmos, Cazalles, Porta Ruraiba, Torre de Lorabo, Porto Vejo, *Alexandria*, Egyptus.

THE COAST OF AFRICA TO THE CAPE OF GOOD HOPE.

Caſtel del Mare, Agilon, *the kingdom of Morocco.*

Deſerta, Cabo Boſſador.

Lazzaron, FOUR ISLANDS.

Altas Montes Torre Darem, Gieſo, Bon, Rio de Oro, Cabodo Barbaro, San Mathia.

Cabo Bianco, *Caſtel d'Argin*, Rio de San Johan, *Genea*, the *King Burburram* † *de Genea* (Guinea) the *kingdom of Organ. The Moors of Tunis travel as far as to this country with caravans for ſilver.* Ponta (a promontory or tongue of land) da Toſia, Os Medos, Sancta in Monte, Anteroti, As Palmas, Terra de Belzom, Cabo de Cenega, Rio de Cenega, Rio de Melli.

Cabo Verde, Rio de Jago, Rio de Gambia, *the King Babarin de Gambia Galof*, Bogaba, de Sayres, Rio Grande, Rio de Criſtal, Rio de Piſchel.

Sera Lion. From this country cardamoms are imported into Portugal, Rio de Galinas (Hen River) Rio de Camboas.

Rio de Forzi al Barero, Rio de Palma, Pinias. *Terra d'Malaget* (Cardamom Land) Cabo Corſo, Angra (Bay) Uqua, Rio de Sant-Andrè, Ponta da Redis (Redis Point), Seria Morena, Angra de Pouaraca, *Caſtel de Loro*, Reſgate de Nave, Olig de Saint Martin, Bon de Nao, Rio de San-Johan-Baptiſta, Tres Pontas, *Minera Quuri*, da Volem, Angra Tirin, Villa Freinta, Terra Bara, Villa Longa.

Ripa, Monte Raſo, the kingdom of Mormelli; *in this kingdom does the gold grow which is ſought for by order of the King of Portugal.*

Rio Largo. *This river is eighteen hundred Portugueſe leagues or miles, or twelve hundred German miles from Liſbon.* Rio de Sclavos, Rio de Forcada, Rio de Ramos, *Rio de Behemo*, Cabo Formoſo, *Tierra de Peneto*, Rio da Sierra, Angra de Stefano, Golfo de Grano, Rio Boncero. *The country of the King of Furfur, where pepper grows, diſcovered on account of the King of Portugal in* 1485.

Cicurlus equinoccialis.

Cabo de las Marenas (oppoſite to the) *Inſula do Principe.*

Serra di San Dominico, Angra do Principe, Alcazar, Rio de Furna, Angra da Bacca, Terra de Eſtreas (oppoſite to the) *Inſula Sancti Thomæ* ‡.

Rio de Santa Maria *Cabo de Santa Catherina*, Capo Gonzale, Rio de San Mathia, Oraia de Judeo, Beia Deſeira, *Rio de Sant-André* (oppoſite to the) *Inſula Martini* (Four

* All given here in *italics* is written on the globe of Behaim in larger characters, and with a deeper coloured red ink. The kingdom of Congo or Zaïra as it is ſometimes denominated, is not marked on this globe.

† Bor-biran. Barros, Dec. i. lib. iii. cap. viii.

‡ This iſland, and thoſe Do Prencipe and Anno Buon, were diſcovered under Alphonſo V. in 1472, according to Barros. Decad. i. lib. ii. cap. ii. which however contradicts a former aſſertion of Martin Behaim, in which he ſtates it to have been diſcovered in the year 1484.

Iſlands). *Item, in this country it is ſummer when winter reigns in Europe; and all the birds and quadrupeds are different from ours. Here alſo much amber grows, called in Portugal, algalhia.*

Cabo de Catherina, Serra de Sancto Spirito, Praia (bank) de Imperator, Ponta de Bearo, Angra de Santa Marta, *Golfo de San Nicolo*, Serra Coraſo da Corte Reial, Golfo de Judeo, Ponta Formoſa, Deſerta d'Arena, Ponta Bianca, *Golfo de San Martin*, Ponta Formoſa, Golfo das Almadias, *Rio de Patron*, Rio Ponderoſo, Muoruodo, Rio da Madalena, Angra and Rio de Fernande, Ponta de Miguel, Inſula de Capre. Inland are moreover written, *Luna montes, Abaſia Ethiopia, Agiſinba. Here is a ſandy and arid country called the Torrid Zone, badly peopled, ſave in that part where water is found.*

Cabo Delta, Ponta Alta, o Gracil, Caſtel Podoroſo de San Auguſtino, Angra Manga, Cabo de Lion, Rio Certo, Terra Fragoſa. This is the Cape, denominated of Good Hope by Juan II., otherwiſe called the Cape of Storms. Here the Portugueſe flag is painted, and above it a veſſel with the following inſcription:—

"Here the columns of the King of Portugal were raiſed on the 18th January, in the year of our Lord 1485."

"In the year from the birth of J. C. 1484, the illuſtrious Don Juan, King of Portugal, cauſed two veſſels," &c. (See page 397).

The remainder of the coaſt, as far as *Sinus Lagoa*, is laid down in the following order:—

Monte Nigro (by the ſide of it) Lacarto, Narbion, Agiſenba, Bluſſa, Ricon, Cabo Ponero, Terra Agua, Rio de Bethlehem, Pouaraſzoni, Angra de Gatto, Roca, Rio de Hatal, Orenas, San Steffan, Rio dos Montes, Rio de Requiem, *Cavo Ledo*, Rio Tucunero, Prom, San Bartolomeo Viego. *In this country the inhabitants have ſummer when it is winter in Europe; and when ſummer reigns with us, it is winter with them.* Beneath the inſcription there is alſo a ſhip painted, with theſe words:—

Oceanus maris aſperi Meridionalis.

"Thus far the veſſels of the Portugueſe advanced; here they erected their column, and by the end of nineteen months returned to their own country."

I deem it expedient to throw ſome additional light on the places marked on the globe of Behaim, from what is mentioned by Barros *. The King ordered that columns of ſtone, twice the height of a man, on which the arms of Portugal were ſculptured, ſhould be taken on board the two veſſels. Till this period, Cape Saint Catherine was the extremity of the coaſt explored. Diego Cam or Can proceeded as far as to the mouth of the Zaïra, and erected the columns, which occaſioned the river to be known for a long time by the name of the River of Columns (it is the *Rio de Padrono*, called by Behaim *Rio do Patron*), and diſcovered the kingdom of Congo.

The *Ponta Formoſa* of Behaim † was no doubt the iſland diſcovered by Fernan del Po, in 1485, and which received his name. There is ſome doubt alſo reſpecting the Angra and Rio Fernande, marked on the globe of Behaim.

Martin Behaim likewiſe makes mention of two caravellas ‡. Theſe two veſſels were commanded by Diego Cam and Juan Alphonſo Davero, or Daveiro §. This latter commander diſcovered the kingdom of Benin, two hundred miles from Fort St. George de la Mina, and brought the firſt Guinea pepper to Portugal. Behaim marks down Angra de Gatto (Cat Bay), where, according to Barros, a factory was eſtabliſhed.

* Decad. i. lib. iii. c. ii.

† See page 416. ‡ See page 397.

§ Vaſconcellos, Vida y Acciones del Rey Don Juan el Segundo, lib. vi.

The kingdom of Organ of Behaim is called by Barros (chap. iv.) the kingdom of Ogan.

Behaim by his globe appears to have had ſome idea of Ethiopia, a country the exploration of which was further purſued under Bartolomeo Dias, in 1486, and laid down chiefly from the maps of Africa of Ptolomey, eſpecially the weſtern part of that country. Dias moreover, jointly with his brother Peter and the Infant Don Juan, diſcovered the Cape of Good Hope, which however they did not double.

In 1485 Martin Behaim was made a knight of the order of Chriſt by the King; but it is not poſſible this event ſhould have taken place, as affirmed in a certain German manuſcript of that time, on the 18th February; for a month earlier than this date he was on board the fleet off the point of Africa. Reſende *, who has mentioned the moſt minute circumſtances that related to the reign of Juan III., ſays nothing of this creation, though he has not omitted to detail the honour and dignities heaped on Don Gonzale Vas de Caſtelbranco; but he, as well as Barros, Vaſconcellos, and many other writers, are ſilent reſpecting Behaim, who was the coſmographer of the fleet, on which too, very poſſibly, his father Job de Huerter was embarked. According to a family tradition the King of Portugal, in a letter addreſſed to Behaim in his own hand writing, is reputed to have ſaid: "Having ſo long obſerved your integrity, we are induced to believe that wherever you may be there is ourſelf;" &c. † a circumſtance which ſeems incredible, ſeeing the chief hiſtorians of Portugal are wholly ſilent on the ſubject.

Portugal was not ungrateful to the Germans, who had been uſeful in promoting its proſperity. On the 2d February, 1503, Wolf Holzſhuer, a patrician of Nuremberg, as a reward for his courage and the importance of his ſervices, received a diploma, by which King Emanuel allowed him to bear on his ſhield a Moor's head and the croſs of the order of Chriſt; and this grant was afterwards ratified by Charles V. in 1547.

It does not ſeem likely that Martin Behaim ſailed with the after-expeditions to Africa ‡. He remained at Fayal, where, in 1486, he married the daughter of Job de Huerter, who in 1489 gave him a ſon, Martin III.

In 1491, or perhaps in 1490, our cavalhero repaired to Nuremberg to ſee his family.

On the 3d Auguſt, 1492, Colon ſet ſail from Palos, and diſcovered the iſland Lucaya, called alſo Guanahani, to which he gave the name of San Salvador. In a very uſeful work printed not long ago at Venice, alluſion is made to our Behaim. "There are" it ſays, "ſome who believe Colon to have been inſtigated to think of the new world from a caſual ſight of ſome foreign charts *deſigned either by ſome friend*, by MARTINO ANDALOUZA a Cantabrian, by a Portugueſe of unknown name, or by ALPHONSO SANCHEZ DE HUELBA an Andaluſian §." On the 3d March of the following year Colon entered the port of Reſtelo (now Belem) on the Tagus; but he left it ſhortly after,

* Chronica que tracta da vida e das grandiſſimas virtudes do chriſtianiſſimo Dom Juano o Sscundo deſte nome. Feyta por Garcia de Reſende em Liſboa, 1596, folio, cap. lix. p. 39. b.

† Quia perſpecta nobis jam diu integritas tua nos inducit ad credendum quod ubi tu es, eſt perſona noſtra, &c.

‡ In the month of May, 1487, Pedro de Cavilham and Alphonſo de Payva ſailed on new diſcoveries. They took with them a chart which had been made from a map of the world by Caſſadillo Biſhop of Viſeo, an excellent aſtronomer. This chart it might probably be which was ſuſpended in the cabinet of Don Emanuel King of Portugal, and attributed to our Behaim.

In 1488 Vas de Cunha and Don Juan de Bemoin were ſent to conſtruct a fort on the river Sanaga; but the attempt did not ſucceed. In 1490 the King diſpatched Ruiz de Souza to Congo.

§ Faſti Novi Orbis, et ordinationis apoſtolicarum, ad Indias pertinentium, breviarium cum annotationibus. Opera D. Cyriaci Morelli, preſbyteri, olim in univerſitate Neo-Cordubenſi in Tucumania profeſſoris. Venitiis 1776, 4 May, p. lxi.

after having had an audience of Juan II. who received him in a very gracious manner, and oppoſed no obſtacle to his return to Spain.

Martin Behaim in 1492 finiſhed his terreſtrial globe at Nuremberg, a work he had been induced to by the entreaty of the three chief magiſtrates of that city; and in 1493 he arrived ſafe in Portugal, whence he went to join his father in law in the iſland Fayal.

The King, Don Juan II. repoſed great confidence in our cavalhero. In 1494 he ſent him to Flanders to his natural ſon Prince George, to whom he wiſhed the crown to deſcend, which however devolved on Don Emanuel, his ſiſter's ſon. Behaim on his voyage hither was ſo unfortunate as to be captured at ſea and carried to England, where he fell ſick. Recovering, after three months he again embarked, and was a ſecond time taken by a cruizer and carried into France. After paying his ranſom he repaired to Antwerp and Bruges, whence he wrote an account of theſe miſhaps to the Senator Michael Behaim his couſin, his letter bearing date 11th March, 1494. This letter however he did not forward until his return to Portugal, whither he was haſtily recalled.

After the death of Don Juan, which happened on the 25th October, 1494, no mention occurs of Behaim until 1506, the year of his death. In the interval it follows that he maintained no epiſtolary correſpondence with his family, having already received from it all he had a right to expect.

The Emperor Maximilian rendered the following honorable teſtimony of the voyages of Behaim: "Martino Bohemo nemo unus Imperii civium magis umquam peregrinator fuit, magiſque remotas adivit orbis regiones."

In this interval voyages of diſcovery ſtill continued to be repeated with ſucceſs, and in 1496 Vaſco de Gama doubled the Cape of Good Hope.

In 1499 Don Emanuel (who was born in 1469 and died in 1521), projecting the conqueſt of the eaſt, entruſted the expedition and command of the fleet to Vaſco de Gama *.

Vincent Yanès Pinzon, on the 26th of January, 1500, diſcovered the Cape *da Conſolacion* or St. Auguſtin, and ſhortly after the mouth of the Maragnan or River of the Amazons †.

"On the ſecond expedition in 1500, *Petro Alvaro Caprali* being chief, was diſcovered the Terra da Santa Cruz, vulgarly called the Brazils. This is the ſtatement of Vaſconcellos ‡, and Barros ſtates that the Brazils were diſcovered the 24th April, 1500 §.

"In 1501 the King, Don Emanuel, ſent Americo Veſpucci to make new diſcoveries in the South Sea. This navigator had the good fortune on the 1ſt April, 1502, to make the firſt diſcovery ‖ of the coaſt of the province now known by the denomination of *Terra Firma.*

In 1505 Peter de Anaya made the Portugueſe acquainted with Monomotapa.

It ſeems as if after his return Martin Behaim renounced all new enterprizes, and this chiefly owing to his advanced age. In 1506 he ſailed from Fayal to Liſbon, where he

* P. Antonii Vaſconcelli, S. J. Anacephaleoſes, i. e. Summa Capita actorum regum Luſitaniæ. Anto. 1621, 4to. fig. pag. 265.

† Emanuel Rodriguez, S. J. Relacion del Maragnan y del Amazonas.

‡ Vaſconcellos, Anacephaleoſes, &c.

§ Barros, Dec. i. lib. iv. c. ii. Cyr. Morelli S. J. Faſti, Novi Orbis, p. 10.

‖ Mr. de Murr is certainly in error here; for, according to the beſt hiſtorians, Rodriguez de Baſtidias and Juan de la Coſa were the firſt who, ſailing on a courſe directly weſt, reached the coaſt of Paria, and continuing the ſame direction diſcovered the province of Terra Firma, with all the coaſt from Cape Vela to the Gulf of Darien. It is true Veſpucci followed the ſame tract without knowing this, and ſaw the ſame ſhores, but this happened after the explorati- -f the two navigators alluded to. AMORETTI.

died

died on the 29th of July in that year *, as is proved by authentic documents. The ſtatement therefore on the atchievement placed by his ſon Martin on the right of the great altar in the choir of the church of Saint Catherine, at Nuremberg, that this event took place on the 15th July, 1507, is erroneous. Martin Behaim was buried in the church belonging to the Dominicans at Liſbon.

The family poſſeſſes a very handſome portrait of Martin Behaim; another of inferior antiquity below it bears the following inſcription:—"*Martinus Bohemus, Noriberg. Eques, Sereniſſimorum Johannis* II *et Emmanuelis Luſitaniæ Regum Thalaſtus, et Mathematicus inſignis. Obiit* 1506, *Liſbonæ.*"

* Martin Behaim was born in 1436, he was conſequently ſeventy years of age when he died.

AUSTRALASIA.

INTRODUCTORY OBSERVATIONS

From the Work of the Preſident DE BROSSES *.

1616.] THAT we may leave nothing unattempted that may further the knowledge of the regions hitherto ſpoken of, we ſhall include in this article ſuch imperfect notices of the Dutch navigations to the Terra Auſtralis, as we have been able to pick up, though few of them are very conſiderable, or of length ſufficient to form ſeparate journals. Though the principal diſcoveries of theſe vaſt regions, which lie to the ſouth of the Molucca Iſlands, are undoubtedly due to the Dutch navigators, yet we have but very few of their journals, as they have induſtriouſly concealed from other nations, and even from their own countrymen, the informations brought by their navigators, for the reaſons we have already mentioned in our firſt book. Were we poſſeſſed of the journals of thoſe Dutch ſeamen who have viſited the coaſts of the ſouthern regions, they would afford us many uſeful hints reſpecting geography, and other objects of curioſity. The beſt thing we have of this ſort, is the chart given by Thevenot, at the end of Pelſart's journal, in the firſt volume of his collections. This journal, and that of Abel Taſman, the reader will find below, in the order of time. But we ſee, by Thevenot's preface, that he had in his poſſeſſion ſeveral other journals relative to the ſame ſubject. "The Terra Auſtralis (ſays he), which makes a fifth part of our globe, has been diſcovered at different times. That part of it, called Witlandt, was firſt ſeen in 1628. The land of Peter Nuytz the 16th of January 1627, Diemen's Land in November 1642, and New Holland in 1644. The Chineſe were well acquainted with this country formerly, for we find Marco Polo, the Venetian, mentions ſeveral great iſlands lying to the ſouth-eaſt of Java, which he muſt have learned from the Chineſe, as well as what he ſays of Madagaſcar; for this nation did what the Europeans do now, traverſing all theſe Indian ſeas, quite to the Cape of Good Hope, to extend their commerce, or to make new diſcoveries. Pelſart, whoſe relation is ſubjoined, was thrown on this coaſt more by accident than deſign; but we ſhall give afterwards the voyages of Charpentier and Van Diemen, to whom the principal honour of this diſcovery belongs. He brought away with him gold, china-ware, and other curioſities, which made people at firſt imagine that theſe were the produce of the country, whereas they were in truth part of the cargo of a carrack which had been ſhipwrecked on that coaſt. People imagine this country to be very rich, becauſe the

* Hiſt. de Nav. tranſlated by Callander.

Dutch

Dutch make a great myſtery of whatever concerns this navigation. And why ſhould they be ſo careful in concealing it, did the country produce nothing worth the trouble of making ſo long a voyage? We alſo know, that they once ſent troops to form a ſettlement here; but they found a ſtout reſiſtance from the natives, who, ill armed as they were, reſiſted the Dutch with great vigour, advancing into the water to hinder their landing. On their return, they reported that they found the ſavages to be eight feet high. Pelſart ſays nothing of their extraordinary ſize, and perhaps the Dutch, being heartily frightened, thought the ſavages much taller than they really were." Unluckily Thevenot did not fulfil his promiſe with regard to Carpentaria, which is a large country, and lies in the ordinary tract of navigation to the eaſtern iſlands, in latitude 10 degrees ſouth. Thevenot, at the time of his death, was preparing a fifth volume of his collection, ſome imperfect ſheets of which were found in his ſtudy, containing the journals of Pelſart and Taſman. But there was nothing to be ſeen reſpecting Carpenter or General Diemen (in caſe it be true that Diemen had preſerved any journal of his voyage), or if ever Thevenot was poſſeſſed of ſuch manuſcripts, they are now loſt. In ſhort, we have nothing of any length on this ſubject, except the journals of Pelſart and Taſman. We, indeed, ſee in the new hiſtory of voyages, publiſhed at Amſterdam in 1718, a ſort of memorial concerning the land diſcovered by Nuytz, tending to prove, that as this country is ſituated in the fifth climate, between 34 and 36 degrees latitude, it muſt be one of the moſt temperate and fertile regions on the globe. It is added, that this memorial was thought to have been drawn up by order of the celebrated Law, to inſpire the French with a taſte for new diſcoveries. The concluſion drawn from the ſituation of this country is certainly juſt; nor can we ſee any reaſon for the ſuſpicion of ſome who have thought that this region has only of late been left bare by the ocean, ſince it was firſt ſeen by Nuytz in 1627.

New Holland is that vaſt region which extends from the 6th to the 34th degree of ſouth latitude, and from longitude 124 degrees to 187. To the north it has the Molucca iſlands, or the ſea of Lanchidol. To the weſt and ſouth the Indian ocean, and the Pacific to the eaſt; but, in this immenſe ſtretch of land, we are acquainted only with ſome parts of the coaſt lying ſeparate from each other, without being able to affirm whether they compoſe one continent, or (as it is more likely) whether they are large iſlands ſeparated from each other by canals or arms of the ſea, the narroweſt of which have been ſuppoſed by navigators to be the mouths of rivers. Neither are we yet aſſured, whether or no New Holland joins New Guinea on the north, or Diemen's Land on the ſouth. Taſman has verified by his courſe, that New Zealand, lying to the ſouth-eaſt, is totally ſeparated by the ſea from the continents and iſlands that lie nearer the equator. The principal countries of New Holland that we are yet acquainted with are Carpentaria to the north-eaſt, the coaſt of which, forming a great bay, faces to the weſt. At the entry of this bay are the Molucca iſlands; to the north lie the lands of Arnheim and Diemen, which laſt is different from the Diemen of Abel Taſman. To the north-weſt lies the land of De With. Towards the weſt lie Endracht or Concordia, Edels, and Lewin's Land. This laſt occupies the point on the ſouth-weſt. To the ſouth lies the land of Peter Nuytz, and further ſouth, but treading eaſtwards, the land of Diemen, if, indeed, this laſt ſhould be comprehended under the diviſion we are now deſcribing.

In running along the eaſt coaſt of this country, back towards the equator, we find the Terra Auſtralis del Eſpiritu Santo, diſcovered by Quiros. But all the vaſt interval, lying betwixt Lewin and Quiros's diſcovery, is ſo little known, that we cannot tell what

what part of it is land, and what is ſea. This tract extends from latitude 43 degrees ſouth, to latitude 19 degrees, and has not hitherto been viſited, at leaſt as far as we know. Wiſcher tells us, that, in going to the Eaſt Indies, ſeveral have run along the coaſt of this new world, by keeping their courſe due eaſt from the Cape of Good Hope, till they fell in with the coaſt of New Holland. This was the courſe Dampier followed, as we ſhall ſee in his journal. The Dutch navigators, abundantly occupied in ſecuring their other poſſeſſions in the Eaſt Indies, have done little more than give names to the principal capes, bays, and rivers they fell in with along this coaſt, never ſtaying longer here than was abſolutely neceſſary to get the refreſhments they wanted, and theſe (ſays Paulmier) were always furniſhed readily by the inhabitants. He adds, that the Dutch have often wintered on theſe coaſts, and ſpent time enough among the natives to enable them to give us very particular accounts, both of them and their country, if the Eaſt India Company, for intereſted reaſons, had not hindered them. Nay, we find a Dutchman offering the ſame thing, in his preliminary diſcourſe to the northern voyages, " Il eſt certain (ſays he) que les Hollandois ont fait des tres grandes decouvertes du côté des Terres Auſtrales inconnues, quoiqu'ils ne les ayent preſque pas publiées juſqu' a preſent. Ce ſilence myſterieux, et ce que l'on a dit des richeſſes de ces terres, fait croire que les Hollandois n'ont pas à cœur la recherche des Terres Auſtrales, craignant peut-être qu'il ne prit envie à des etrangers de s'y etablir, au prejudice du negoce de leur compagnie." That this is the real nature of their conduct we may be aſſured from their hard uſage of Le Maire, and the bad reception Dampier met with in the iſle of Timor, not to mention many other inſtances, equally well known, and univerſally deteſted.

1606.] We find in Saris's Journal, preſerved by Purchas, under this year, an account of a ſmall veſſel, called the Little Sun, being ſent by the Dutch from the Molucca iſlands for the diſcovery of New Guinea; which country (ſays Saris) they knew nothing of at that time; but where they imagined gold was to be found. In the following year (ſays Saris) I was told by a Chineſe captain, juſt come from Banda, that the Dutch veſſel had put in there on her return from New Guinea. The crew gave an account, that having made a deſcent on the coaſt in order to learn ſomething of the country, the natives received them with a ſhower of arrows, which had killed nine Dutchmen. They repreſented theſe people as very barbarous, and even cannibals; and being afraid to ſtay longer on theſe inhoſpitable ſhores, they returned without doing any thing.

1616.] The firſt land diſcovered this year was that called Concordia or Endracht, by Theodoric Hertog, a native of Endracht, who landed there in the month of October. This coaſt lies from 19 to 25 degrees ſouth latitude. The principal inlet here, called Sharp's Bay, abounds with ſea-dogs; and the great ledge of rocks, lying off the moſt ſouthern part of the coaſt, is called the Abrolhos of Frederick Houtman. The river, or rather ſtrait, to the northward, goes by the name of Jacob Remeſſens, in nearly 22 degrees ſouth latitude: this country has ſince been ſeen by Pelſart and Dampier, as we ſhall find in their journals.

1618.] This year one Zeachen, a native of Arnheim, diſcovered the land called Arnheim and Diemen about the latitude 14 degrees. Diemen owes its name to Anthony Van Diemen, at that time general of the Dutch Eaſt India Company, who returned to Europe with vaſt riches in 1631. It is to be ſuppoſed that, during his ſtay in the Indies, he had greatly promoted the diſcovery of the ſouthern world, as we find the navigators impoſing his name on many of the capes, rivers and bays of that country.

In

In 1619. John Edels coaſted the weſtern ſhore to the ſouthward, and left his name to it. Edel's land lies nearly in 39 degrees ſouth.

In 1622, was diſcovered that point where the land makes a turn from weſt to ſouth-eaſt in 35 degrees ſouth latitude. To this was given the name of Lewin, or the Lioneſs, probably becauſe this was the ſhip's name. Du Queſne was upon this coaſt afterwards in the year 1687; and we are told that one Flamming, a Dutchman, with three ſhips, touched here in 1697, and found ſeveral good havens and rivers well ſtored with fiſh in latitude 31 degrees 30 minutes. We ſhall give below, in the order of time, what we could recover of his journal. This part of the coaſt has been little viſited ſince.

In 1628, William de Witte gave his name to that part of the coaſt he ſurveyed in 22 degrees ſouth latitude, to the north of the river Remeſſens. Here it was too, that in the ſame year, Viane, a Dutch captain, was ſhipwrecked, being thrown on this coaſt while he was paſſing the dangerous Strait of Bali, to the eaſt of Java.

In this year too (and not in 1662, as Prevoſt ſays) Carpentaria received its name, from one Carpenter, a Dutchman, and governor of the India Company. He diſcovered it during his government, and returned with five ſhips very richly laden to Europe, in June 1628. It would ſeem that this whole coaſt has been carefully examined by the Dutch, as in Thevenot's Dutch charts, we have the names, in that language, of a great many bays, capes and watering places along it. At laſt, in the year 1664, this vaſt region received the name of New Holland, which it ſtill bears in all the maps.

Before we quit this ſubject altogether, it may not be amiſs to give the reader a general view of the adjacent lands, which he will find more fully deſcribed in the journals that are to follow. We find towards the ſouth-eaſt, Diemen's Land, and New Zealand, diſcovered by Taſman in 1642. This navigator, with two ſhips, ſailed from Batavia, and in leſs than a year ſafely made the tour of what we call Auſtralaſia. His courſe was judiciouſly conducted, and happily directed. We ſee by his voyage, how eaſy it is for the Europeans, who poſſeſs eſtabliſhments in the Eaſt Indies, to viſit and diſcover all thoſe vaſt regions, with very little charge or trouble. Taſman touched at Diemen's Land, November 24. The part that he ran along extends from latitude 41 to 44 degrees, and from longitude 166 to 169 degrees. New Zealand is more extenſive: its coaſt facing the weſt, runs north and ſouth, from latitude 33 to 44 degrees. Taſman only viewed this coaſt, without landing on it. The Abbé Prevoſt tells us, that the Dutch viſited this coaſt again in the year 1644, but gives us no account of the captain's name, nor any extract from his journal. By ſome ſtrange miſtake he adds, that this land extends from latitude 44 to latitude 64 degrees, that is, almoſt to the polar circle.

We have ſeen before how New Guinea, lying north of Carpentaria, was diſcovered in the year 1527 by Alvar de Saavedra. This long iſland (or rather peninſula, if it touches New Holland, which is yet uncertain) lies obliquely extended from the equator to latitude 10 degrees ſouth. Its northern extremity, and ſeveral iſlands along the coaſts, are inhabited by a nation called Papoos. This people are thought ſuch good ſoldiers, that the Mahometan kings of the neighbouring iſlands often hire them for ſoldiers. We find from De Liſle's chart of the Eaſt Indies, the following names of four little ſtates in this country, Mian, Miſſol, Ogneo, and Noton. Argenſola, in his ſecond book of the hiſtory of the Moluccas, mentions four kings of the iſlands inhabited by the Papoos, Vaigamano, Vaigeo, Quibibio, and Mincibio, who entered into a league formed by the ſeveral ſtates of this Archipelago, to ſupport each other againſt

the tyranny of the Portugueſe. The Dutch continuator of Argenſola, in his 15th book, mentions a war in the iſland Ceram, carried on by the Papous, in conjunction with thoſe of Ceram, againſt ſome iſlanders in the neighbourhood. Theſe facts prove that the Auſtralaſians, who lie near the equator, are more civilized than ſuch as are found further to the ſouth, and their manners are much the ſame with thoſe of the adjacent iſlands. Argenſola tells us, that, according to the tradition of the Moluccas, this country was firſt peopled from the iſland Ternate, which is not improbable. The Indian fable Argenſola mentions of the origin of this nation from four eggs merits no more attention than the ancient ſtory of the Phœnicians, Egyptians, and Chaldeans, of a primitive egg, whence all things were formed, according to them. One thing, however, is remarkable, and might be ſupported by many facts, were this a proper place for ſuch diſquiſitions, that moſt of the ancient traditions of the Egyptians and Phœnicians were firſt derived from India and thoſe countries that lie near to the equator.

We ſhall add here ſuch general hints concerning theſe ſouthern regions, from the Dutch writers, as we have been able to pick up, though we depart from the chronological order hitherto followed, and which we intend to purſue in the courſe of this work, with regard to ſuch writings as deſerve the name of journals.

We find in a Dutch book, printed at Amſterdam 1753, in quarto, written by Nicolas Struyk, ſeveral geographical obſervations on Auſtralaſia, but laid down in a very irregular manner. We ſhall here ſee from the very words of this writer, that it is not without good reaſon that the Dutch are accuſed of willingly leaving the knowledge of this country very imperfect.

This treatiſe ſays nothing of the natural hiſtory of this country, nor of the manners of the inhabitants, two eſſential points, which Dampier (as we ſhall ſee when we come to his two journals) has explained as fully as he poſſibly could. But how ſeldom do we meet with ſuch journals as Dampier's! He was right in his conjecture, that this land was nothing but a great number of iſlands, and thoſe openings taken by former navigators for rivers, were really arms of the ſea dividing theſe iſlands. The figure he gives to the peninſula inhabited by the Papous, joining to New Guinea, and extending in length from ſouth-eaſt to north-weſt (ſuch as it is generally repreſented in our charts) is pretty good, excepting that its north-weſt extremity is only a chain of iſlands, and not a peninſula. We come now to give a few extracts from the Dutch author.

Though we are ſometimes poſſeſſed of maps and accounts of new diſcovered countries, yet there may be many reaſons for not publiſhing them to the world. Firſt, becauſe we incline to reſerve ſuch countries for our own uſe, and prevent the approach of other nations to them. Secondly, theſe diſcoveries may be yet too imperfect, and we wait to have them completed. Or, thirdly, this ſometimes never happens, becauſe people do not chuſe to lay out large ſums in fitting out veſſels for diſcovering countries, the products of which, perhaps, may yield no profit to the adventurers. Be this as it may, it is certainly injurious to mankind in general, to conceal any thing from them that tends to illuſtrate ſo uſeful a ſcience as geography is.

1697.] The 3d of May 1697, three Dutch veſſels left the Texel, with orders to examine the weſt coaſt of New Holland; and they run along it from the iſland called Rotteneſt to the river William. An account of this voyage* was publiſhed at Amſterdam in the year 1701, but without a map. They had ſight of theſe ſouthern regions

* We have never been able to meet with a copy of this journal, otherwiſe we ſhould have inſerted it intire in its place.

December 29th, and they continued on theſe coaſts to February 1698. According to their account, it is the moſt miſerable country on the globe; ſo that Dampier had reaſon to ſay, that the Hottentots of the Cape were lords when compared to the inhabitants of New Holland.

1705.] The firſt of March 1705, three Dutch ſhips ſailed from Timor, with orders to examine the north coaſt of New Holland more exactly than had hitherto been done. They noted the ſhoals, bay, and rocks upon this coaſt. In their route they met with no lands, excepting ſome rocks lying above water in 11 degrees 52 minutes ſouth latitude. They ſaw the weſt coaſt of New Holland in 4 degrees to the eaſt of the eaſt point of Timor. Hence they continued their courſe to the northward, paſſing by a large ſhoal which lies above water in ſome places, and extends more than five German leagues. Hence they ſtood to the eaſt along the coaſt of New Holland, obſerving every thing as carefully as poſſible. But this is all the account we can give of their diſcovery.

In this year 1705, the Dutch alſo ſent out a yacht, called the Yellow Pinton, for the diſcovery of the ſouth-eaſt coaſt of New Guinea, the ſituation of which they found very different from what it is repreſented in the common maps. They mention their having found ſeveral places inhabited, ſuch as what they called Red Point; another at a place called Waba; another at Green Point, where they found good anchorage and freſh water. Here one of their ſailors was killed by the natives. From another place they brought away four men and three women. Two of the men eſcaped, and they ſet the women at liberty. Le Brun, a famous painter and traveller, being at Batavia, when this veſſel returned, has given us the figure of one of theſe ſavages drawn from life, with his bow and arrows in his hand, in his ſecond volume p. 338.*

The iſle of the Papous, near New Guinea, belongs to the King of Tidore. Valentine, in his account of the Eaſt Indies, Part III. p. 47, ſpeaks ſo confuſedly of this diſtrict, that it appears his knowledge of it was but imperfect, and his chart of it is very faulty. He lays down the weſt part of that country as totally unknown, and places on the north ſhore many of the names that belong to the ſouth. The ordinary maps lay down the land of the Papous as contiguous to New Guinea, in which they are generally followed for want of better information. But it is now known, that this diſtrict is compoſed of many iſlands, the northernmoſt of which lie within our hemiſphere. Theſe iſles extend over three degrees of latitude, from the continent of New Guinea to the iſland Halamahera, commonly called Gilolo, and by the ſavages, "The Mother of Countries," to diſtinguiſh it from the ſmall iſles which lie round it. Dampier's chart is not good, where he repreſents the ſouthern iſlands of the Papous as making part of the continent of New Guinea.

The iſles called Aroua belong to Banda, and ever ſince the year 1623 they have been under the dominion of the Dutch Eaſt India Company. Theſe iſles are well laid down in D'Anville's map of Aſia, publiſhed in the year 1752; only he mentions but four, when in reality there are ſix of them. Arou is a low flat country, interſected with ſeveral ſalt creeks, the banks of which are covered with mangroves.

* It is remarkable, that the figure of this ſavage from New Guinea, as given by Le Brun, perfectly reſembles that of the African Negroes, though theſe two countries lie at a vaſt diſtance from each other, and the interjacent regions are peopled with inhabitants of a quite different form. We ſhall have occaſion to aſſign afterwards the moſt probable cauſes of this wonderful reſemblance betwixt two nations who ſtill continue in the original ſtate of ſavage nature, and can never be ſuppoſed to have had any intercourſe with each other. Probably it was from this reſemblance of the inhabitants of this part of Auſtralaſia to the African negroes, that this country received the name of New Guinea.

Theſe

Theſe iſlands are well peopled; for ſome time ago, they counted ſeventy different towns or habitations. Their principal produce is ſago, and the ſlaves they make in New Guinea and elſewhere, which they bring to ſell in Banda *. There is found, near the village of Ablinga, a bank on which they fiſh for pearl, but they are ſmall. The bird of paradiſe is alſo found in thoſe iſlands. In the year 1703 there were about 240 Chriſtians in Aroua.

Thus far our Dutch geographer, whoſe informations, though of no great value, we have inſerted, that we might not be accuſed of omitting any thing that may tend to the improvement of navigation, and the geography of theſe countries. The reſt of his piece contains nothing but a dry catalogue of the names impoſed by the Dutch navigators on the different capes, mountains, and iſlands; but this becomes of ſmall uſe, as the Dutch writer, by a ſtrange neglect, has omitted the latitude and longitude of the places he names; ſo that this catalogue can be of very ſmall if any uſe to the navigator. We return now to our original plan, of giving the ſeveral voyages made towards the ſouthern regions, in the order of time in which they were performed; and as our ſeamen began now to be more exact in their obſervations, our readers will peruſe with more pleaſure, and greater profit, the hiſtory of their voyages. To theſe we ſhall join ſuch remarks, as the importance of the ſubjects, or credit of the relaters may call for; and thus we hope to render this collection more worthy of the regard of the public, as well as more uſeful (which is our great aim) to the judicious ſeamen.

* Here we have another inſtance of the conformity of manners betwixt the Negroes of Africa and thoſe of New Guinea, as well as in their equally wanting two of their fore-teeth. It would ſeem, however, that this race of men is very ancient in the ſouthern hemiſphere.

VOYAGE OF FRANCIS PELSART TO AUSTRALASIA.*

1628.] IT has appeared very ſtrange to ſome very able judges of voyages, that the Dutch ſhould make ſo great account of the ſouthern countries as to cauſe the map of them to be laid down in the pavement of the Stadt-houſe at Amſterdam, and yet publiſh no deſcriptions of them. This myſtery was a good deal heightened by one of the ſhips that firſt touched on Carpenter's land, bringing home a conſiderable quantity of gold, ſpices, and other rich goods; in order to clear up which it was ſaid, that theſe were not the product of the country, but were fiſhed out of the wreck of a large ſhip that had been loſt upon the coaſt. But this ſtory did not ſatisfy the inquiſitive, becauſe not attended with circumſtances neceſſary to eſtabliſh its credit; and therefore they ſuggeſted, that inſtead of taking away the obſcurity by relating the truth, this tale was invented in order to hide it more effectually. This ſuſpicion gained ground the more, when it was known that the Dutch Eaſt-India Company from Batavia had made ſome attempts to conquer a part of the ſouthern continent, and had been repulſed with loſs, of which, however, we have no diſtinct or perfect relation, and all that hath hitherto been collected in reference to this ſubject, may be reduced to two voyages. All that we know concerning the following piece, is, that it was collected from the Dutch journal of the voyage. And, having ſaid thus much by way of introduction, we now proceed to the tranſlation of this ſhort hiſtory.

The directors of the Eaſt India Company, animated by the return of five ſhips, under General Carpenter, richly laden, cauſed, the very ſame year, 1628, eleven veſſels to be equipped for the ſame voyage; amongſt which, there was one ſhip called the Batavia, commanded by Captain Francis Pelſart. They ſailed out of the Texel on the 28th of October 1628; and as it would be tedious and troubleſome to the reader to ſet down a long account of things perfectly well known, I ſhall ſay nothing of the occurrences that happened in their paſſage to the Cape of Good Hope; but content myſelf with obſerving, that on the 4th of June, in the following year 1629, this veſſel, the Batavia, being ſeparated from the fleet in a ſtorm, was driven on the Abrollos or ſhoals, which lie in the latitude of 28 degrees ſouth, and which have been ſince called by the Dutch, the Abrollos of Frederic Houtman. Captain Pelſart, who was ſick in bed when this accident happened, perceiving that his ſhip had ſtruck, ran immediately upon deck. It was night indeed; but the weather was fair, and the moon ſhone very bright; the ſails were up; the courſe they ſteered was north-eaſt by north, and the ſea appeared as far as they could behold it covered with a white froth. The captain called up the maſter, and charged him with the loſs of the ſhip, who excuſed himſelf by ſaying he had taken all the care he could; and that

* From Callander's Tranſlation of De Broſſes.

having

having diſcerned this froth at a diſtance, he aſked the ſteerſman what he thought of it, who told him that the ſea appeared white by its reflecting the rays of the moon. The captain then aſked him, what was to be done, and in what part of the world he thought they were? The maſter replied, that God only knew that; and that the ſhip was faſt on a bank hitherto undiſcovered. Upon this they began to throw the lead, and found that they had forty-eight feet water before, and much leſs behind the veſſel. The crew immediately agreed to throw their cannon overboard, in hopes, that when the ſhip was lightened, ſhe might be brought to float again. They let fall an anchor however; and while they were thus employed, a moſt dreadful ſtorm aroſe of wind and rain; which ſoon convinced them of the danger they were in; for being ſurrounded with rocks and ſhoals, the ſhip was continually ſtriking.

They then reſolved to cut away the main-maſt, which they did, and this augmented the ſhock, neither could they get clear of it, though they cut it cloſe by the board, becauſe it was much entangled with the rigging; they could ſee no land, except an iſland, which was about the diſtance of three leagues, and two ſmaller iſlands, or rather rocks, which lay nearer. They immediately ſent the maſter to examine them, who returned about nine in the morning, and reported that the ſea at high water did not cover them, but that the coaſt was ſo rocky and full of ſhoals that it would be very difficult to land upon them; they reſolved, however, to run the riſk, and to ſend moſt of their company on ſhore to pacify the women, children, ſick people, and ſuch as were out of their wits with fear, whoſe cries and noiſe ſerved only to diſturb them. About ten o'clock they embarked theſe in their ſhallop and ſkiff, and, perceiving their veſſel began to break, they doubled their diligence: they likewiſe endeavoured to get their bread up, but they did not take the ſame care of the water, not reflecting in their fright that they might be much diſtreſſed for want of it on ſhore, and what hindered them moſt of all, was the brutal behaviour of ſome of the crew that made themſelves drunk with wine, of which no care was taken. In ſhort, ſuch was their confuſion, that they made but three trips that day, carrying over to the iſland 180 perſons, 20 barrels of bread, and ſome ſmall caſks of water. The maſter returned on board towards evening, and told the captain that it was to no purpoſe to ſend more proviſions on ſhore, ſince the people only waſted thoſe they had already. Upon this the captain went in the ſhallop to put things in better order, and was then informed that there was no water to be found upon the iſland; he endeavoured to return to the ſhip in order to bring off a ſupply, together with the moſt valuable part of their cargo, but a ſtorm ſuddenly ariſing, he was forced to return.

The next day was ſpent in removing their water and moſt valuable goods on ſhore; and afterwards the captain in the ſkiff, and the maſter in the ſhallop, endeavoured to return to the veſſel, but found the ſea run ſo high, that it was impoſſible to get on board. In this extremity the carpenter threw himſelf out of the ſhip, and ſwam to them, in order to inform them to what hardſhips thoſe left in the veſſel were reduced, and they ſent him back with orders for them to make rafts, by tying the planks together, and endeavour on theſe to reach the ſhallop and ſkiff; but before this could be done, the weather became ſo rough, that the captain was obliged to return, leaving, with the utmoſt grief, his lieutenant and ſeventy men on the very point of periſhing on board the veſſel. Thoſe who were got on the little iſland were not in a much better condition, for, upon taking an account of their water, they found they had not above 40 gallons for 40 people, and on the larger iſland, where there were 120, their ſtock was ſtill leſs. Thoſe on the little iſland began to murmur, and to complain of their officers, becauſe

becauſe they did not go in ſearch of water in the iſlands that were within ſight of them, and they repreſented the neceſſity of this to Captain Pelſart, who agreed to their requeſt, but inſiſted before he went to communicate his deſign to the reſt of thepeople; they conſented to this, but not till the captain had declared that, without the conſent of the company on the large iſland, he would rather, than leave them, go and periſh on board the ſhip. When they were got pretty near the ſhore, he who commanded the boat told the captain, that if he had any thing to ſay he muſt cry out to the people, for that they would not ſuffer him to go out of the boat. The captain immediately attempted to throw himſelf overboard, in order to ſwim to the iſland. Thoſe who were in the boat prevented him; and all that he could obtain from them was, to throw on ſhore his table-book, in which he wrote a line or two to inform them that he was gone in the ſkiff to look for water in the adjacent iſlands.

He accordingly coaſted them all with the greateſt care, and found in moſt of them conſiderable quantities of water in the holes of the rocks, but ſo mixed with the ſea water, that it was unfit for uſe; and therefore they were obliged to go farther. The firſt thing they did was, to make a deck to their boat, becauſe they found it was impracticable to navigate thoſe ſeas in an open veſſel. Some of the crew joined them by that time the work was finiſhed; and the captain having obtained a paper, ſigned by all his men, importing that it was their deſire that he ſhould go in ſearch of water, he immediately put to ſea, having firſt taken an obſervation, by which he found they were in the latitude of 28 degrees 13 minutes ſouth. They had not been long at ſea, before they had ſight of the continent, which appeared to them to lie about ſixteen miles north by weſt from the place they had ſuffered ſhipwreck. They found about twenty five or thirty fathoms water; and as night drew on, they kept out to ſea; and after midnight ſtood in for the land, that they might be near the coaſt in the morning. On the 9th of June, they found themſelves as they reckoned, about three miles from the ſhore; on which they plied all that day, ſailing ſometimes north ſometimes weſt, the country appearing low, naked, and the coaſt exceſſively rocky; ſo that they thought it reſembled the country near Dover. At laſt they ſaw a little creek, into which they were willing to put, becauſe it appeared to have a ſandy bottom; but when they attempted to enter it, the ſea ran ſo high that they were forced to deſiſt.

On the 10th, they remained on the ſame coaſt, plying to and again, as they had done the day before; but the weather growing worſe and worſe, they were obliged to abandon their ſhallop, and even throw part of their bread overboard, becauſe it hindered them from clearing themſelves of the water, which their veſſel began to make very faſt. That night, it rained moſt terribly, which, though it gave them much trouble, afforded them hopes that it would prove a great relief to the people they had left behind them on the iſlands. The wind began to ſink on the 11th; and as it blew from the weſt-ſouth-weſt, they continued their courſe to the north, the ſea running ſtill ſo high, that it was impoſſible to approach the ſhore. On the 12th, they had an obſervation, by which they found themſelves in the latitude of 27 degrees; they ſailed with a ſouth-eaſt wind all that day along the coaſt, which they found ſo ſteep, that there was no getting on ſhore, inaſmuch as there was no creek or low land without the rocks, as is commonly obſerved on ſea-coaſts; which gave them the more pain, becauſe within land, the country appeared very fruitful and pleaſant. They found themſelves on the 13th in the latitude of 25 degrees 40 minutes; by which they diſcovered that the current ſet to the north. They were at this time over-againſt

an opening; the coaſt lying to the north-eaſt, they continued a north courſe, but found the coaſt one continued rock of a red colour, all of an height, againſt which the waves broke with ſuch force, that it was impoſſible for them to land.

The wind blew very freſh in the morning on the 14th; but towards noon it fell calm; they were then in the height of 24 degrees, with a ſmall gale at eaſt, but the tide ſtill carried them further north than they deſired, becauſe their deſign was to make a deſcent as ſoon as poſſible; and with this view they ſailed ſlowly along the coaſt, till perceiving a great deal of ſmoke at a diſtance, they rowed towards it as faſt as they were able, in hopes of finding men, and water of courſe. When they came near the ſhore, they found it ſo ſteep, ſo full of rocks, and the ſea beating over them with ſuch fury, that it was impoſſible to land; ſix of the men, however, truſting to their ſkill in ſwimming, threw themſelves into the ſea and reſolved to get on ſhore at any rate; which with great difficulty and danger they at laſt effected, the boat remaining at anchor in 25 fathoms water. The men on ſhore ſpent the whole day in looking for water; and while they were thus employed, they ſaw four men, who came up very near; but one of the Dutch ſailors advancing towards them, they immediately ran away as faſt as they were able, ſo that they were diſtinctly ſeen by thoſe in the boat. Theſe people were black ſavages, quite naked, not having ſo much as any covering about their middle. The ſailors finding no hopes of water on all the coaſt, ſwam on board again, much hurt and wounded, by their being beat by the waves upon the rocks; and as ſoon as they were on board, they weighed anchor, and continued their courſe along the ſhore, in hopes of finding ſome better landing-place.

On the 25th, in the morning, they diſcovered a cape, from the point of which there ran a ridge of rocks a mile into the ſea, and behind it another ridge of rocks; they ventured between them as the ſea was pretty calm; but finding there was no paſſage, they ſoon returned. About noon, they ſaw another opening; and the ſea being ſtill very ſmooth, they entered it, though the paſſage was very dangerous, inaſmuch as they had but two feet water, and the bottom full of ſtones; the coaſt appearing a flat ſand for about a mile. As ſoon as they got on ſhore, they fell to digging in the ſand, but the water that came into their wells was ſo brackiſh, that they could not drink it, though they were on the very point of choaking for thirſt. At laſt, in the hollows of the rocks, they met with conſiderable quantities of rain water, which was a great relief to them, ſince they had been for ſome days at no better allowance than a pint a-piece; they ſoon furniſhed themſelves in the night with about eighty gallons, perceiving, in the place where they landed, that the ſavages had been there lately, by a large heap of aſhes, and the remains of ſome cray-fiſh.

On the 16th, in the morning, they returned on ſhore, in hopes of getting more water, but were diſappointed; and having now time to obſerve the country, it gave them no great hopes of better ſucceſs, even if they had travelled farther within land, which appeared a thirſty barren plain, covered with ant-hills, ſo high that they looked afar off like the huts of negroes, and at the ſame time they were plagued with flies, and thoſe in ſuch multitudes, that they were ſcarce able to defend themſelves. They ſaw at a diſtance eight ſavages, with each a ſtaff in his hand, who advanced towards them within muſket ſhot; but as ſoon as they perceived the Dutch ſailors moving towards them, they fled as faſt as they were able. It was by this time about noon, and, perceiving no appearance either of getting water, or entering into any correſpondence with the natives, they reſolved to go on board, and continue their courſe towards the north, in hopes, as they were already in the latitude of 22 degrees 17 minutes, they might

might be able to find the river of Jacob Remmeſcens; but the wind veering about to the north-eaſt, they were not able to continue longer upon that coaſt, and therefore reflecting that they were now above one hundred miles from the place where they were ſhipwrecked, and had ſcarce as much water as would ſerve them in their paſſage back, they came to a ſettled reſolution of making the beſt of their way to Batavia, in order to acquaint the governor-general with their misfortunes, and to obtain ſuch aſſiſtance as was neceſſary to get their people off the coaſt.

On the 17th they continued their courſe to the north-eaſt, with a good wind and fair weather; the 18th and 19th it blew hard, and they had much rain; on the 20th they found themſelves in 19 degrees 22 minutes; on the 22d they had another obſervation, and found themſelves in the height of 16 degrees 10 minutes, which ſurpriſed them very much, and was a plain proof that the current carried them northwards at a great rate; on the 27th it rained very hard, ſo that they were not able to take an obſervation, but, towards noon, they ſaw, to their great ſatisfaction, the coaſts of Java, in the latitude of eight degrees, at the diſtance of about four or five miles. They altered their courſe to weſt-north-weſt, and, towards evening, entered the gulf of an iſland very full of trees, where they anchored in eight fathoms water, and there paſſed the night; on the 28th, in the morning, they weighed, and rowed with all their force, in order to make the land, that they might ſearch for water. being now again at the point of periſhing for thirſt. Very happily for them, they were no ſooner on ſhore than they diſcovered a fine rivulet at a ſmall diſtance, where, having comfortably quenched their thirſt, and filled all their caſks with water, they about noon continued their courſe for Batavia.

On the 29th, about midnight, in the ſecond watch, they diſcovered an iſland, which they left on their ſtarboard; about noon they found themſelves in the height of 6 degrees 48 minutes; about three in the afternoon they paſſed between two iſlands, the weſternmoſt of which appeared full of cocoa-trees. In the evening they were about a mile from the ſouth point of Java, and in the ſecond watch, exactly between Java and the Iſle of Princes. The 30th, in the morning, they found themſelves on the coaſt of the laſt-mentioned iſland, not being able to make above two miles that day. On July 1ſt, the weather was calm, and about noon they were three leagues from Dwaerſindenwegh, that is, Thwart-the-way Iſland; but towards the evening they had a pretty briſk wind at north-weſt, which enabled them to gain that coaſt. On the 2d, in the morning, they were right againſt the iſland of Topers-hoetien, and were obliged to lay at anchor till eleven o'clock, waiting for the ſea-breeze, which, however, blew ſo faintly, that they were not able to make above two miles that day; about ſun-ſet they perceived a veſſel between them and Thwart-the-way Iſland, upon which they reſolved to anchor as near the ſhore as they could that night, and there wait the arrival of the ſhip. In the morning they went on board her, in hopes of procuring arms for their defence, in caſe the inhabitants of Java were at war with the Dutch. They found two other ſhips in company, on board one of which was Mr. Ramburg, counſellor of the Indies. Captain Pelſart went immediately on board his ſhip, where he acquainted him with the nature of his misfortune, and went with him afterwards to Batavia.

We will now leave the Captain ſoliciting ſuccours from the Governor-general, in order to return to the crew who were left upon the iſlands; among whom there happened ſuch tranſactions, as, in their condition, the reader would little expect, and perhaps will hardly credit. In order to their being thoroughly underſtood, it is neceſſary to obſerve, that they had for Tupercargo one Jerom Cornelis, who had been formerly

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an apothecary at Harlem. This man, when they were on the coaſt of Africa, had plotted with the pilot and ſome others to run away with the veſſel, and either to carry her into Dunkirk, or to turn pirates in her on their own account. This ſupercargo had remained ten days on board the wreck, not being able in all that time to get on ſhore. Two whole days he ſpent on the mainmaſt, floating to and fro, till at laſt, by the help of one of the yards, he got to land. When he was once on ſhore, the command, in the abſence of Captain Pelſart, devolved of courſe upon him, which immediately revived in his mind his old deſign, inſomuch that he reſolved to lay hold of this opportunity to make himſelf maſter of all that could be ſaved out of the wreck, conceiving that it would be eaſy to ſurprize the captain on his return, and determining to go on the account, that is to ſay, to turn pirate in the captain's veſſel. In order to carry this deſign into execution, he thought neceſſary to rid themſelves of ſuch of the crew as were not like to come into their ſcheme; but before he proceeded to dip his hands in blood, he obliged all the conſpirators to ſign an inſtrument by which they engaged to ſtand by each other.

The whole ſhip's company were on ſhore in three iſlands, the greateſt part of them in that where Cornelis was, which iſland they thought fit to call the burying-place of Batavia. One Mr. Weybhays was ſent with another body into an adjacent iſland to look for water, which, after twenty days ſearch, he found, and made the appointed ſignal, by lighting three fires, which, however, were not ſeen, nor taken notice of by thoſe under the command of Cornelis, becauſe they were buſy in butchering their companions, of whom they had murdered between thirty and forty; but ſome few, however, got off upon a raft of planks tied together, and went to the iſland, where Mr. Weybhays was, in order to acquaint him with the dreadful accident that had happened. Mr. Weybhays having with him forty-five men, they all reſolved to ſtand upon their guard, and to defend themſelves to the laſt man, in caſe theſe villains ſhould attack them. This indeed was their deſign, for they were apprehenſive both of this body, and of thoſe who were on the third iſland, giving notice to the captain on his return, and thereby preventing their intention of running away with his veſſel. But as this third company was by much the weakeſt, they began with them firſt, and cut them all off, except five women and ſeven children, not in the leaſt doubting that they ſhould be able to do as much by Weybhays and his company; in the mean time, having broke open the merchant's cheſts, which had been ſaved out of the wreck, they converted them to their own uſe, without ceremony.

The traitor, Jerom Cornelis, was ſo much elevated with the ſucceſs that had hitherto attended his villainy, that he immediately began to fancy all difficulties were over, and gave a looſe to his vicious inclinations in every reſpect: he ordered clothes to be made of rich ſtuffs that had been ſaved, for himſelf and his troop, and having choſen out of them a company of guards, he ordered them to have ſcarlet coats, with a double lace of gold or ſilver. There were two miniſter's daughters among the women, one of whom he took for his own miſtreſs, gave the ſecond to a favourite of his, and ordered that the other three women ſhould be common to the whole troop: he afterwards drew up a ſet of regulations, which were to be the laws of his new principality, taking to himſelf the ſtyle and title of Captain-general, and obliging his party to ſign an act or inſtrument, by which they acknowledged him as ſuch. Theſe points once ſettled, he reſolved to carry on the war. He firſt of all embarked on board two ſhallops twenty-two men, well armed, with orders to deſtroy Mr. Weybhays and his company; and on their miſcarrying, he undertook a like expedition with thirty-ſeven

men, in which, however, he had no better ſucceſs; for Mr. Weybhays, with his people, though armed only with ſtaves, with nails drove into their heads, advanced even into the water to meet them, and, after a briſk engagement, compelled theſe murderers to retire.

Cornelis then thought fit to enter into a negociation, which was managed by the chaplain, who remained with Mr. Weybhays; and after ſeveral comings and goings from one party to the other, a treaty was concluded upon the following terms; viz. That Mr. Weybhays and his company ſhould for the future remain undiſturbed, provided they delivered up a little boat, in which one of the ſailors had made his eſcape from the iſland in which Cornelis was with his gang, in order to take ſhelter on that where Weybhays was with his company. It was alſo agreed, that the latter ſhould have a part of the ſtuffs and ſilks given them for clothes, of which they ſtood in great want. But, while this affair was in agitation, Cornelis took the opportunity of the correſpondence between them being reſtored, to write letters to ſome French ſoldiers that were in Weybhays's company, promiſing them ſix thouſand livres a-piece, if they would comply with his demands; not doubting but by this artifice he ſhould be able to accompliſh his end.

His letters however had no effect; on the contrary, the ſoldiers to whom they were directed, carried them immediately to Mr. Weybhays. Cornelis not knowing that this piece of treachery was diſcovered, went over the next morning, with three or four of his people, to carry to Mr. Weybhays the clothes that had been promiſed him. As ſoon as they landed, Weybhays attacked them, killed two or three, and made Cornelis himſelf priſoner. One Wonterloſs, who was the only man that made his eſcape, went immediately back to the conſpirators, put himſelf at their head, and came the next day to attack Weybhays, but met with the ſame fate as before; that is to ſay, he and the villains that were with him were ſoundly beat.

Things were in this ſituation when Captain Pelſart arrived in the Sardam frigate. He ſailed up to the wreck, and ſaw with great joy a cloud of ſmoke aſcending from one of the iſlands, by which he knew that all his people were not dead. He came immediately to an anchor; and having ordered ſome wine and proviſions to be put into the ſkiff, reſolved to go in perſon with theſe refreſhments to one of theſe iſlands. He had hardly quitted the ſhip before he was boarded by a boat from the iſland to which he was going; there were four men in the boat, of whom Weybhays was one, who immediately ran to the Captain, told him what had happened, and begged him to return to his ſhip immediately, for that the conſpirators intended to ſurprize her; that they had already murdered 125 perſons, and that they had attacked him and his company that very morning, with two ſhallops.

While they were talking the two ſhallops appeared; upon which the captain rowed to his ſhip as faſt as he could, and was hardly got on board before they arrived at the ſhip's ſide. The captain was ſurprized to ſee men in red coats, laced with gold and ſilver, with arms in their hands. He demanded what they meant by coming on board armed. They told him he ſhould know when they were on board the ſhip. The captain replied that they ſhould come on board, but that they muſt firſt throw their arms into the ſea, which if they did not do immediately, he would ſink them as they lay. As they ſaw that diſputes were to no purpoſe, and that they were entirely in the captain's power, they were obliged to obey. They accordingly threw their arms overboard, and were then taken into the veſſel, where they were inſtantly put in irons. One of them whoſe name was John Bremen, and who was firſt examined, owned that he had

murdered with his own hands, or had aſſiſted in murdering, no leſs than twenty-ſeven perſons. The ſame evening Weybhays brought his priſoner Cornelis on board, where he was put in irons, and ſtrictly guarded.

On the 18th of September, Captain Pelſart, with the maſter, went to take the reſt of the conſpirators in Cornelis's iſland. They went in two boats. The villains, as ſoon as they ſaw them land, loſt all their courage and fled from them. They ſurrendered without a blow, and were put in irons with the reſt. The captain's firſt care was to recover the jewels which Cornelis had diſperſed among his accomplices: they were, however, all of them ſoon found, except a gold chain and a diamond ring; the latter was alſo found at laſt, but the former could not be recovered. They went next to examine the wreck, which they found ſtaved into an hundred pieces; the keel lay on a bank of ſand on one ſide, the fore part of the veſſel ſtuck faſt on a rock, and the reſt of her lay here and there as the pieces had been driven by the waves, ſo that Captain Pelſart had very little hopes of ſaving any of the merchandize. One of the people belonging to Weybhays's company told him, that one fair day, which was the only one they had in a month, as he was fiſhing near the wreck, he had ſtruck the pole in his hand againſt one of the cheſts of ſilver, which revived the captain a little, as it gave him reaſon to expect that ſomething might ſtill be ſaved. They ſpent all the 19th in examining the reſt of the priſoners, and in confronting them with thoſe who eſcaped from the maſſacre.

On the 20th they ſent ſeveral kinds of refreſhments to Weybhays's company, and carried a good quantity of water from the iſle. There was ſomething very ſingular in finding this water; the people who were on ſhore there had ſubſiſted near three weeks on rain-water, and what lodged in the clefts of the rocks, without thinking that the water of two wells which were on the iſland could be of any uſe, becauſe they ſaw them conſtantly riſe and fall with the tide, from whence they fancied they had a communication with the ſea, and conſequently that the water muſt be brackiſh; but upon trial they found it to be very good; and ſo did the ſhip's company, who filled their caſks with it.

On the 21ſt the tide was ſo low, and an eaſt-ſouth-eaſt wind blew ſo hard, that during the whole day the boat could not get out. On the 22d they attempted to fiſh upon the wreck, but the weather was ſo bad, that even thoſe who could ſwim very well durſt not approach it. On the 25th the maſter and the pilot, the weather being fair, went off again to the wreck, and thoſe who were left on ſhore, obſerving that they wanted hands to get any thing out of her, ſent off ſome to aſſiſt them. The captain went alſo himſelf to encourage the men, who ſoon weighed one cheſt of ſilver, and ſome time after another. As ſoon as theſe were ſafe aſhore they returned to their work, but the weather grew ſo bad that they were quickly obliged to deſiſt, though ſome of their divers from Guzarat aſſured them they had found ſix more, which might eaſily be weighed. On the 26th, in the afternoon, the weather being fair, and the tide low, the maſter returned to the place where the cheſts lay, and weighed three of them, leaving an anchor with a gun tied to it, and a buoy to mark the place where the fourth lay, which, notwithſtanding their utmoſt efforts, they were not able to recover.

On the 27th the ſouth wind blew very cold. On the 28th the ſame wind blew ſtronger than the day before; and as there was no poſſibility of fiſhing in the wreck for the preſent, Captain Pelſart held a council to conſider what they ſhould do with the priſoners; that is to ſay, whether it would be beſt to try them there upon the ſpot, or to carry them to Batavia, in order to their being tried by the Company's officers. After

mature deliberation, reflecting on the number of priſoners, and the temptation that might ariſe from the vaſt quantity of ſilver on board the frigate, they at laſt came to a reſolution to try and execute them there, which was accordingly done; and they embarked immediately afterwards for Batavia.

REMARKS.

This voyage was tranſlated from the original Dutch by Thevenot, and printed by him in the firſt volume of his collections. Pelſart's route is traced in the map of the globe publiſhed by Deliſle in the year 1700.

As this voyage is of itſelf very ſhort, I ſhall not detain the reader with many remarks; but ſhall confine myſelf to a very few obſervations, in order to ſhow the conſequences of the diſcovery made by Captain Pelſart. The country upon which he ſuffered ſhipwreck was New Holland, the coaſt of which had not till then been at all examined; and it was doubtful how far it extended. There had indeed been ſome reports ſpread with relation to the inhabitants of this country, which Captain Pelſart's relation ſhows to have been falſe; for it had been reported, that when the Dutch Eaſt India Company ſent ſome ſhips to make diſcoveries, their landing was oppoſed by a race of gigantic people, with whom the Dutch could by no means contend. But our author ſays nothing of the extraordinary ſize of the ſavages that were ſeen by Captain Pelſart's people; from whence it is reaſonable to conclude, that this ſtory was circulated with no other view than to prevent other nations from venturing into theſe ſeas. It is alſo remarkable, that this is the very coaſt ſurveyed by Captain Dampier, whoſe account agrees exactly with that contained in this voyage. Now, though it be true, that from all theſe accounts there is nothing ſaid which is much to the advantage either of the country or its inhabitants, yet we are to conſider that it is impoſſible to repreſent either in a worſe light than that in which the Cape of Good Hope was placed, before the Dutch took poſſeſſion of it; and plainly demonſtrated that induſtry could make a paradiſe of what was a perfect purgatory while in the hands of the Hottentots. If, therefore, the climate of this country be good, and the ſoil fruitful, both of which were affirmed in this relation, there could not be a more proper place for a colony than ſome part of New Holland, or of the adjacent country of Carpentaria. I ſhall give my reaſons for aſſerting this when I come to make my remarks on a ſucceeding voyage. At preſent I ſhall confine myſelf to the reaſons that have induced the Dutch Eaſt India Company to leave all theſe countries unſettled, after having firſt ſhewn ſo ſtrong an inclination to diſcover them, which will oblige me to lay before the reader ſome ſecrets in commerce that have hitherto eſcaped common obſervation, and which, whenever they are as thoroughly conſidered as they deſerve, will undoubtedly lead us to as great diſcoveries as thoſe of Columbus or Magellan.

In order to make myſelf perfectly underſtood, I muſt obſerve, that it was the finding out of the Moluccas, or Spice-iſlands, by the Portugueſe, that raiſed that ſpirit of diſcovery, which produced Columbus's voyage, which ended in finding America; though in fact, Columbus intended rather to reach this country of New Holland. The aſſertion is bold, and at firſt ſight may appear improbable; but a little attention will make it ſo plain, that the reader muſt be convinced of the truth of what I ſay. The propoſition made by Columbus to the State of Genoa, the Kings of Portugal, Spain, England and France, was this, that he could diſcover a new route to the Eaſt Indies; that is to ſay, without going round the Cape of Good Hope. He grounded

this propoſition on the ſpherical figure of the earth, from whence he thought it ſelf evident, that any given point might be ſailed to through the great ocean, either by ſteering eaſt or weſt. In his attempt to go to the Eaſt Indies by a weſt courſe, he met with the iſlands and continent of America; and finding gold and other commodities, which till then had never been brought from the Indies, he really thought that this was the weſt coaſt of that country to which the Portugueſe ſailed by the Cape of Good Hope; and hence came the name of the Weſt Indies. Magellan, who followed his ſteps, and was the only diſcoverer who reaſoned ſyſtematically, and knew what he was doing, propoſed to the Emperor Charles V. to complete what Columbus had begun, and to find a paſſage to the Moluccas by the weſt; which, to his immortal honour, he accompliſhed.

When the Dutch made their firſt voyages to the Eaſt Indies, which was not many years before Captain Pelſart's ſhipwreck on the coaſt of New Holland; for their firſt fleet arrived in the Eaſt Indies in 1596, and Pelſart loſt his ſhip in 1629; I ſay, when the Dutch firſt undertook the Eaſt India trade, they had the Spice-iſlands in view; and as they are a nation juſtly famous for the ſteady purſuit of whatever they take in hand, it is notorious, that they never loſt ſight of their deſign, till they had accompliſhed it, and made themſelves entirely maſters of theſe iſlands, of which they ſtill continue in poſſeſſion. When this was done, and they had effectually driven out the Engliſh, who were likewiſe ſettled in them, they fixed the ſeat of their government in the iſland of Amboyna, which lay very convenient for the diſcovery of the ſouthern countries; which, therefore, they proſecuted with great diligence, from the year 1619 to the time of Captain Pelſart's ſhipwreck; that is, for the ſpace of twenty years.

But after they removed the ſeat of their government from Amboyna to Batavia, they turned their views another way, and never made any voyage expreſsly for diſcoveries on that ſide, except the ſingle one of Captain Taſman; of which we are to ſpeak in article X. It was from this period of time, that they began to take new meaſures, and having made their excellent ſettlement at the Cape of Good Hope, reſolved to govern their trade to the Eaſt Indies by theſe two capital maxims: 1. To extend their trade all over the Indies; and to fix themſelves ſo effectually in the richeſt countries, as to keep all, or at leaſt the beſt and moſt profitable part of their commerce to themſelves. 2. To make the Moluccas, and the iſlands dependent on them, their frontier; and to omit nothing that ſhould appear neceſſary to prevent ſtrangers, or even Dutch ſhips not belonging to the Company, from ever navigating thoſe ſeas, and conſequently from ever being acquainted with the countries that lie in them. How well they have proſecuted the firſt maxim, has been very largely ſhewn in a foregoing article, wherein we have an ample deſcription of the mighty empire in the hands of their Eaſt India Company. As for the ſecond maxim, the reader, in the peruſal of Funnel's, Dampier's, and other voyages, but eſpecially the firſt, muſt be ſatisfied, that it is what they have conſtantly at heart, and which, at all events, they are determined to purſue, at leaſt with regard to ſtrangers; and as to their own countrymen, the uſage they gave to James le Maire, and his people, is a proof that cannot be conteſted.

Thoſe things being conſidered, it is very plain that the Dutch, or rather the Dutch Eaſt India Company, are fully perſuaded that they have already as much or more territory in the Eaſt Indies than they can well manage, and therefore they neither do nor ever will think of ſettling New Guinea, Carpentaria, New Holland, or any of the adjacent

adjacent iſlands, till either their trade declines in the Eaſt Indies, or they are obliged to exert themſelves on this ſide to prevent other nations from reaping the benefits that might accrue to them by their planting thoſe countries. But this is not all; for as the Dutch have no thoughts of ſettling theſe countries themſelves, they have taken all imaginable pains to prevent any relations from being publiſhed which might invite or encourage any other nation to make attempts this way; and I am thoroughly perſuaded that this very account of Captain Pelſart's ſhipwreck would never have come into the world, if it had not been thought it would contribute to this end, or, in other words, would ſerve to frighten other nations from approaching ſuch an inhoſpitable coaſt, every where beſet with rocks abſolutely void of water, and inhabited by a race of ſavages more barbarous, and, at the ſame time, more miſerable than any other creatures in the world.

The author of this voyage remarks, for the uſe of ſeamen, that in the little iſland occupied by Weybhays, after digging two pits, they were for a conſiderable time afraid to uſe the water, having found that theſe pits ebbed and flowed with the ſea: but neceſſity at laſt conſtraining them to drink it, they found it did them no hurt. The reaſon of the ebbing and flowing of theſe pits was their nearneſs to the ſea, the water of which percolated through the ſand, loſt its ſaltneſs, and ſo became potable, though it followed the motions of the ocean whence it came.

THE

THE VOYAGE OF CAPTAIN ABEL JANSEN TASMAN

FOR THE DISCOVERY OF SOUTHERN COUNTRIES,

By Direction of the Dutch Eaſt India Company.

[Taken from his original Journal.] *

1. *The Occaſion and Deſign of this Voyage.* — 2. *Captain Taſman ſails from Batavia, Auguſt* 14, 1642. — 3. *Remarks on the Variation of the Needle.* — 4. *He diſcovers a new Country, to which he gives the Name of Van Diemen's Land.* — 5. *Sails from thence for New Zealand.* — 6. *Viſits the Iſland of the Three Kings; and goes in Search of other Iſlands diſcovered by Schouten.* — 7. *Remarkable Occurrences in the Voyage.* — 8. *Obſervations on, and Explanation of, the Variation of the Compaſs.* — 9. *Diſcovers a new Iſland, which he calls Pylſtaart Iſland.* — 10. *And two Iſlands, to which he gives the Name of Amſterdam and Rotterdam.* — 11. *And an Archipelago of twenty ſmall Iſlands.* — 12. *Occurrences in the Voyage.* — 13. *He arrives at the Archipelago of Anthong Java.* — 14. *His Arrival on the Coaſt of New Guinea.* — 15. *Continues his Voyage along that Coaſt.* — 16. *Arrives in the Neighbourhood of Burning Iſland, and ſurveys the whole Coaſt of New Guinea.* — 17. *Comes to the Iſlands of Jama and Moa.* — 18. *Proſecutes his Voyage to Ceram.* — 19. *Arrives ſafely at Batavia, June* 15, 1643. — 20. *Conſequences of Captain Taſman's Diſcoveries.* — 21. *Remarks upon the Voyage.*

1. THE great diſcoveries that were made by the Dutch in theſe ſouthern countries, were ſubſequent to the famous voyage of Jaques le Maire, who in 1616, paſſed the ſtreights called by his name, in 1618, that part of Terra Auſtralis was diſcovered which the Dutch call Concordia. The next year, the Land of Edels was found, and received its name from its diſcoverer. In 1620, Batavia was built on the ruins of the the old city of Jacatra; but the ſeat of government was not immediately removed from Amboyna. In 1622, that part of New Holland which is called Lewin's Land, was firſt found; and in 1627, Peter Nuyts diſcovered, between New Holland and New Guinea, a country, which bears his name. There were alſo ſome other voyages made, of which, however, we have no ſort of account, except that the Dutch were continually beaten in all their attempts to land upon this coaſt. On their ſettlement, however, at Batavia, the then general and council of the Indies thought it requiſite to have a more perfect ſurvey made of the new-found countries, that the memory of them at leaſt might be preſerved, in caſe no further attempts were made to ſettle them; and it was very probably a foreſight of few ſhips going that route any more, which induced ſuch as had then the direction of the Company's affairs to wiſh, that ſome ſuch ſurvey and deſcription might be made by an able ſeaman, who was well acquainted with thoſe

* From Harris, i. 325.

coaſts,

coaſts, and who might be able to add to the diſcoveries already made, as well as furniſh a more accurate deſcription, even of them, than had been hitherto given.

This was faithfully performed by Captain Taſman; and, from the lights afforded by his journal, a very exact and curious map was made of all theſe new countries. But his voyage was never publiſhed entire; and it is very probable that the Eaſt-India Company never intended it ſhould be publiſhed at all. However, Dirk Rembrantz, moved by the excellency and accuracy of the work, publiſhed in Low Dutch an extract of Captain Taſman's Journal, which has been ever ſince conſidered as a very great curioſity; and, as ſuch, has been tranſlated into many languages, particularly into our own, by the care of the learned Profeſſor of Greſham College, Doctor Hook, an abridgement of which tranſlation found a place in Doctor Harris's Collection of Voyages. But we have made no uſe of either of theſe pieces, the following being a new tranſlation, made with all the care and diligence that is poſſible.

2. On Auguſt 14, 1642, I ſailed from Batavia with two veſſels; the one called the Heemſkirk, and the other the Zee-Haan. On September 5, I anchored at Maurice Iſland, in the latitude of 20° ſouth, and in the longitude of 83° 48′. I found this iſland fifty German miles more to the eaſt than I expected; that is to ſay, 3° 33′ of longitude. This iſland was ſo called from Prince Maurice, being before known by the name of Cerne. It is about fifteen leagues in circumference, and has a very fine harbour, at the entrance of which there is one hundred fathoms water. The country is mountainous; but the mountains are covered with green trees. The tops of theſe mountains are ſo high, that they are loſt in the clouds, and are frequently covered by thick exhalations or ſmoke, that aſcends from them. The air of this iſland is extremely wholeſome. It is well furniſhed with fleſh and fowl; and the ſea on its coaſts abounds with all ſorts of fiſh. The fineſt ebony in the world grows here. It is a tall, ſtraight tree, of a moderate thickneſs, covered with a green bark, very thick, under which the wood is as black as pitch, and as cloſe as ivory. There are other trees on the iſland, which are of a bright red, and a third ſort as yellow as wax. The ſhips belonging to the Eaſt India Company commonly touch at this iſland for refreſhments, in their paſſage to Batavia.

I left this iſland on the 8th of October, and continued my courſe to the ſouth, to the latitude of 40° or 41°, having a ſtrong north-weſt wind; and finding the needle vary 23, 24, and 25° to the 22d of October, I ſailed from that time to the 29th to the eaſt, inclining a little to the ſouth, till I arrived in the latitude of 45° 47′ ſouth, and in the longitude of 89° 44′; and then obſerved the variation of the needle to be 26° 45′ towards the weſt.

As our author was extremely careful in this particular, and obſerved the variation of the needle with the utmoſt diligence, it may not be amiſs to take this opportunity of explaining this point, ſo that the importance of his remarks may ſufficiently appear. The needle points exactly north only in a few places, and perhaps not conſtantly in them; but in moſt it declines a little to the eaſt, or to the weſt, whence ariſes eaſtern and weſtern declination: when this was firſt obſerved, it was attributed to certain excavations or hollows in the earth, to veins of lead, ſtone, and other ſuch-like cauſes. But when it was found, by repeated experiments, that this variation varied, it appeared plainly that none of thoſe cauſes could take place; ſince, if they had, the variation in the ſame place muſt always have been the ſame, whereas the fact is otherwiſe.

Here at London, for inſtance, in the year 1580, the variation was obſerved to be 11° 17′ to the eaſt; in the year 1666, the variation was here 34′ to the weſt; and in the year 1734, the variation was ſomewhat more than 1° weſt. In order to find the

variation

variation of the needle with the leaſt error poſſible, the ſeamen take this method: they obſerve the point the ſun is in, by the compaſs, any time after its riſing, and then take the altitude of the ſun; and, in the afternoon, they obſerve when the ſun comes to the ſame altitude, and obſerve the point the ſun is then in by the compaſs; for the middle, between theſe two, is the true north or ſouth point of the compaſs; and the difference between that and the north or ſouth upon the card, which is pointed out by the needle, is the variation of the compaſs, and ſhews how much the north and ſouth, given by the compaſs, deviates from the true north and ſouth points of the horizon. It appears clearly from what has been ſaid, that, in order to arrive at the certain knowledge of the variation, and of the variation of that variation of the compaſs, it is abſolutely requiſite to have, from time to time, diſtinct accounts of the variation, as it is obſerved in different places: whence the importance of Captain Taſman's remarks, in this reſpect, ſufficiently appears. It is true, that the learned and ingenious Doctor Halley has given a very probable account of this matter; but as the probability of that account ariſes only from its agreement with obſervations, it follows, thoſe are as neceſſary and as important as ever, in order to ſtrengthen and confirm it.

3. On the 6th of November, I was in 49° 4′ ſouth latitude, and in the longitude of 114° 56′; the variation was at this time 26° weſtward; and, as the weather was foggy, with hard gales, and a rolling ſea from the ſouth-weſt and from the ſouth, I concluded from thence, that it was not at all probable there ſhould be any land between thoſe two points. On November 15, I was in the latitude of 44° 33′ ſouth, and in the longitude of 140° 32′. The variation was then 18° 30′ weſt, which variation decreaſed every day, in ſuch a manner, that, on the 21ſt of the ſame month, being in the longitude of 158°, I obſerved the variation to be no more than 4°. On the 22d of that month, the needle was in continual agitation, without reſting in any of the eight points; which led me to conjecture, that we were near ſome mine of loadſtone.

This may, at firſt ſight, ſeem to contradict what has been before laid down, as to the variation, and the cauſes of it: but, when ſtrictly conſidered, they will be found to agree very well; for when it is aſſerted, that veins of loadſtone have nothing to do with the variation of the compaſs, it is to be underſtood of the conſtant variation of a few degrees to the eaſt, or to the weſt: but in caſes of this nature, where the variation is abſolutely irregular, and the needle plays quite round the compaſs, our author's conjecture may very well find place: yet it muſt be owned, that it is a point far enough from being clear, that mines of loadſtone affect the compaſs at a diſtance; which, however, might be very eaſily determined, ſince there are large mines of loadſtone in the iſland of Elba, on the coaſt of Tuſcany.

4. On the 24th of the ſame month, being in the latitude of 42° 25′ ſouth, and in the longitude of 163° 50′, I diſcovered land, which lay eaſt-ſouth-eaſt, at the diſtance of ten miles, which I called Van Diemen's Land. The compaſs pointed right towards this land. The weather being bad, I ſteered ſouth and by eaſt along the coaſt, to the height of 44° ſouth, where the land runs away eaſt, and afterwards north-eaſt and by north. In the latitude of 43° 10′ ſouth, and in the longitude of 167° 55′, I anchored on the 1ſt of December, in a bay, which I called the Bay of Frederic Henry. I heard, or at leaſt fancied I heard, the ſound of people upon the ſhore; but I ſaw nobody. All I met with worth obſerving was two trees, which were two fathoms or two fathoms and an half in girth, and ſixty or ſixty-five feet high from the root to the branches: they had cut with a flint a kind of ſteps in the bark, in order to climb up to the birds-neſts: theſe ſteps were the diſtance of five feet from each other; ſo that we muſt conclude, that either theſe people are of a prodigious ſize, or that they have ſome way of climbing

trees that we are not uſed to: in one of the trees the ſteps were ſo freſh, that we judged they could not have been cut above four days.

The noiſe we heard reſembled the noiſe of ſome ſort of trumpet; it ſeemed to be at no great diſtance, but we ſaw no living creature notwithſtanding. I perceived alſo in the ſand, the marks of wild beaſts' feet, reſembling thoſe of a tiger, or ſome ſuch creature; I gathered alſo ſome gum from the trees, and likewiſe ſome lack. The tide ebbs and flows there about three feet. The trees in this country do not grow very cloſe, nor are they encumbered with buſhes or underwood. I obſerved ſmoke in ſeveral places; however, we did nothing more than ſet up a poſt, on which every one cut his name, or his mark, and upon which I hoiſted a flag. I obſerved that, in this place, the variation was changed to 3° eaſtward. On December 5th, being then, by obſervation, in the latitude of 41° 34′, and in the longitude 169°, I quitted Van Diemen's Land, and reſolved to ſteer eaſt to the longitude of 195°, in hopes of diſcovering the iſlands of Solomon.

5. On September 9th, I was in the latitude of 42° 37′ ſouth, and in the longitude of 176° 29′; the variation being there 5° to the eaſt. On the 12th of the ſame month, finding a great rolling ſea coming in on the ſouth-weſt, I judged there was no land to be hoped for on that point. On the 13th, being in the latitude of 42° 10′ ſouth, and in the longitude of 188° 28′, I found the variation 7° 30′ eaſtward. In this ſituation I diſcovered an high mountainous country, which is at preſent marked in the charts, under the name of New Zealand. I coaſted along the ſhore of this country to the north-north-eaſt, till the 18th; and being then in the latitude of 40° 50′ ſouth, and in the longitude of 191° 41′, I anchored in a fine bay, where I obſerved the variation to be 9° towards the eaſt.

We found here abundance of the inhabitants: they had very hoarſe voices, and were very large-made people. They durſt not approach the ſhip nearer than a ſtone's throw; and we often obſerved them playing on a kind of trumpet, to which we anſwered with the inſtruments that were on board our veſſel. Theſe people were of a colour between brown and yellow, their hair long, and almoſt as thick as that of the Japaneſe, combed up, and fixed on the top of their heads with a quill, or ſome ſuch thing, that was thickeſt in the middle, in the very ſame manner that Japaneſe faſtened their hair behind their heads. Theſe people cover the middle of their bodies, ſome with a kind of mat, others with a ſort of woollen cloth; but, as for their upper and lower parts, they leave them altogether naked.

On the 19th of December, theſe ſavages began to grow a little bolder, and more familiar, inſomuch that at laſt they ventured on board the Heemſkirk, in order to trade with thoſe in the veſſel: as ſoon as I perceived it, being apprehenſive that they might attempt to ſurpriſe that ſhip, I ſent my ſhallop, with ſeven men, to put the people in the Heemſkirk upon their guard, and to direct them not to place any confidence in thoſe people. My ſeven men, being without arms, were attacked by theſe ſavages, who killed three of the ſeven, and forced the other four to ſwim for their lives; which occaſioned my giving that place the name of the Bay of Murderers. Our ſhip's company would, undoubtedly, have taken a ſevere revenge, if the rough weather had not hindered them. From this bay we bore away eaſt, having the land in a manner all round us. This country appeared to us rich, fertile, and very well ſituated; but as the weather was very foul, and we had at this time a very ſtrong weſt wind, we found it very difficult to get clear of the land.

6. On the 24th of December, as the wind would not permit us to continue our way to the north, as we knew not whether we ſhould be able to find a paſſage on that

ſide,

ſide, and as the flood came in from the ſouth-eaſt, we concluded that it would be the beſt to return into the bay, and ſeek ſome other way out; but, on the 26th, the wind becoming more favourable, we continued our route to the north, turning a little to the weſt. On the 4th of January 1643, being then in the latitude of 34° 35′ ſouth, and in the longitude of 191° 9′, we ſailed quite to the cape, which lies north-weſt, where we found the ſea rolling in from the north-eaſt; whence we concluded, that we had at laſt found a paſſage, which gave us no ſmall joy. There was in this ſtreight an iſland, which we called the iſland of the Three Kings; the cape of which we doubled, with a deſign to have refreſhed ourſelves; but, as we approached it, we perceived on the mountain thirty or five and thirty perſons, who, as far as we could diſcern at ſuch a diſtance, were men of very large ſize, and had each of them a large club in his hand: they called out to us in a rough ſtrong voice, but we could not underſtand any thing of what they ſaid. We obſerved that theſe people walked at a very great rate, and that they took prodigious large ſtrides. We made the tour of the iſland; in doing which, we ſaw but very few inhabitants; nor did any of the country ſeem to be cultivated; we found indeed a freſh-water river, and then we reſolved to ſail eaſt, as far as 220° of longitude; and from thence north, as far as the latitude of 17° ſouth; and thence to the weſt, till we arrived at the iſles of Cocos and Horne, which were diſcovered by William Schovten, where we intended to refreſh ourſelves, in caſe we found no opportunity of doing it before; for though we had actually landed on Van Diemen's Land, we met with nothing there; and, as for New Zealand, we never ſet foot on it.

In order to render this paſſage perfectly intelligible, it is neceſſary to obſerve, that the iſland of Cocos lies in the latitude of 15° 10′ ſouth; and, according to Schovten's account, is well inhabited, and well cultivated, abounding with all ſorts of refreſhments; but, at the ſame time, he deſcribes the people as treacherous and baſe to the laſt degree. As for the iſlands of Horne, they lie nearly in the latitude of 15°, are extremely fruitful, and inhabited by people of a kind and gentle diſpoſition, who readily beſtowed on the Hollanders whatever refreſhments they could aſk. It was no wonder therefore, that, finding themſelves thus diſtreſſed, Captain Taſman thought of repairing to theſe iſlands, where he was ſure of obtaining refreſhments, either by fair means or otherwiſe; which deſign, however, he did not think fit to put in execution.

7. On the 8th of January, being in the latitude of 30° 25′ ſouth, and in the longitude of 192° 20′, we obſerved the variation of the needle to be 9° towards the eaſt; and, as we had an high rolling ſea from the ſouth-weſt, I conjectured there could not be any land hoped for on that ſide. On the 12th, we found ourſelves in 30° 5′ ſouth latitude, and in 195° 27′ of longitude, where we found the variation 9° 30′ to the eaſt, a rolling ſea from the ſouth-eaſt and from the ſouth-weſt. It is very plain, from theſe obſervations, that the poſition laid down by Dr. Halley, that the motion of the needle is not governed by the poles of the world, but by other poles which move round them, is highly probable; for otherwiſe it is not eaſy to underſtand, how the needle came to have, as our author affirms it had, a variation of near 27° to the weſt, in the latitude of 45° 47′, and then gradually decreaſing till it had no variation at all; after which it turned eaſt, in the latitude of 42° 37′, and ſo continued increaſing its variation eaſtwardly to this time.

8. On the 16th, we were in the latitude of 26° 29′ ſouth, and in the longitude of 199° 32′, the variation of the needle being 8°. Here we are to obſerve, that the eaſtern variation decreaſes; which is likewiſe very agreeable to Doctor Halley's hypotheſis; which, in few words, is this: that a certain large ſolid body contained within,

within, and every way ſeparated from the earth, (as having its own proper motion) and being included like a kernel in its ſhell, revolves circularly from eaſt to weſt, as the exterior earth revolves the contrary way in the diurnal motion; whence it is eaſy to explain the poſition of the four magnetical poles which he attributes to the earth, by allowing two to the nucleus, and two to the exterior earth. And, as the two former perpetually alter the ſituation by their circular motion, their virtue, compared with the exterior poles, muſt be different at different times; and conſequently, the variation of the needle will perpetually change. The doctor attributes to the nucleus an European north pole and an American ſouth one, on account of the variation of variations obſerved near theſe places, as being much greater than thoſe found near the two other poles. And he conjectures, that theſe poles will finiſh their revolution in about ſeven hundred years; and after that time, the ſame ſituation of the poles obtain again, as at preſent; and, conſequently, the variations will be the ſame again over all the globe; ſo that it requires ſeveral ages before this theory can be thoroughly adjuſted. He aſſigns this probable cauſe of the circular revolution of the nucleus: that the diurnal motion, being impreſſed from without, was not ſo exactly communicated to the internal parts, as to give them the ſame preciſe velocity of rotation as the external; whence the nucleus, being left behind by the exterior earth, ſeems to move ſlowly in a contrary direction, as from eaſt to weſt, with regard to the external earth, conſidered as at reſt in reſpect of the other. But to return to our voyage:

9. On the 19th of January, being in the latitude of 22° 35′ ſouth, and in the longitude of 204° 15′, we had 7° 30′ eaſt variation. In this ſituation we diſcovered an iſland about two or three miles in circumference, which was as far as we could diſcern, very high, ſteep, and barren. We were very deſirous of coming nearer it, but were hindered by ſouth-eaſt and ſouth-ſouth-eaſt winds: we called it the Iſle of Pylſtaart, becauſe of the great number of that ſort of birds we ſaw flying about it; and the next day we ſaw two other iſlands.

10. On the 21ſt, being in the latitude of 21° 20′ ſouth, and in the longitude of 205° 29′, we found our variation 7° to the north-eaſt. We drew near to the coaſt of the moſt northern iſland, which, though not very high, yet was the larger of the two: we called one of theſe iſlands Amſterdam, and the other Rotterdam. Upon that of Rotterdam, we found great plenty of hogs, fowls, and all ſorts of fruits, and other refreſhments. Theſe iſlanders did not ſeem to have the uſe of arms, inaſmuch as we ſaw nothing like them in any of their hands: while we were upon the iſland, the uſage they gave us was fair and friendly, except that they would ſteal a little. The current is not very conſiderable in this place, where it ebbs north-eaſt, and flows ſouth-weſt. A ſouth-weſt moon cauſes a ſpring-tide, which riſes ſeven or eight feet at leaſt. The wind blows there continually ſouth-eaſt, or ſouth-ſouth-eaſt, which occaſioned the Heemſkirk's being carried out of the road, but, however, without any damage. We did not fill any water here, becauſe it was extremely hard to get it to the ſhip.

On the 25th, we were in the latitude 20° 15′ ſouth, and in the longitude of 206° 19′. The variation here was 6° 20′ to the eaſt; and, after having had ſight of ſeveral other iſlands, we made that of Rotterdam: the iſlanders here reſemble thoſe on the iſland of Amſterdam. The people were very good natured, parted readily with what they had, did not ſeem to be acquainted with the uſe of arms, but were given to thieving like the natives of Amſterdam Iſland. Here we took in water, and other refreſhments, with all the conveniency imaginable. We made the whole circuit of the iſland, which we found well ſtocked with cocoa-trees, very regularly planted; we likewiſe ſaw abun-

dance of gardens, extremely well laid out, plentifully ſtocked with all kinds of fruit-trees all planted in ſtraight lines, and the whole kept in ſuch excellent order, that nothing could have a better effect upon the eye. After quitting the iſland of Rotterdam, we had ſight of ſeveral other iſlands; which, however, did not engage us to alter the reſolution we had taken of ſailing north, to the height of 17° ſouth latitude, and from thence to ſhape a weſt courſe, without going near either Traitor's Iſland, or thoſe of Horne, we having then a very briſk wind from the ſouth-eaſt, or eaſt-ſouth-eaſt.

I cannot help remarking upon this part of Captain Taſman's journal, that it is not eaſy to conceive, unleſs he was bound up by his inſtructions, why he did not remain ſome time either at Rotterdam or at Amſterdam iſland, but eſpecially at the former; ſince, perhaps, there is not a place in the world ſo happily ſeated, for making new diſcoveries with eaſe and ſafety. He owns, that he traverſed the whole iſland; that he found it a perfect paradiſe; and that the people gave him not the leaſt cauſe of being diffident in point of ſecurity; ſo that, if his men had thrown up ever ſo ſlight a fortification, a part of them might have remained there in ſafety, while the reſt had attempted the diſcovery of the Iſlands of Solomon on the one hand, or the continent of De Quiros on the other; from neither of which they were at any great diſtance: and, from his neglecting this opportunity, I take it for granted that he was circumſcribed, both as to his courſe, and to the time he was to employ in theſe diſcoveries, by his inſtructions; for otherwiſe, ſo able a ſeaman, and ſo curious a man, as his journal ſhews him to have been, would not certainly have neglected ſo fair an opportunity.

11. On February 6th, being in 17° 19′ of ſouth latitude, and in the longitude of 201° 35′, we found ourſelves embarraſſed by nineteen or twenty ſmall iſlands, every one of which was ſurrounded with ſands, ſhoals, and rocks. Theſe are marked in the charts by the name of Prince William's Iſlands, or Heemſkirk's Shallows. On the 8th, we were in the latitude of 15° 29′, and in the longitude of 199° 31′. We had abundance of rain, a ſtrong wind from the north-eaſt, or the north-north-eaſt, with dark, cold weather. Fearing, therefore, that we were run farther to the weſt than we thought ourſelves by our reckoning, and dreading that we ſhould fall to the ſouth of New Guinea, or be thrown upon ſome unknown coaſt in ſuch blowing miſty weather, we reſolved to ſtand away to the north, or to the north-north-weſt, till we ſhould arrive in the latitude of 4, 5, or 6° ſouth; and then to bear away weſt for the coaſt of New Guinea, as the leaſt dangerous way that we could take.

It is very plain from hence, that Captain Taſman had now laid aſide all thoughts of diſcovering farther; and I think it is not difficult to gueſs at the reaſon: when he was in this latitude, he was morally certain that he could, without further difficulty, ſail round by the coaſt of New Guinea, and ſo back again to the Eaſt Indies. It is therefore extremely probable, that he was directed by his inſtructions to coaſt round that great ſouthern continent already diſcovered, in order to arrive at a certainty, whether it was joined to any other part of the world, or whether, notwithſtanding its vaſt extent, viz. from the equator to 43° of ſouth latitude, and from the longitude of 123° to near 190°, it was, notwithſtanding, an iſland: this, I ſay, was in all appearance the true deſign of his voyage, and the reaſon of it ſeems to be this; that an exact chart being drawn from his diſcoveries, the Eaſt India Company might have perfect intelligence of the extent and ſituation of this new-found country, before they executed the plan they were then contriving for preventing its being viſited, or farther diſcovered, by their own or any other nation: and this too accounts for the care taken in laying

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down the map of this country on the pavement of the new ſtadthouſe at Amſterdam; for as this county was henceforward to remain as a kind of depoſit, or land of reſerve, in the hands of the Eaſt India Company, they took this method of intimating as much to their countrymen; ſo that, while ſtrangers are gaping at this map as a curioſity, every intelligent Dutchman may ſay to himſelf, "Behold the wiſdom of the Eaſt India Company! by their preſent empire, they ſupport the authority of this republic abroad; and by their extenſive commerce, enrich its ſubjects at home; and, at the ſame time, ſhew us here what a reſerve they have made for the benefit of poſterity, whenever, through the viciſſitudes to which all ſublunary things are liable, their preſent ſources of power and grandeur ſhall fail."

I cannot help ſupporting my opinion, in this reſpect, by putting the reader in mind of a very curious piece of ancient hiſtory, which furniſhes us with the like inſtance in the conduct of another republic. Diodorus Siculus, in the fifth book of his Hiſtorical Library, informs us, that in the African Ocean, ſome days ſail weſt from Libya, there had been diſcovered an iſland, the ſoil of which was exceedingly fertile, and the country no leſs pleaſant, all the land being finely diverſified by mountains and plains, the former thick clothed with trees, the latter abounding with fruits and flowers, the whole watered by innumerable rivulets, and affording ſo pleaſant an habitation, that a finer or more delightful country fancy itſelf could not feign: yet he aſſures us, the Carthagenians, thoſe great maſters of maritime power and commerce, though they had diſcovered this admirable iſland, would never ſuffer it to be planted; but reſerved it as a ſanctuary, to which they might fly, whenever the ruin of their own republic left them no other reſource. This tallies exactly with the policy of the Dutch Eaſt India Company, who, if they ſhould at any time be driven from their poſſeſſions in Java, Ceylon, and other places in that neighbourhood, would without doubt retire back into the Moluccas, and avail themſelves effectually of this noble diſcovery, which lies open to them, and has been hitherto cloſe ſhut up to all the world beſide. But to proceed:

12. On February 14th we were in the latitude of 16° 30′ ſouth, and in the longitude of 193° 35′. We had hitherto had much rain, and bad weather; but this day, the wind ſinking, we hailed our conſort the Zee-Haan; and found to our great ſatisfaction that our reckonings agreed. On the 20th, in the latitude of 13° 45′, and in the longitude of 193° 35′, we had dark, cloudy weather, much rain, thick fogs, and a rolling ſea; on all ſides the wind variable. On the 26th, in the latitude of 9° 48′ ſouth, and in the longitude of 193° 43′, we had a north-weſt wind, having every day, for the ſpace of twenty-one days, rained more or leſs. On March 2d, in the latitude of 9° 11′ ſouth, and in the longitude of 192° 46′, the variation was 10° to the eaſt, the wind and weather ſtill varying. On March 8th, in the latitude of 7° 46′ ſouth, and in the longitude of 190° 47′, the wind was ſtill variable.

13. On the 14th, in the latitude of 10° 12′ ſouth, and in the longitude of 186° 14′, we found the variation 8° 45′ to the eaſt. We paſſed ſome days without being able to take any obſervation, becauſe the weather was all that time dark and rainy. On March 20th, in the latitude of 5° 15′ ſouth, and in the longitude of 181° 16′, the weather being then fair, we found the variation 9° eaſtward. On the 22d, in the latitude of 5° 2′ ſouth, and in the longitude of 178° 32′, we had fine fair weather, and the benefit of the eaſt trade wind. This day we had ſight of land, which lay four miles weſt. This land proved to be a cluſter of twenty iſlands, which in the maps are called Anthong Java. They lie ninety miles, or thereabouts, from the coaſt of New Guinea. It may not be amiſs to obſerve here, that what Captain Taſman calls

the coaſt of New Guinea, is in reality the coaſt of New Britain, which Captain Dampier firſt diſcovered to be a large iſland, ſeparated from the coaſt of New Guinea.

14. On the 25th, in the latitude of 4° 35′ ſouth, and in the longitude of 175° 10′, we found the variation 9° 30′ eaſt. We were then in the height of the iſlands of Mark, which were diſcovered by William Schovten and James le Maire. They are fourteen or fifteen in number, inhabited by ſavages, with black hair, dreſſed and trimmed in the ſame manner as thoſe we ſaw before at the Bay of Murderers in New Zealand. On the 29th, we paſſed the Green Iſlands; and on the 30th, that of St. John; which were likewiſe diſcovered by Schovten and Le Maire. This iſland they found to be of a conſiderable extent; and judged it to lie at the diſtance of one thouſand eight hundred and forty leagues from the coaſt of Peru. It appeared to them well inhabited, and well cultivated, abounding with fleſh, fowl, fiſh, fruit, and other refreſhments. The inhabitants made uſe of canoes of all ſizes, were armed with ſlings, darts, and wooden ſwords, wore necklaces and bracelets of pearl, and rings in their noſes. They were, however, very intractable, notwithſtanding all the pains that could be taken to engage them in a fair correſpondence; ſo that Captain Schovten was at laſt obliged to fire upon them, to prevent them from making themſelves maſters of his veſſel, which they attacked with a great deal of vigour: and very probably this was the reaſon that Captain Taſman did not attempt to land, or make any farther diſcovery. On April 1ſt, we were in the latitude of 4° 30′ ſouth, and in the longitude of 171° 2′, the variation being 8° 45′ to the eaſt, having now ſight of the coaſt of New Guinea; and endeavouring to double the cape which the Spaniards call Cobo Santa Maria, we continued to ſail along the coaſt, which lies north-weſt. We afterwards paſſed the Iſlands of Antony Caens, Gardeners Iſland, and Fiſhers Iſland, advancing towards the promontory called Struis Hoek, where the coaſt runs ſouth, and ſouth-eaſt. We reſolved to purſue the ſame route, and to continue ſteering ſouth, till we ſhould either diſcover land, or a paſſage on that ſide.

It is neceſſary to obſerve, that all this time they continued on the coaſt, not of New Guinea, but of New Britain; for that cape which the Spaniards called Santa Maria, is the very ſame that Captain Dampier called Cape St. George; and Caens, Gardeners, and Fiſhers Iſlands, all lie upon the ſame coaſt. They had been diſcovered by Schovten and Le Maire, who found them to be well inhabited, but by a very baſe and treacherous people; who, after making ſigns of peace, attempted to ſurpriſe their ſhips: and theſe iſlanders managed their ſlings with ſuch force and dexterity, as to drive the Dutch ſailors from their decks: which account of Le Maire's agree perfectly well with what Captain Dampier tells us of the ſame people. As for the continent of New Guinea, it lies quite behind the iſland of New Britain; and was therefore laid down, in all the charts before Dampier's diſcovery, at leaſt 4° more to the eaſt than it ſhould have been.

15. On April 12th, in the latitude of 3° 45′ ſouth, and in the longitude of 167°, we found the variation 10° towards the eaſt. That night part of the crew were wakened out of their ſleep by an earthquake. They immediately ran upon deck, ſuppoſing that the ſhip had ſtruck. On heaving the lead, however, there was no bottom to be found. We had afterwards ſeveral ſhocks; but none of them ſo violent as the firſt. We had then doubled the Struis Hoek, and were, at that time, in the bay of Good Hope. On the 14th, in the latitude of 5° 27′ ſouth, and in the longitude of 166° 57′, we obſerved the variation to be 9° 15′ to the eaſt. The land lay then north-eaſt, eaſt north-eaſt, and again ſouth ſouth-weſt; ſo that we imagined there had been a paſſage between

between thoſe two points: but we were ſoon convinced of our miſtake, and that it was all one coaſt; ſo that we were obliged to double the Weſt Cape, and to continue creeping along-ſhore, and were much hindered in our paſſage by calms. This deſcription agrees very well with that of Schovten and Le Maire; ſo that probably they had now ſight again of the coaſt of New Guinea.

It is very probable, from the accident that happened to Captain Taſman, and which alſo happened to others upon that coaſt, and from the burning mountains that will be hereafter mentioned, that this country is very ſubject to earthquakes; and, if ſo, without doubt, it abounds with metals and minerals; of which we have alſo another proof, from a point in which all theſe writers agree; viz. that the people they ſaw had rings in their noſes and ears, though none of them tell us of what metal thoſe rings were made, which Le Maire might eaſily have done, ſince he carried off a man from one of the iſlands, whoſe name was Moſes, from whom he learned that almoſt every nation on this coaſt ſpeaks a different language.

16. On the 20th, in the latitude of 5° 4′ ſouth, and in the longitude 164° 27′, we found the variation 8° 30′ eaſt. We that night drew near the Brandande Yland, i. e. burning iſland, which William Schovten mentions; and we perceived a great flame iſſuing, as he ſays, from the top of an high mountain. When we were between that iſland and the continent, we ſaw a vaſt number of fires along the ſhore, and half-way up the mountain, from whence we concluded that the country muſt be very populous. We were often detained on this coaſt by calms, and frequently obſerved ſmall trees, bamboes and ſhrubs, which the rivers on that coaſt carried into the ſea; from which we inferred, that this part of the country was extremely well watered, and that the land muſt be very good. The next morning we paſſed the burning mountain, and continued a weſt north-weſt courſe along that coaſt.

It is remarkable, that Schovten had made the ſame obſervation with reſpect to the drift-wood forced by the rivers into the ſea. He likewiſe obſerved, that there was ſo copious a diſcharge of freſh water, that it altered the colour and the taſte of the ſea. He likewiſe ſays that the burning iſland is extremely well peopled, and alſo well cultivated. He afterwards anchored on the coaſt of the continent, and endeavoured to trade with the natives, who made him pay very dear for hogs and cocoa-nuts, and likewiſe ſhewed him ſome ginger. It appears from Captain Taſman's account, that he was now in haſte to return to Batavia, and did not give himſelf ſo much trouble as at the beginning about diſcoveries, and, to ſay the truth, there was no great occaſion, if, as I obſerved, his commiſſion was no more than to ſail round the new diſcovered coaſts, in order to lay them down with greater certainty in the Dutch charts.

17. On the 27th, being in the latitude of 2° 10′ ſouth, and in the longitude of 146° 57′, we fancied that we had a ſight of the iſland of Moa; but it proved to be that of Jama, which lies a little to the eaſt of Moa We found here great plenty of cocoa-nuts, and other refreſhments. The inhabitants were abſolutely black, and could eaſily repeat the words that they heard others ſpeak; which ſhews their own to be a very copious language. It is, however, exceedingly difficult to pronounce, becauſe they make frequent uſe of the letter R; and ſometimes to ſuch a degree, that it occurs twice or thrice in the ſame word. The next day, we anchored on the coaſt of the iſland of Moa, where we likewiſe found abundance of refreſhments, and where we were obliged by bad weather to ſtay till May 9th. We purchaſed there, by way of exchange, ſix thouſand cocoa-nuts, and a hundred bags of pyſanghs, or Indian figs. When we firſt began to trade with theſe people, one of our ſeamen was wounded by an arrow, that one of the natives let fly, either through malice or inadvertency. We were, at

that

that very juncture, endeavouring to bring our ſhips cloſe to the ſhore; which ſo terrified theſe iſlanders, that they brought of their own accord on board us, the man who had ſhot the arrow, and left him at our mercy. We found them, after this accident, much more tractable than before in every reſpect. Our ſailors, therefore, pulled off the iron hoops from ſome of the old water-caſks, ſtuck them into wooden handles, and filing them to an edge, ſold theſe aukward knives to the inhabitants for their fruits.

In all probability they had not forgot what happened to our people on July 16th, 1616, in the days of William Schovten: theſe people, it ſeems, treated him very ill; upon which James le Maire brought his ſhip cloſe to the ſhore, and fired a broadſide through the woods; the bullets, flying through the trees, ſtruck the negroes with ſuch a panic, that they fled in an inſtant up into the country, and durſt not ſhew their heads again till they had made full ſatisfaction for what was paſt, and thereby ſecured their ſafety for the time to come; and he traded with them afterwards very peaceably, and with mutual ſatisfaction.

This account of our author's ſeems to have been taken upon memory, and is not very exact. Schovten's ſeamen, or rather the petty officer who commanded his long-boat, inſulted the natives groſsly, before they offered any injury to his people; and then, notwithſtanding they fired upon them with ſmall arms, the iſlanders obliged them to retreat; ſo that they were forced to bring the great guns to bear upon the iſland before they could reduce them. Theſe people do not deſerve to be treated as ſavages, becauſe Schovten acknowledges, that they had been engaged in commerce with the Spaniards; as appeared by their having iron pots, glaſs beads and pendants, with other European commodities, before he came thither. He alſo tells us, that they were a very civilized people, their country well cultivated, and very fruitful; that they had a great many boats, and other ſmall craft, which they navigated with great dexterity. He adds alſo, that they gave him a very diſtinct account of the neighbouring iſlands, and that they ſolicited him to fire upon the Arimoans, with whom it ſeems they are always at war; which, however, he refuſed to do, unleſs provoked to it by ſome injury offered by thoſe people. It is therefore very apparent, that the inhabitants of Moa are a people with whom any Europeans, ſettled in their neighbourhood, might without any difficulty ſettle a commerce, and receive conſiderable aſſiſtance from them in making diſcoveries. But, perhaps, ſome nations are fitter for theſe kind of expeditions than others, as being leſs apt to make uſe of their artillery and ſmall arms upon every little diſpute; for as the inhabitants of Moa are well enough acquainted with the ſuperiority which the Europeans have over them, it cannot be ſuppoſed, that they will ever hazard their total deſtruction by committing any groſs act of cruelty upon ſtrangers, who viſit their coaſt; and it is certainly very unfair, to treat people as ſavages and barbarians, merely for defending themſelves when inſulted or attacked without cauſe. The inſtance Captain Taſman gives us of their delivering up the man who wounded his ſailor, is a plain proof of this; and as to the diffidence and ſuſpicion which ſome later voyagers have complained of, with reſpect to the inhabitants of this iſland, they muſt certainly be the effects of the bad behaviour of ſuch Europeans as this nation have hitherto dealt with, and would be effectually removed, if ever they had a ſettled experience of a contrary conduct. The ſureſt method of teaching people to behave honeſtly towards us, is to behave friendly and honeſtly towards them, and then there is no great reaſon to fear, that ſuch as give evident proofs of capacity and civility in the common affairs of life, ſhould be guilty of treachery that muſt turn to their own diſadvantage.

18. On the 12th of May, being then in the latitude of 54′ ſouth, and in the longitude of 153° 17′, we found the variation 6° 30′ to the eaſt. We continued coaſting the north-ſide of the iſland of William Schovten, which is about eighteen or nineteen miles long, very populous, and the people very briſk and active. It was with great caution that Schovten gave his name to this iſland, for having obſerved that there were abundance of ſmall iſlands laid down in the charts on the coaſt of New Guinea, he was ſuſpicious, that this might be of the number. But ſince that time, it ſeems a point generally agreed, that this iſland had not before any particular name; and therefore, in all ſubſequent voyages, we find it conſtantly mentioned by the name of Schovten's Iſland.

He deſcribes it as a very fertile and well-peopled iſland; the inhabitants of which were ſo far from diſcovering any thing of a ſavage nature, that they gave apparent teſtimonies of their having had an extenſive commerce before he touched there, ſince they not only ſhewed him various commodities from the Spaniards, but alſo ſeveral ſamples of China ware; he obſerves, that they are very unlike the nations he had ſeen before, being rather of an olive-colour, than black; ſome having ſhort, others long hair, dreſſed after different faſhions; they were alſo a taller, ſtronger and ſtouter people, than their neighbours. Theſe little circumſtances, which may ſeem tedious or trifling to ſuch as read only for amuſement, are, however, of very great importance to ſuch as have diſcoveries in view; becauſe they argue, that theſe people have a general correſpondence; the difference of their complexion muſt ariſe from a mixed deſcent; and the different manner of wearing their hair is undoubtedly owing to their following the faſhion of different nations, as their fancies lead them. He farther obſerves, that their veſſels were larger and better contrived than their neighbours; that they readily parted with their bows and arrows in exchange for goods, and that they were particularly fond of glaſs and iron-ware, which, perhaps, they not only uſed themſelves, but employed likewiſe in their commerce. The moſt weſtern point of the iſland he called the Cape of Good Hope, becauſe, by doubling that cape, he expected to reach the iſland of Banda; and that we may not wonder, that he was in doubts and difficulties as to the ſituation of theſe places, we ought to reflect, that Schovten was the firſt who ſailed round the world by this courſe, and the laſt too, except Commodore Roggewein; other navigators chuſing rather to run as high as California, and from thence to the Ladrone iſlands, merely becauſe it is the ordinary route.

In the neighbourhood of this iſland Schovten alſo met with an earthquake, which alarmed the ſhip's company exceſſively, from an apprehenſion, that they had ſtruck upon a rock. There are ſome other iſlands in the neighbourhood of this, well peopled, and well planted, abounding with excellent fruits, eſpecially of the melon kind. Theſe iſlands lie, as it were, on the confines of the ſouthern continent, and the Eaſt Indies, ſo that their inhabitants enjoy all the advantages reſulting from their own happy climate, and from their traffick with their neighbours, eſpecially with thoſe of Ternate and Amboyna, who come thither yearly to purchaſe their commodities, and who are likewiſe viſited, at certain ſeaſons, by the people of theſe iſlands in their turn.

19. On the 18th of May, in the latitude of 26′ ſouth, and in the longitude of 147° 55′, we obſerved the variation to be 5° 30′ eaſt. We were now arrived at the weſtern extremity of New Guinea, which is a detached point or promontory (though it is not marked ſo even in the lateſt maps); here we met with calms, variable and contrary winds, with much rain; from thence we ſteered for Ceram, leaving the cape on the north, and arrived ſafely on that iſland; by this time Captain

Taſman had fairly ſurrounded the continent he was inſtructed to diſcover, and had therefore nothing now farther in view than to return to Batavia, in order to report the diſcoveries he had made.

On the 27th of May, we paſſed through the Streights of Boura, or Bouton, and continued our paſſage to Batavia, where we arrived on the 15th of June, in the latitude of 6° 12′ ſouth, and in the longitude of 127° 18′. This voyage was made in the ſpace of ten months. Such was the end of this expedition, which has been always conſidered as the cleareſt and moſt exact that was ever made for the diſcovery of the Terra Auſtralis Incognita, from whence that chart and map was laid down in the pavement of the ſtadt-houſe at Amſterdam, as is before-mentioned. We have now nothing to do but to ſhut up this voyage and our hiſtory of circumnavigators, with a few remarks, previous to which it will be requiſite to ſtate clearly and ſuccinctly the diſcoveries, either made or confirmed by Captain Taſman's voyage, that the importance of it may fully appear, as well as the probability of our conjectures with regard to the motives that induced the Dutch Eaſt India Company to be at ſo much pains about theſe diſcoveries.

20. In the firſt place, then, it is moſt evident, from Captain Taſman's voyage, that New Guinea, Carpentaria, New Holland, Antony van Diemen's Land, and the countries diſcovered by De Quiros, make all one continent, from which New Zealand ſeems to be ſeparated by a ſtreight; and, perhaps, is part of another continent, anſwering to Africa, as this, of which we are now ſpeaking, plainly does to America. This continent reaches from the equinoctial to 44° of ſouth latitude, and extends from 122° to 188° of longitude, making indeed a very large country, but nothing like what De Quiros imagined; which ſhews how dangerous a thing it is to truſt too much to conjecture in ſuch points as theſe. It is, ſecondly, obſervable, that as New Guinea, Carpentaria and New Holland, had been already pretty well examined, Captain Taſman fell directly to the ſouth of theſe; ſo that his firſt diſcovery was Van Diemen's Land, the moſt ſouthern part of the continent on this ſide the globe, and then, paſſing round by New Zealand, he plainly diſcovered the oppoſite ſide of that country towards America, though he viſited the iſlands only, and never fell in again with the continent till he arrived on the coaſt of New Britain, which he miſtook for that of New Guinea; as he very well might, that country having never been ſuſpected to be an iſland, till Dampier diſcovered it to be ſuch in the beginning of the preſent century. Thirdly, by this ſurvey, theſe countries are for ever marked out, ſo long as the map, or memory of this voyage, ſhall remain. The Dutch Eaſt India Company have it always in their power to direct ſettlements, or new diſcoveries, either in New Guinea, from the Moluccas, or in New Holland, from Batavia directly. The prudence ſhewn in the conduct of this affair, deſerves the higheſt praiſe. To have attempted heretofore, or even now, the eſtabliſhing colonies in thoſe countries, would be impolitic, becauſe it would be graſping more than the Eaſt India Company, or than even the republic of Holland, could manage; for, in the firſt place, to reduce a continent between three and four thouſand miles broad, is a prodigious undertaking, and to ſettle it by degrees, would be to open, to all the world, the importance of that country, which, for any thing we can tell, may be much ſuperior to any country yet known: the only choice therefore that the Dutch had left, was to reſerve this mighty diſcovery till the ſeaſon arrived, in which they ſhould be either obliged by neceſſity, or invited by occaſion, to make uſe of it; but though this country be reſerved, it is no longer either unknown or neglected by the Dutch, which is a point of very great conſequence. To the other nations of Europe, the ſouthern continent is a chimera, a thing in the clouds, or at leaſt a country about which

there are a thouſand doubts and ſuſpicions, ſo that to talk of diſcovering or ſettling it muſt be regarded as an idle and empty project: but, with reſpect to them, it is a thing perfectly well known; its extent, its boundaries, its ſituation, the genius of its ſeveral nations, and the commodities of which they are poſſeſſed, are abſolutely within their cognizance, ſo that they are at liberty to take ſuch meaſures as appear to them beſt, for ſecuring the eventual poſſeſſion of this country, whenever they think fit. This account explains at once all the myſteries which the beſt writers upon this ſubject have found in the Dutch proceedings. It ſhews why they have been at ſo much pains to obtain a clear and diſtinct ſurvey of theſe diſtant countries; why they have hitherto forborn ſettling, and why they take ſo much pains to prevent other nations from coming at a diſtinct knowledge of them: and I may add to this another particular, which is, that it accounts for their permitting the natives of Amboyna, who are their ſubjects, to carry on a trade to New Guinea, and the adjacent countries, ſince, by this very method, it is apparent that they gain daily freſh intelligence as to the product and commodities of thoſe countries. Having thus explained the conſequence of Captain Taſman's voyage, and thereby fully juſtified my giving it a place in this part of my work, I am now at liberty to purſue the reflections with which I promiſed to cloſe this ſection, and the hiſtory of circumnavigators, and in doing which, I ſhall endeavour to make the reader ſenſible of the advantages that ariſe from publiſhing theſe voyages in their proper order, ſo as to ſhew what is, and what is yet to be diſcovered of the globe on which we live.

21. In ſpeaking of the conſequences of Captain Taſman's voyage, it has been very amply ſhewn that this part of Terra Auſtralis, or ſouthern country, has been fully and certainly diſcovered. To prevent, however, the reader's making any miſtake, I will take this opportunity of laying before him ſome remarks on the whole ſouthern hemiſphere, which will enable him immediately to comprehend all that I have afterwards to ſay on this ſubject.

If we ſuppoſe the ſouth pole to be the centre of a chart of which the equinoctial is the circumference, we ſhall then diſcern four quarters, of the contents of which, if we could give a full account, this part of the world would be perfectly diſcovered. To begin then with the firſt of theſe, that is, from the firſt meridian, placed in the iſland of Fero. Within this diviſion, that is to ſay, from the firſt to the nineteenth degree of longitude, there lies the great continent of Africa, the moſt ſouthern point of which is the Cape of Good Hope, lying in the latitude of 34° 15′ ſouth: between that and the pole, ſeveral ſmall but very inconſiderable iſlands have been diſcovered, affording us only this degree of certainty, that to the latitude of 50° there is no land to be found of any conſequence; there was, indeed, a voyage made by Mr. Bovet in the year 1738, on purpoſe to diſcover whether there were any lands to the ſouth in that quarter or not. This gentleman ſailed from Port l'Orient July the 18th, 1738, and on the 1ſt of January, 1739, diſcovered a country, the coaſts of which were covered with ice, in the latitude of 54° ſouth, and in the longitude of 28° 30′; the variation of the compaſs being there 6° 45′ to the weſt.

In the next quarter, that is to ſay, from 90° longitude to 180°, lie the countries of which we have been ſpeaking, or that large ſouthern iſland, extending from the equinoctial to the latitude of 43° 10′, and the longitude of 167° 55′, which is the extremity of Van Diemen's land.

In the third quarter, that is, from the longitude of 150° to 170°, there is very little diſcovered with any certainty. Captain Taſman, indeed, viſited the coaſt of New Zealand, in the latitude of 42° 10′ ſouth, and in the longitude of 188° 28′: but beſides this, and the iſlands of Amſterdam and Rotterdam, we know very little; and there-

fore, if there be any doubts about the reality of Terra Auſtralis, it muſt be with reſpect to that part of it which lies within this quarter, through which Schovten and Le Maire ſailed, but without diſcovering any thing more than a few ſmall iſlands.

The fourth and laſt quarter is from 270° of longitude to the firſt meridian, within which lies the continent of South America, and the iſland of Terra del Fuego; the moſt ſouthern promontory of which is ſuppoſed to be Cape Horne, which, according to the beſt obſervations, is in the latitude of 56°, beyond which there has been nothing with any degree of certainty diſcovered on this ſide.

On the whole, therefore, it appears there are three continents already tolerably diſcovered which point towards the ſouth pole, and therefore it is very probable there is a fourth, which if there be, it muſt lie between the country of New Zealand, diſcovered by Captain Taſman, and that country which was ſeen by Captain Sharpe and Mr. Wafer in the South Seas, to which land therefore, and no other, the title of Terra Auſtralis Incognita properly belongs. Leaving this, therefore, to the induſtry of future ages to diſcover, we will now return to that great ſouthern iſland which Captain Taſman actually ſurrounded, and the bounds of which are tolerably well known.

In order to give the reader a proper idea of the importance of this country, it will be requiſite to ſay ſomething of the climates in which it is ſituated: as it lies from the equinoctial to near the latitude of 44°, the longeſt day in the moſt northern parts muſt be twelve hours, and in the ſouthern about fifteen hours, or ſomewhat more, ſo that it extends from the firſt to the ſeventh climate, which ſhews its ſituation to be the happieſt in the world, the country called Van Diemen's Land reſembling in all reſpects the ſouth of France: as there are in all countries ſome parts more pleaſant than others, ſo there ſeems good reaſon to believe, that within two or three degrees of the tropic of Capricorn, which paſſes through the midſt of New Holland, is the moſt unwholeſome and diſagreeable part of this country; the reaſon of which is very plain: for in thoſe parts it muſt be exceſſively hot, much more ſo than under the line itſelf, ſince the days and nights are there always equal, whereas, within three or four degrees of the tropic of Capricorn, that is to ſay, in the latitude of 27° ſouth, the days are thirteen hours and a half long, and the ſun is twice in their zenith, firſt in the beginning of December or rather in the latter end of November, and again when it returns back, which occaſions a burning heat for about two months, or ſomething more; whereas, either farther to the ſouth, or nearer to the line, the climate muſt be equally wholeſome and pleaſant.

As to the product and commodities of this country in general, there is the greateſt reaſon in the world to believe, that they are extremely rich and valuable, becauſe the richeſt and fineſt countries in the known world lie all of them within the ſame latitude; but to return from conjectures to facts: the country diſcovered by De Quiros, makes a part of this great iſland, and is the oppoſite coaſt to that of Carpentaria. This country, of which we have given a large account in the tenth ſection, the diſcoverer called La Auſtralia del Eſpiritu Santo, in the latitude of 15° 40′ ſouth; and, as he reports, it abounds with gold, ſilver, pearl, nutmegs, mace, ginger and ſugar-canes, of an extraordinary ſize; I do not wonder, that formerly the fact might be doubted, but at preſent I think there is ſufficient reaſon to induce us to believe it, for Captain Dampier deſcribes the country about Cape St. George and Port Mountague, which are within 9° of the country deſcribed by De Quiros; I ſay, Captain Dampier deſcribes what he ſaw in the following words: "The country hereabouts is mountainous and woody, full of rich valleys and pleaſant freſh-water brooks; the mould in the valleys is deep and yellowiſh, that on the ſides of the hills of a very brown colour,

and

and not very deep, but rocky underneath, yet excellent planting land; the trees in general are neither very ſtrait, thick, nor tall, yet appear green and pleaſant enough; ſome of them bear flowers, ſome berries and others big fruits, but all unknown to any of us; cocoa-nut trees thrive very well here, as well on the bays by the ſea-ſide, as more remote among the plantations; the nuts are of an indifferent ſize, the milk and kernel very thick and pleaſant; here are ginger, yams, and other very good roots for the pot, that our men ſaw and taſted; what other fruits or roots the country affords, I know not; here are hogs and dogs, other land animals we ſaw none; the fowls we ſaw and knew were pigeons, parrots, cocadores and crows, like thoſe in England; a ſort of birds about the bigneſs of a black-bird, and ſmaller birds many. The ſea and rivers have plenty of fiſh; we ſaw abundance, though we catched but few, and theſe were cavallies, yellow-tails and whip-wreys."

This account is grounded only on a very ſlight view, whereas De Quiros reſided for ſome time in the place he has mentioned. In another place Captain Dampier obſerves, that he ſaw nutmegs amongſt them, which ſeemed to be freſh-gathered, all which agrees perfectly with the account given by De Quiros; add to this, that Schovten had likewiſe obſerved, that they had ginger upon this coaſt, and ſome other ſpices, ſo that on the whole, there ſeems not the leaſt reaſon to doubt, that if any part of this country was ſettled, it muſt be attended with a very rich commerce; for it cannot be ſuppoſed, that all theſe writers ſhould be either miſtaken, or that they ſhould concur in a deſign to impoſe upon their readers; which is the leſs to be ſuſpected, if we conſider how well their reports agree with the ſituation of the country, and that the trees on the land, and the fiſh on the coaſt, correſponding exactly with the trees of thoſe countries, and the fiſh on the coaſts, where theſe commodities are known to abound within-land, ſeem to intimate a perfect conformity throughout.

The next thing to be conſidered is, the poſſibility of planting in this part of the world; which, at firſt ſight, I muſt confeſs, ſeems to be attended with conſiderable difficulties with reſpect to every other nation except the Dutch, who, either from Batavia, the Moluccas, or even from the Cape of Good Hope, might with eaſe ſettle themſelves where-ever they thought fit; as, however, they have neglected this for above a century, there ſeems to be no reaſon, why their conduct in this reſpect ſhould become the rule of other nations, or why any other nation ſhould be apprehenſive of drawing on herſelf the diſpleaſure of the Dutch, by endeavouring to turn to their benefit countries the Dutch have ſo long ſuffered to lie, with reſpect to Europe, waſte and deſert.

The firſt point, with reſpect to a diſcovery, would be, to ſend a ſmall ſquadron on the coaſt of Van Diemen's Land, and from thence round, in the ſame courſe taken by Captain Taſman, by the coaſt of New Guinea, which might enable the nations that attempted it to come to an abſolute certainty with regard to its commodities and commerce: ſuch a voyage as this might be performed with very great eaſe, and at a ſmall expence, by our Eaſt India company; and, this in the ſpace of eight or nine months time; and conſidering what mighty advantages might accrue to the nation, there ſeems to be nothing harſh or improbable in ſuppoſing that, ſome time or other, when the legiſlature is more than uſually intent on affairs of commerce, they may be directed to make ſuch an expedition at the expence of the public. By this means all the back coaſt of New Holland and New Guinea, might be thoroughly examined, and we might know as well, and as certainly as the Dutch, how far a colony ſettled there might anſwer our expectations; one thing is certain, that to perſons uſed to the navigation of the Indies, ſuch an expedition could not be thought either dangerous or difficult, becauſe

becauſe it is already ſufficiently known, that there are every-where iſlands upon the coaſt, where ſhips, upon ſuch a diſcovery, might be ſure to meet with refreſhments, as is plain from Commodore Roggewein's voyage, made little more than twenty years ago.

The only difficulty that I can ſee, would be the getting a fair and honeſt account of this expedition, when made; for private intereſt is ſo apt to interfere, and get the better of the public ſervice, that it is very hard to be ſure of any thing of this ſort. That I may not be ſuſpected of any intent to calumniate, I ſhall put the reader in mind of two inſtances; the firſt is, as to the new trade from Ruſſia, for eſtabliſhing of which an act of parliament was with great difficulty obtained, though viſibly for the advantage of the nation: the other inſtance is, the voyage of Captain Middleton, for the diſcovery of a north-weſt paſſage into the ſouth ſeas, which is ended by a very warm diſpute, whether that paſſage be found or not, the perſon ſuppoſed to have found it maintaining the negative.

Whenever, therefore, ſuch an expedition is undertaken, it ought to be under the direction, not only of a perſon of parts and experience, but of unſpotted character, who, on his return, ſhould be obliged to deliver his journal upon oath, and the principal officers under him ſhould likewiſe be directed to keep their journals diſtinctly, and without their being inſpected by the principal officer; all which journals ought to be publiſhed by authority as ſoon as received, that every man might be at liberty to examine them, and deliver his thoughts as to the diſcoveries made, or the impediments ſuggeſted to have hindered or prevented ſuch diſcoveries, by which means the public would be ſure to obtain a full and diſtinct account of the matter; and it would thence immediately appear, whether it would be expedient to proſecute the deſign or not.

But if it ſhould be thought too burdenſome for a company in ſo flouriſhing a condition, and conſequently engaged in ſo extenſive a commerce as the Eaſt India Company is, to undertake ſuch an expedition, merely to ſerve the public, promote the exportation of our manufactures, and increaſe the number of induſtrious perſons who are maintained by foreign trade; if this, I ſay, ſhould be thought too grievous for a company that has purchaſed her privileges from the public, by a large loan at low intereſt, there can certainly be no objection to the putting this project into the hands of the Royal African Company, who are not quite in ſo flouriſhing a condition; they have equal opportunities for undertaking it, ſince the voyage might be with great eaſe performed from their ſettlements in ten months, and if the trade was found to anſwer, it might encourage the ſettling a colony at Madagaſcar, to and from which ſhips might, with the greateſt conveniency, carry on the trade to New Guinea. I cannot ſay how far ſuch a trade might be conſiſtent with their preſent charter; but if it ſhould be found advantageous to the public, and beneficial to the company, I think there can be no reaſon aſſigned why it ſhould not be ſecured to them, and that too in the moſt effectual manner.

A very ſmall progreſs in it would reſtore the reputation of the company, and in time, perhaps, free the nation from the annual expence ſhe is now at, for the ſupport of the forts and garriſons belonging to that company on the coaſts of Africa; which would alone prove of great and immediate ſervice, both to the public and to the company: to ſay the truth, ſomething of this ſort is abſolutely neceſſary to vindicate the expence the nation is at; for if the trade, for the carrying on of which a company is eſtabliſhed, proves, by a change of circumſtances, incapable of ſupporting that company, and thereby brings a load upon the public, this ought to be a motive, it ought, indeed, to be the ſtrongeſt motive, for that company to endeavour the extenſion of its commerce,

or

or the ſtriking out, if poſſible, ſome new branch of trade, which may reſtore it to its former ſplendour; and in this as it hath an apparent right, ſo there is not the leaſt reaſon to doubt, that it would meet with all the countenance and aſſiſtance from the government that it could reaſonably expect or deſire.

If ſuch a deſign ſhould ever be attempted, perhaps the iſland of New Britain might be the propereſt place for them to ſettle. As to the ſituation, extent, and preſent condition of that iſland, all that can be ſaid of it muſt be taken from the account given by its diſcoverer Captain Dampier: which, in few words, amounts to this: "The iſland which I call Nova Britannia has about 4° of latitude, the body of it lying in 4°, the northermoſt part in 2° 30′, and the ſouthermoſt in 6° 30′. It has about 5° 18′ longitude from eaſt to weſt; it is generally high mountainous land, mixed with large valleys, which, as well as the mountains, appeared very fertile; and in moſt places that we ſaw, the trees are very large, tall, and thick. It is alſo very well inhabited, with ſtrong well-limbed negroes, whom we found very daring and bold at ſeveral places: as to the product of it, it is very probable, this iſland may afford as many rich commodities as any in the world; and the natives may be eaſily brought to commerce, though I could not pretend to it in my circumſtances." If any objections ſhould be raiſed from Dampier's misfortune in that voyage, it is eaſy to ſhew, that it ought to have no manner of weight whatever, ſince, though he was an excellent pilot, he is allowed to have been but a bad commander: beſides the Roebuck, in which he ſailed, was a worn-out frigate, that would hardly ſwim; and it is no great wonder, that in ſo crazy a veſſel the people were a little impatient at being abroad on diſcoveries; yet, after all, he performed what he was ſent for; and, by the diſcovery of this iſland of New Britain, ſecured us an indiſputable right to a country, that is, or might be made, very valuable.

It is ſo ſituated, that a great trade might be carried on from thence through the whole Terra Auſtralis on one ſide, and the moſt valuable iſlands of the Eaſt-Indies on the other. In ſhort, all, or at leaſt moſt, of the advantages propoſed by the Dutch Weſt-India Company's joining with their Eaſt-India Company, of which a large account has already been given, might be procured for this nation, by the eſtabliſhing a colony in this iſland of New Britain, and ſecuring the trade of that colony to the African Company by law; the very paſſing of which law would give the company more than ſufficient credit, to fit out a ſquadron at once capable of ſecuring the poſſeſſion of that iſland, and of giving the public ſuch ſatisfaction as to its importance, as might be requiſite to obtain further power and aſſiſtance from the ſtate, if that ſhould be found neceſſary. It would be very eaſy to point out ſome advantages peculiarly convenient for that company; but it will be time enough to think of theſe, whenever the African Company ſhall diſcover an inclination to proſecute this deſign. At preſent I have done what I propoſed, and have ſhewn that ſuch a collection of voyages as this, ought not to be conſidered as a work of mere amuſement, but as a work calculated for the benefit of mankind in general, and of this nation in particular, which it is the duty of every man to promote in his ſtation; and whatever fate theſe reflections may meet with, I ſhall always have the ſatisfaction of remembering, that I have not neglected it in mine, but have taken the utmoſt pains to turn a courſe of laborious reading to the advantage of my country.

But, ſuppoſing that neither of theſe companies ſhould think it expedient, or, in other words, ſhould not think it conſiſtent with their intereſt, to attempt this diſcovery, there is yet a third company, within the ſpirit of whoſe charter, I humbly conceive, the proſecution of ſuch a ſcheme immediately lies. The reader will eaſily diſcern, that I mean the company for carrying on a trade to the South Seas, who, notwithſtanding the extenſiveneſs

ſiveneſs of their charter, confirmed and ſupported by authority of parliament, have not, ſo far as my information reaches, ever attempted to ſend ſo much as a ſingle ſhip for the ſake of diſcoveries into the South Seas, which, however, was the great point propoſed when this company was firſt eſtabliſhed. In order to prove this, I need only lay before the reader the limits aſſigned that company by their charter, the ſubſtance of which is contained in the following words:—

"The corporation, and their ſucceſſors, ſhall, for ever, be veſted in the ſole trade into and from all the kingdoms and lands on the eaſt ſide of America, from the River Oroonoco, to the ſouthermoſt part of Terra del Fuego, and on the weſt ſide thereof from the ſaid ſouthermoſt part of Terra del Fuego, through the South Sea, to the northermoſt part of America, and into and through all the countries, iſlands, and places within the ſaid limits, which are reputed to belong to Spain, or which ſhall hereafter be found out and diſcovered within the limits aforeſaid, not exceeding 300 leagues from the continent of America, between the ſouthermoſt part of the Terra del Fuego and the northermoſt part of America, on the ſaid weſt ſide thereof, except the kingdom of Brazil, and ſuch other places on the eaſt ſide of America, as are now in the poſſeſſion of the King of Portugal, and the country of Surinam, in the poſſeſſion of the States-general. The ſaid company, and none elſe, are to trade within the ſaid limits; and, if any other perſons ſhall trade to the South Seas, they ſhall forfeit the ſhip and goods, and double value, one-fourth part to the crown, and another fourth part to the proſecutor, and the other two-fourths to the uſe of the company. And the company ſhall be the ſole owners of the iſlands, forts, &c. which they ſhall diſcover within the ſaid limits, to be held of the crown, under an annual rent of an ounce of gold, and of all ſhips taken as prizes by the ſhips of the ſaid company: and the company may ſeize, by force of arms, all other Britiſh ſhips trading in thoſe ſeas."

It is, I think, impoſſible for any man to imagine, that either theſe limits ſhould be ſecured to the company for no purpoſe in the world; or that theſe prohibitions and penalties ſhould take place, notwithſtanding the company's never attempting to make any uſe of theſe powers: from whence I infer, that it was the intent of the legiſlature, that new diſcoveries ſhould be made, new plantations ſettled, and a new trade carried on, by this new corporation, agreeable to the rules preſcribed, and for the general benefit of this nation; which I apprehend was chiefly conſidered in the providing, that this new commerce ſhould be put under the management of a particular company. But I am very well aware of an objection that may be made to what I have advanced; viz. that, from my own ſhewing, this ſouthern continent lies abſolutely without their limits; and that there is alſo a proviſo in the charter of that company, that ſeems particularly calculated to exclude it, ſince it recites, that

"The agents of the company ſhall not ſail beyond the ſouthermoſt parts of Terra del Fuego, except through the Streights of Magellan, or round Terra del Fuego; nor go from thence to any part of the Eaſt Indies, nor return to Great Britain, or any port or place, unleſs through the ſaid ſtreights, or by Terra del Fuego: nor ſhall they trade in Eaſt-India goods, or in any places within the limits granted to the united company of merchants of England trading to Eaſt India (ſuch India goods excepted as ſhall be actually exported from Great Britain, and alſo ſuch gold, ſilver, wrought plate, and other goods and commodities, which are the produce, growth, or manufactures of the Weſt Indies, or continent of America); neither ſhall they ſend ſhips, or uſe them or any veſſel, within the South Seas, from Terra del Fuego to the northermoſt parts of America, above three hundred leagues to the weſtward of, and diſtant from the land of Chili, Peru, Mexico, California, or any other the lands or ſhores of

Southern or Northern America, between Terra del Fuego and the northermoſt part of America, on pain of the forfeiture of the ſhips and goods; one-third to the crown, and the other two-thirds to the Eaſt India Company."

But the reader will obſerve, that I mentioned the Eaſt India and African Companies before; and that I now mention the South Sea Company, on a ſuppoſition that the two former may refuſe it. In that caſe, I preſume, the legiſlature will make the ſame diſtinction that the States of Holland did, and not ſuffer the private advantage of any particular company to ſtand in competition with the good of a whole people. It was upon this principle that I laid it down as a thing certain, that the African Company would be allowed to ſettle the iſland of Madagaſcar, though it lies within the limits of the Eaſt India Company's charter, in caſe it ſhould be found neceſſary for the better carrying on of this trade. It is upon the ſame principle I ſay this ſouthern continent lies within the intention of the South Sea Company's charter, becauſe, I preſume, the intent of that charter was to grant them all the commerce in thoſe ſeas, not occupied before by Britiſh ſubjects; for, if it were otherwiſe, what a condition ſhould we be in as a maritime power? If a grant does not oblige a company to carry on a trade within the limits granted to that company, and is, at the ſame time, of force to preclude all the ſubjects of this nation from the right they before had to carry on a trade within thoſe limits, ſuch a law is plainly deſtructive to the nation's intereſt, and to commerce in general. I therefore ſuppoſe, that, if the South Sea Company ſhould think proper to revive their trade in the manner I propoſe, this proviſo would be explained by parliament to mean no more than excluding the South Sea Company from ſettling or trading in or to any place at preſent ſettled in or traded to by the Eaſt India Company: for, as this interpretation would ſecure the juſt rights of both companies, and, at the ſame time, reconcile the laws for eſtabliſhing them to the general intereſt of trade and the nation, there is the greateſt reaſon to believe this to be the intention of the legiſlature. I have been obliged to inſiſt fully upon this matter, becauſe it is a point hitherto untouched, and a point of ſuch high importance, that, unleſs it be underſtood according to my ſenſe of the matter, there is an end of all hopes of extending our trade on this ſide, which is perhaps the only ſide, on which there is the leaſt probability that it ever can be extended: for, as to the north-weſt paſſage into the South Seas, that ſeems to be blocked up by the rights of another company; ſo that, according to the letter of our laws, each company is to have its rights, and the nation in general no right at all.

If therefore the ſettling of this part of Terra Auſtralis ſhould devolve on the South Sea Company, by way of equivalent for the loſs of their Aſſiento contract, there is no ſort of queſtion but it might be as well performed by them as by any other, and the trade carried on without interfering with that which is at preſent carried on, either by the Eaſt India or African Companies. It would indeed, in this caſe, be abſolutely neceſſary to ſettle Juan Fernandez, the ſettlement of which place, under the direction of that company, if they could, as very probably they might, fall into ſome ſhare of the ſlave-trade from New Guinea, muſt prove wonderfully advantageous, conſidering the opportunity they would have of vending thoſe ſlaves to the Spaniards in Chili and Peru. The ſettling of this iſland ought to be performed at once, and with a competent force, ſince, without doubt, the Spaniards would leave no means unattempted to diſpoſſeſs them: yet, if a good fortification was once raiſed, the paſſes properly retrenched, and a garriſon left there of between three and five hundred men, it would be ſimply impoſſible for the Spaniards to force them out of it before the arrival of another ſquadron from hence. Neither do I ſee any reaſon, why, in the ſpace of a very few years, the plantation of this iſland ſhould not prove of as great conſequence to the South Sea

Company, as that of Curacao to the Dutch Weſt India Company, who raiſe no leſs than ſixty thouſand florins per annum for licenſing ſhips to trade there.

From Juan Fernandez to Van Diemen's Land is not above two months ſail; and a voyage for diſcovery might be very conveniently made between the time that a ſquadron returned from Juan Fernandez, and another ſquadron's arrival there from hence. It is true, that, if once a conſiderable ſettlement was made in the moſt ſouthern part of Terra Auſtralis, the company might then fall into a large commerce in the moſt valuable Eaſt India goods, very probably gold, and ſpices of all ſorts: yet I cannot think, that even theſe would fall within the excluſive proviſo of their charter; for that was certainly intended to hinder their trading in ſuch goods as are brought hither by our Eaſt India Company; and I muſt confeſs I ſee no difference, with reſpect to the intereſt of that company, between our having cloves, cinnamon, and mace, by the South Sea Company's ſhips from Juan Fernandez, and our receiving them from Holland, after the Dutch Eaſt India Company's ſhips have brought them thither by the way of the Cape of Good Hope. Sure I am they would come to us ſooner by ſome months by the way of Cape Horne. If this reaſoning does not ſatisfy people, but they ſtill remain perſuaded, that the South Sea Company ought not to intermeddle with the Eaſt India trade at all, I deſire to know, why the Weſt India merchants are allowed to import coffee from Jamaica, when it is well known, that the Eaſt India Company can ſupply the whole demand of this kingdom from Mocha? If it be anſwered, that the Jamaica coffee comes cheaper, and is the growth of our own plantations, I reply, that theſe ſpices will not only be cheaper but better, and be purchaſed by our own manufacturers; and theſe, I think, are the ſtrongeſt reaſons that can be given.

If it be demanded, what certainty I have, that ſpices can be had from thence, I anſwer, all the certainty that in a thing of this nature can be reaſonably expected: Ferdinand de Quiros met with all ſorts of ſpices in the country he diſcovered; William Schovten, and Jaques le Maire, ſaw ginger and nutmegs; ſo did Dampier; and the author of Commodore Roggewein's Voyage aſſerts, that the free burgeſſes of Amboyna purchaſe nutmegs from the natives of New Guinea for bits of iron. All therefore I contend for is, that theſe bits of iron may be ſent them from Old England.

The reaſon I recommend ſettling on the ſouth coaſt of Terra Auſtralis, if this deſign ſhould be proſecuted, from Juan Fernandez, rather than the iſland of New Britain, which I mentioned before, is, becauſe that coaſt is nearer, and is ſituated in a better and pleaſanter climate. Beſides all which advantages, as it was never hitherto viſited by the Dutch, they cannot with any colour of juſtice, take umbrage at our attempting ſuch a ſettlement. To cloſe then this ſubject, the importance of which alone inclined me to ſpend ſo much of mine and the reader's time about it:

It is moſt evident, that, if ſuch a ſettlement was made at Juan Fernandez, proper magazines erected, and a conſtant correſpondence eſtabliſhed between that iſland and the Terra Auſtralis, theſe three conſequences muſt abſolutely follow from thence: 1. That a new trade would be opened, which muſt carry off a great quantity of our goods and manufactures, that cannot, at preſent, be brought to any market, or at leaſt not to ſo good a market, as if there was a greater demand for them. 2. It would render this navigation, which is at preſent ſo ſtrange, and conſequently ſo terrible, to us, eaſy and familiar; which might be attended with advantages that cannot be foreſeen, eſpecially ſince there is, as I before obſerved, in all probability another ſouthern continent, which is ſtill to be diſcovered. 3. It would greatly increaſe our ſhipping and our ſeamen, which are the true and natural ſtrength of this country, extend our naval power, and raiſe the reputation of this nation; the moſt diſtant proſpect of which is

ſufficient to warm the ſoul of any man who has the leaſt regard for his country, with courage ſufficient to deſpiſe the imputations that may be thrown upon him as a viſionary projector, for taking ſo much pains about an affair that can tend ſo little to his private advantage. We will now add a few words, with reſpect to the advantages ariſing from having thus digeſted the hiſtory of circumnavigators, from the earlieſt account of time to the preſent; and then ſhut up the whole with another ſection, containing the laſt circumnavigation by Rear-Admiral Anſon, whoſe voyage has at leaſt ſhewn, that, under a proper officer, Engliſh ſeamen are able to atchieve as much as they ever did; and that is as much as was ever done by any nation in the world.

It is a point that has always admitted ſome debate, whether ſcience ſtands more indebted to ſpeculation or practice; or, in other words, whether the greater diſcoveries have been made by men of deep ſtudy, or perſons of great experience in the moſt uſeful parts of knowledge. But this, I think, is a propoſition that admits of no diſpute at all, that the nobleſt diſcoveries have been the reſult of a juſt mixture of theory with practice. It was from hence, that the very notion of ſailing round the earth took riſe; and the ingenious Genoeſe firſt laid down this ſyſtem of the world, according to his conception, and then added the proofs derived from experience. It is much to be deplored, that we have not that plan of diſcovery which the great Chriſtopher Columbus ſent over thither by his brother Bartholomew to King Henry VII., for if we had we ſhould certainly find abundance of very curious obſervations, which might ſtill be uſeful to mariners: for it appears clearly, from many little circumſtances, that he was a perſon of univerſal genius, and, until bad uſage obliged him to take many precautions, very communicative.

It was from this plan, as it had been communicated to the Portugueſe court, that the famous Magellan came to have ſo juſt notions of the poſſibility of ſailing by the weſt to the Eaſt Indies; and there was a great deal of theory in the propoſal made by that great man to the Emperor Charles V. Sir Francis Drake was a perſon of the ſame genius, and of a like general knowledge; and it is very remarkable, that theſe three great ſeamen met alſo with the ſame fate; by which I mean, that they were conſtantly purſued by envy while they lived, which hindered ſo much notice being taken of their diſcourſes and diſcoveries as they deſerved. But when the experience of ſucceeding times had verified many of their ſayings, which had been conſidered as vain and empty boaſtings in their life-times, then poſterity began to pay a ſuperſtitious regard to whatever could be collected concerning them, and to admire all they delivered as oraculous. Our other diſcoverer, Candiſh, was likewiſe a man of great parts and great penetration, as well as a great ſpirit; he had, undoubtedly, a mighty genius for diſcoveries; but the prevailing notion of thoſe times, that the only way to ſerve the nation, was plundering the Spaniards, ſeems to have got the better of his deſire to find out unknown countries; and made him chooſe to be known to poſterity, rather as a gallant privateer than as an able ſeaman, though in truth he was both.

After theſe follow Schovten and Le Maire, who were fitted out to make diſcoveries; and executed their commiſſion with equal capacity and ſucceſs. If Le Maire had lived to return to Holland, and to have digeſted into proper order his own accounts, we ſhould, without queſtion, have received a much fuller and clearer, as well as a much more correct and ſatisfactory detail of them, than we have at preſent: though the voyage, as it is now publiſhed, is, in all reſpects, the beſt, and the moſt curious, of all the circumnavigators. This was, very probably, owing to the ill uſage he met with from the Dutch Eaſt India Company; which put Captain Schovten, and the relations of Le Maire, upon giving the world the beſt information they could of what had been

in that voyage performed. Yet the fate of Le Maire had a much greater effect in diſcouraging, than the fame of his diſcoveries had in exciting, a ſpirit of emulation; ſo that we may ſafely ſay, the ſeverity of the Eaſt India Company in Holland extinguiſhed that generous deſire of exploring unknown lands, which might otherwiſe have raiſed the reputation, and extended the commerce of the republic much beyond what they have hitherto reached. This is ſo true that for upwards of one hundred years, we hear of no Dutch voyage in purſuit of Le Maire's diſcoveries; and we ſee, when Commodore Roggewein, in our own time, revived that noble deſign, it was again cramped by the ſame power that ſtifled it before; and though the States did juſtice to the Weſt India Company, and to the parties injured, yet the hardſhips they ſuffered, and the plain proof they gave of the difficulties that muſt be met with in the proſecution of ſuch a deſign, ſeem to have done the buſineſs of the Eaſt India Company, and damped the ſpirit of diſcovery, for perhaps another century, in Holland.

It is very obſervable, that all the mighty diſcoveries that have been made aroſe from theſe great men, who joined reaſoning with practice, and were men of genius and learning, as well as ſeamen. To Columbus we owe the finding America; to Magellan the paſſing by the ſtraits which bear his name, by a new route to the Eaſt Indies; to Le Maire a more commodious paſſage round Cape Horne, and without running up to California; Sir Francis Drake too hinted the advantages that might ariſe by examining the north-weſt ſide of America; and Candiſh had ſome notions of diſcovering a paſſage between China and Japan. As to the hiſtory we have of Roggewein's voyage, it affords ſuch lights, as nothing but our own negligence can render uſeleſs. But in the other voyages, whatever diſcoveries we meet with are purely accidental, except it be Dampier's voyage to the coaſts of New Holland and New Guinea, which was expreſsly made for diſcoveries; and in which, if an abler man had been employed in conjunction with Dampier, we cannot doubt, that the interior and exterior of thoſe countries would have been much better known than they are at preſent; becauſe ſuch a perſon would rather have choſen to have refreſhed in the iſland of New Britain, or ſome other country not viſited before, than at that of Timor, already ſettled both by the Portugueſe and the Dutch.

In all attempts, therefore, of this ſort, thoſe men are fitteſt to be employed who, with competent abilities as ſeamen, have likewiſe general capacities, are at leaſt tolerably acquainted with other ſciences, and have ſettled judgments and ſolid underſtandings. Theſe are the men from whom we are to expect the finiſhing that great work which former circumnavigators have begun; I mean the diſcovering every part and parcel of the globe, and the carrying to its utmoſt perfection the admirable and uſeful ſcience of navigation.

It is, however, a piece of juſtice due to the memory of theſe great men, to acknowledge, that we are equally encouraged by their examples, and guided by their diſcoveries. We owe to them the being freed, not only from the errors, but from the doubts and difficulties, with which former ages were oppreſſed: to them we ſtand indebted for the diſcovery of the beſt part of the world, which was entirely unknown to the ancients, particularly ſome part of the eaſtern, moſt of the ſouthern, and all the weſtern hemiſphere: from them we have learned, that the earth is ſurrounded by the ocean, and that all the countries under the torrid zone are inhabited; and that, quite contrary to the notions that were formerly entertained, they are very far from being the moſt ſultry climate in the world, thoſe within a few degrees of the tropics, though habitable, being much more hot, for reaſons which have been elſewhere explained. By their voyages, and eſpecially by the obſervations of Columbus, we have been

been taught the general motion of the ſea, the reaſon of it, and the cauſe and difference of currents in particular places; to which we may add the doctrine of tides, which were very imperfectly known, even by the greateſt men in former times, whoſe accounts have been found equally repugnant to reaſon and experience.

By their obſervations, we have acquired a great knowledge as to the nature and variation of winds, particularly the monſoons, or trade-winds, and other periodical winds, of which the ancients had not the leaſt conception: and by theſe helps we not only have it in our power to proceed much farther in our diſcoveries, but we are likewiſe delivered from a multitude of groundleſs apprehenſions, that frighted them from proſecuting diſcoveries. We give no credit now to the fables, that not only amuſed antiquity, but even obtained credit within a few generations. The authority of Pliny will not perſuade us that there are any nations without heads, whoſe eyes and mouths are in their breaſts, or that the Arimaſpi have only one eye, fixed in their forehead, and that they are perpetually at war with the Griffins, who guard hidden treaſures; or that there are nations that have long hairy tails, and grin like monkeys. No traveller can make us believe, that, under the torrid zone, there are a nation, every man of which has one large flat foot, with which, lying upon his back, he covers himſelf from the ſun. In this reſpect we have the ſame advantage over the ancients that men have over children; and we cannot reflect without amazement, on men's having ſo much knowledge and learning in other reſpects, with ſuch childiſh underſtandings in theſe.

By the labours of theſe great men, in the two laſt centuries, we are taught to know what we ſeek, and how it is to be ſought. We know, for example, what parts of the north are yet undiſcovered, and alſo what parts of the ſouth. We can form a very certain judgment of the climate of countries undiſcovered, and can foreſee the advantages that will reſult from diſcoveries before they are made; all which are prodigious advantages, and ought certainly to animate us in our ſearches. I might add to this, the great benefits we receive from our more perfect acquaintance with the properties of the loadſtone, and from the ſurpriſing accuracy of aſtronomical obſervations; to which I may add the phyſical diſcoveries made of late years, in relation to the figure of the earth; all of which are the reſult of the lights which theſe great men have given us.

It is true, that ſome of the zealous defenders of the ancients, and ſome of the great admirers of the eaſtern nations, diſpute theſe facts; and would have us believe that almoſt every thing was known to the old philoſophers, and not only known but practiſed, by the Chineſe, long before the time of the great men to whom we aſcribe them. But the difference between their aſſertions and ours is, that we fully prove the facts we allege, whereas they produce no evidence at all: for inſtance, Albertus Magnus ſays, that Ariſtotle wrote an expreſs treatiſe on the direction of the loadſtone; but nobody ever ſaw that treatiſe, nor was it ever heard of by any of the reſt of his commentators. We have in our hands ſome of the beſt performances of antiquity, in regard to geography; and any man who has eyes, and is at all acquainted with that ſcience, can very eaſily diſcern, how far they fall ſhort of maps that were made even an hundred years ago. The celebrated Voſſius, and the reſt of the admirers of the Chineſe, who, by the way, derived all their knowledge from hearſay, may teſtify, in as ſtrong terms as they think fit, their contempt for the weſtern ſages, and their high opinion of thoſe in the eaſt; but till they prove to us that their favourite Chineſe made any voyages comparable to the Europeans, before the diſcovery of a paſſage to China by the Cape of Good Hope, they will excuſe us from believing them. Beſides, if the ancients had all this knowledge, how came it not to diſplay itſelf in their performances?

How

How came they to make ſuch difficulties of what are now eſteemed trifles? And how came they never to maake any voyages, by choice at leaſt, that were out of ſight of land? Again, with reſpect to the Chineſe, if they excel us ſo much in knowledge, how came the miſſionaries to be ſo much admired for their ſuperior ſkill in the ſciences? But to cut the matter ſhort, we are not diſputing now about ſpeculative points of ſcience, but as to the practical application of it; in which, I think, there is no doubt that the modern inhabitants of the weſtern parts of the world excel, and excel chiefly from the labours and diſcoveries of theſe great and ingenious men, who applied their abilities to the improvement of uſeful arts, for the particular benefit of their countrymen, and to the common good of mankind; which character is not derived from any prejudice of ours, either againſt the ancients, or the oriental nations; but is founded in facts of public notoriety, and on general experience, which are a kind of evidence not to be controverted or contradicted.

We are ſtill, however, in ſeveral reſpects ſhort of perfection; and there are many things left to exerciſe the ſagacity, penetration, and application of this, and of ſucceeding ages: for inſtance, the paſſages to the north-eaſt and north-weſt are yet unknown; there is a great part of the ſouthern continent undiſcovered; we are, in a manner, ignorant of what lies between America and Japan, and all beyond that country lies buried in obſcurity, perhaps in greater obſcurity than it was an age ago; ſo that there is ſtill room for performing great things, which, in their conſequences, perhaps, might prove greater than can well be imagined. I ſay nothing of the diſcoveries that yet remain, with regard to inland countries, becauſe theſe fall properly under another head, I mean that of Travels. But it will be time enough to think of penetrating into the heart of countries, when we have diſcovered the ſea-coaſts of the whole globe, towards which the voyages recorded in this chapter have ſo far advanced already. But the only means to arrive at theſe great ends, and to tranſmit to poſterity a fame approaching, at leaſt in ſome meaſure, to that of our anceſtors, is to revive and reſtore that glorious ſpirit which led them to ſuch great exploits; and the moſt natural method of doing this, is to collect and preſerve the memory of their exploits, that they may ſerve at once to excite our imitation, encourage our endeavours, and point out to us how they may be beſt employed, and with the greateſt probability of ſucceſs.

AN ACCOUNT OF NEW HOLLAND AND THE ADJACENT ISLANDS.

*BY CAPTAIN WILLIAM DAMPIER.**

HAVING deſcribed his voyage from Brazil to New Holland, this celebrated navigator thus proceeds:

About the latitude of 26° ſouth we ſaw an opening, and ran in, hoping to find a harbour there; but when we came to its mouth, which was about two leagues wide, we ſaw rocks and foul ground within, and therefore ſtood out again; there we had twenty fathom water within two miles of the ſhore: the land every where appeared pretty low, flat and even, but with ſteep cliffs to the ſea, and when we came near it there were no trees, ſhrubs, or graſs to be ſeen. The ſoundings in the latitude of 26° ſouth, from about eight or nine leagues off till you come within a league of the ſhore, are generally about forty fathoms, differing but little, ſeldom above three or four fathoms; but the lead brings up very different ſorts of ſand, ſome coarſe, ſome fine, and of ſeveral colours, as yellow, white, grey, brown, blueiſh and reddiſh.

When I ſaw there was no harbour here, nor good anchoring, I ſtood off to ſea again in the evening of the 2d of Auguſt, fearing a ſtorm on a lee-ſhore, in a place where there was no ſhelter, and deſiring at leaſt to have ſea-room, for the clouds began to grow thick in the weſtern board, and the wind was already there, and began to blow freſh almoſt upon the ſhore, which at this place lies along north north-weſt and ſouth ſouth-eaſt. By nine o'clock at night we got a pretty good offing; but the wind ſtill increaſing, I took in my main top-ſail, being able to carry no more ſail than two courſes and the mizen. At two in the morning, Auguſt 3d, it blew very hard, and the ſea was much raiſed, ſo that I furled all my ſails but my mainſail, though the wind blew ſo hard, we had pretty clear weather till noon; but then the whole ſky was blackened with thick clouds, and we had ſome rain, which would laſt a quarter of an hour at a time, and then it would blow very fierce while the ſqualls of rain were over our heads, but as ſoon as they were gone the wind was by much abated, the ſtreſs of the ſtorm being over: we ſounded ſeveral times, but had no ground till eight o'clock, Auguſt the 4th, in the evening, and then had ſixty fathom water, coral-ground. At ten we had fifty-ſix fathom fine ſand. At twelve we had fifty-five fathom fine ſand, of a pale blueiſh colour. It was now pretty moderate weather, yet I made no ſail till morning, but then the wind veering about to the ſouth-weſt, I made ſail and ſtood to the north, and at eleven o'clock the next day, Auguſt 5th, we ſaw land again, at about ten leagues diſtant. This noon we were in latitude 25° 30′, and in the afternoon our cook died, an old man, who had been ſick a great while, being infirm before we came out of England.

* Dampier's Voyages, iii. 82. edit. 1729.

The

The 6th of Auguſt, in the morning, we ſaw an opening in the land, and we ran into it, and anchored in ſeven and a half fathom water, two miles from the ſhore, clean ſand. It was ſomewhat difficult getting in here, by reaſon of many ſhoals we met with: but I ſent my boat ſounding before me. The mouth of this ſound, which I called Shark's Bay, lies in about 25° ſouth latitude, and our reckoning made its longitude from the Cape of Good Hope to be about 87°, which is leſs by one hundred and ninety-five leagues than is uſually laid down in our common draughts, if our reckoning was right, and our glaſſes did not deceive us. As ſoon as I came to anchor in this bay, I ſent my boat aſhore to ſeek for freſh water; but in the evening my men returned, having found none. The next morning I went aſhore myſelf, carrying pick-axes and ſhovels with me, to dig for water, and axes to cut wood. We tried in ſeveral places for water, but finding none after ſeveral trials, nor in ſeveral miles compaſs, we left any farther ſearch for it, and ſpending the reſt of the day in cutting wood, we went aboard at night.

The land is of an indifferent height, ſo that it may be ſeen nine or ten leagues off. It appears at a diſtance very even; but as you come nigher you find there are many gentle riſings, though none ſteep or high. It is all a ſteep ſhore againſt the open ſea; but in this bay or ſound we were now in, the land is low by the ſea-ſide, riſing gradually in with the land. The mould is ſand by the ſea-ſide, producing a large ſort of ſampier, which bears a white flower. Farther in, the mould is reddiſh, a ſort of ſand producing ſome graſs, plants, and ſhrubs. The graſs grows in great tufts, as big as a buſhel, here and there a tuft; being intermixed with much heath, much of the kind we have growing on our commons in England. Of trees or ſhrubs here are divers ſorts; but none above ten feet high: their bodies about three feet about, and five or ſix feet high before you come to the branches, which are buſhy and compoſed of ſmall twigs there ſpreading abroad, though thick ſet, and full of leaves, which were moſtly long and narrow: the colour of the leaves was on one ſide whitiſh, and on the other green; and the bark of the trees was generally of the ſame colour with the leaves, of a pale green. Some of theſe trees were ſweet-ſcented, and reddiſh within the bark, like ſaſſafras, but redder. Moſt of the trees and ſhrubs had at this time either bloſſoms or berries on them. The bloſſoms of the different ſorts of trees were of ſeveral colours, as red, white, yellow, &c. but moſtly blue; and theſe generally ſmelt very ſweet and fragrant, as did ſome alſo of the reſt: there were alſo beſide ſome plants, herbs, and tall flowers, ſome very ſmall flowers growing on the ground, that were ſweet and beautiful, and for the moſt part unlike any I had ſeen elſewhere.

There were but few land fowls; we ſaw none but eagles, of the larger ſorts of birds; but five or ſix ſorts of ſmall birds: the biggeſt ſort of theſe were not bigger than larks, ſome no bigger than wrens, all ſinging with great variety of fine ſhrill notes; and we ſaw ſome of their neſts with young ones in them. The water-fowls are ducks (which had young ones now, this being the beginning of the ſpring in theſe parts), curlews, galdens, crab-catchers, cormorants, gulls, pelicans, and ſome water-fowl, ſuch as I have not ſeen any where beſides.

The land animals that we ſaw here were only a ſort of raccoons, different from thoſe of the Weſt-Indies, chiefly as to their legs, for theſe have very ſhort fore legs, but go jumping upon them as the others do (and like them are very good meat), and a ſort of guanos, of the ſame ſhape and ſize with other guanos deſcribed, but differing from them in three remarkable particulars; for theſe had a larger and uglier head, and had no tail, and at the rump, inſtead of the tail there, they had a ſtump of a tail, which appeared like another head, but not really ſuch, being without mouth or eyes;

yet this creature ſeemed by this means to have a head at each end, and, which may be reckoned a fourth difference, the legs alſo ſeemed all four of them to be fore-legs, being all alike in ſhape and length, and ſeeming by the joints and bending to be made as if they were to go indifferently either head or tail foremoſt; they were ſpeckled black and yellow like toads, and had ſcales or knobs on their backs like thoſe of crocodiles, plated on to the ſkin, or ſtuck into it, as part of the ſkin: they are very ſlow in motion; and when a man comes nigh them they will ſtand ſtill and hiſs, not endeavouring to get away: their livers are alſo ſpotted black and yellow; and the body, when opened, hath a very unſavory ſmell. I did never ſee ſuch ugly creatures any where but here. The guanos I have obſerved to be very good meat, and I have often eaten of them with pleaſure; but though I have eaten of ſnakes, crocodiles and alligators, and many creatures that look frightfully enough, and there are but few I ſhould have been afraid to eat of, if preſt by hunger, yet I think my ſtomach would ſcarce have ſerved to venture upon theſe New Holland guanos, both the looks and the ſmell of them being ſo offenſive.

The ſea-fiſh that we ſaw here (for here was no river, land or pond of freſh water to be ſeen), are chiefly ſharks: there are abundance of them in this particular ſound, that I therefore gave it the name of Shark's Bay. Here are alſo ſkates, thornbacks, and other fiſh of the ray kind (one ſort eſpecially like the ſea-devil), and gar-fiſh, bonetas, &c. Of ſhell-fiſh we got here muſcles, periwinkles, limpits, oyſters, both of the pearl kind and alſo eating oyſters, as well the common ſort as long oyſters, beſide cockles, &c. The ſhore was lined thick with many other ſorts of very ſtrange and beautiful ſhells for variety of colour and ſhape, moſt finely ſpotted with red, black or yellow, &c. ſuch as I have not ſeen any where but at this place. I brought away a great many of them, but loſt all except a very few, and thoſe not of the beſt.

There are alſo ſome green turtle weighing about two hundred pounds. Of theſe we caught two, which the water ebbing had left behind a ledge of rock, which they could not creep over. Theſe ſerved all my company two days, and they were indifferent ſweet meat. Of the ſharks we caught a great many, which our men eat very ſavourily. Among them we caught one which was eleven feet long. The ſpace between its two eyes was twenty inches, and eighteen inches from one corner of his mouth to the other. Its maw was like a leather ſack, very thick, and ſo tough that a ſharp knife could ſcarce cut it; in which we found the head and bones of a hippopotomus, the hairy lips of which were ſtill ſound and not putrified, and the jaw was alſo firm, out of which we plucked a great many teeth, two of them eight inches long, and as big as a man's thumb, ſmall at one end, and a little crooked, the reſt not above half ſo long. The maw was full of jelly, which ſtank extremely: however I ſaved for a while the teeth and the ſhark's jaw; the fleſh of it was divided among my men, and they took care that no waſte ſhould be made of it.

It was the 7th of Auguſt when we came into Shark's-Bay, in which we anchored at three ſeveral places, and ſtaid at the firſt of them (on the weſt ſide of the bay) till the 11th; during which time we ſearched about, as I ſaid, for freſh water, digging wells, but to no purpoſe; however, we cut good ſtore of fire-wood at this firſt anchoring-place, and my company were all here very well refreſhed with raccoons, turtle, ſhark, and other fiſh, and ſome fowls, ſo that we were now all much briſker than when we came in hither; yet ſtill I was for ſtanding farther into the bay, partly becauſe I had a mind to increaſe my ſtock of freſh water, which was began to be low, and partly for the ſake of diſcovering this part of the coaſt. I was invited to go further, by ſeeing from this anchoring place all open before me, which therefore I deſigned to

ſearch before I left the bay: ſo on the 11th, about noon, I ſteered farther in, with an eaſy ſail, becauſe we had but ſhallow water; we kept therefore good looking out for fear of ſhoals, ſometimes ſhortening, ſometimes deepening the water. About two in the afternoon we ſaw the land a-head that makes the ſouth of the bay, and before night we had again ſholdings from that ſhore, and therefore ſhortened ſail and ſtood off and on all night, under two topſails, continually ſounding, having never more than ten fathom, and ſeldom leſs than ſeven. The water deepened and ſholdned ſo very gently, that in heaving the lead five or ſix times we ſhould ſcarce have a foot difference. When we came into ſeven fathom either way, we preſently went about. From this ſouth part of the bay we could not ſee the land from whence we came in the afternoon; and this land we found to be an iſland of three or four leagues long, but it appearing barren, I did not ſtrive to go nearer it, and the rather becauſe the winds would not permit us to do it without much trouble, and at the openings the water was generally ſhoal: I therefore made no farther attempts in this ſouth-weſt and ſouth part of the bay, but ſteered away to the eaſtward, to ſee if there was any land that way, for as yet we had ſeen none there. On the 12th, in the morning, we paſſed by the north point of that land, and were confirmed in the perſuaſion of its being an iſland, by ſeeing an opening to the eaſt of it, as we had done on the weſt. Having fair weather, a ſmall gale and ſmooth water, we ſtood further on in the bay, to ſee what land was on the eaſt of it. Our ſoundings at firſt were ſeven fathom, which held ſo a great while, but at length it decreaſed to ſix. Then we ſaw the land right a-head. We could not come near it with the ſhip, having but ſhoal water, and it being dangerous lying there, and the land extraordinary low, very unlikely to have freſh water (though it had a few trees on it, ſeemingly mangroves), and much of it probably covered at highwater, I ſtood out again that afternoon, deepening the water, and before night anchored in eight fathom, clean white ſand, about the middle of the bay. The next day we got up our anchor, and that afternoon came to an anchor once more near two iſlands and a ſhoal of coral rocks that face the bay. Here I ſcrubbed my ſhip; and finding it very improbable I ſhould get any further here, I made the beſt of my way out to ſea again, ſounding all the way, but finding, by the ſhallowneſs of the water, that there was no going out to ſea to the eaſt of the two iſlands that face the bay, nor between them, I returned to the weſt entrance, going out by the ſame way I came in at, only on the eaſt inſtead of the weſt ſide of the ſmall ſhoal: in which channel we had ten, twelve, and thirteen fathom water, ſtill deepening upon us till we were out at ſea. The day before we came out I ſent a boat a-ſhore to the moſt northerly of the two iſlands, which is the leaſt of them, catching many ſmall fiſh in the mean while with hook and line: the boat's crew returning, told me that the iſle produces nothing but a ſort of green, ſhort, hard prickly graſs, affording neither wood nor freſh water, and that a ſea broke between the two iſlands, a ſign that the water was ſhallow. They ſaw a large turtle, and many ſkates and thornbacks, but caught none.

It was Auguſt the 14th when I ſailed out of this bay or ſound, the mouth of which lies, as I ſaid, in 25° 5′, deſigning to coaſt along to the north-eaſt till I might commodiouſly put in at ſome other port of New Holland. In paſſing out we ſaw three water-ſerpents ſwimming about in the ſea, of a yellow colour, ſpotted with dark brown ſpots; they were each about four foot long, and about the bigneſs of a man's wriſt, and were the firſt I ſaw on this coaſt, which abounds with ſeveral ſorts of them; we had the winds at our firſt coming out at north, and the land lying north-eaſterly; we plied off and on, getting forward but little till the next day, when the wind coming at ſouth-ſouth-weſt and ſouth, we began to coaſt it along the ſhore on the northward, keeping

at ſix or ſeven leagues off ſhore, and ſounding often, we had between forty and forty-ſix fathom water, brown ſand, with ſome white ſhells. This 15th of Auguſt we were in latitude 24° 41′. On the 16th day, at noon, we were in 23° 22′. The wind coming at eaſt by north, we could not keep the ſhore aboard, but were forced to go farther off, and loſt ſight of the land; then ſounding we had no ground with eighty fathom line; however the wind ſhortly after came about again to the ſouthward, and then we jogged on again to the northward, and ſaw many ſmall dolphins and whales, and abundance of ſcuttle-ſhells ſwimming on the ſea, and ſome water-ſnakes every day. The 17th we ſaw the land again, and took a ſight of it.

The 18th, in the afternoon, being three or four leagues off ſhore, I ſaw a ſhoal-point ſtretching from the land into the ſea, a league or more; the ſea broke high on it, by which I ſaw plainly there was a ſhoal there. I ſtood farther off, and coaſted along ſhore, to about ſeven or eight leagues diſtance; and at twelve o'clock at night we ſounded, and had but twenty fathom hard ſand. By this I found I was upon another ſhoal, and ſo preſently ſteered of weſt half an hour, and had then forty fathom. At one in the morning of the 18th day we had eighty-five fathom; by two we could find no ground, and then I ventured to ſteer along ſhore again due north, which is two points wide of the coaſt (that lies north-north-eaſt) for fear of another ſhoal. I would not be too far off from the land, being deſirous to ſearch into it wherever I ſhould find an opening or any convenience of ſearching about for water, &c. When we were off the ſhoal-point I mentioned where we had but twenty fathom water, we had in the night abundance of whales about the ſhip, ſome a-head, others a-ſtern, and ſome on each ſide blowing and making a very diſmal noiſe, but when we came out again into deeper water they left us; indeed, the noiſe that they made by blowing and daſhing of the ſea with their tails, making it all of a breach and foam, was very dreadful to us, like the breach of the waves in very ſhoal-water, or among rocks. The ſhoal theſe whales were upon had depth of water ſufficient, no leſs than twenty fathom, as I ſaid, and it lies in latitude 22° 22′. The ſhore was generally bold all along; we had met with no ſhoal at ſea ſince the Abrohlo-ſhoal, when we firſt fell on the New Holland coaſt in the latitude of twenty-eight, till yeſterday in the afternoon, and this night. This morning alſo, when we expected by the draught we had with us to have been eleven leagues off ſhore, we were but four, ſo that either our draughts were faulty, which yet hitherto and afterwards we found true enough as to the lying of the coaſt, or elſe here was a tide unknown to us that deceived us, though we had found very little of any tide on this coaſt hitherto; as to our winds in the coaſting thus far as we had been within the verge of the general trade (though interrupted by the ſtorm I mentioned), from the latitude of 28, when we firſt fell in with the coaſt, and by that time we were in the latitude of 25, we had uſually the regular trade wind (which is here ſouth-ſouth-eaſt), when we were at any diſtance from ſhore; but we had often ſea and land breezes, eſpecially when near ſhore, and when in Shark's-Bay, and had a particular north-weſt wind or ſtorm that ſet us in thither. On this 18th of Auguſt we coaſted with a briſk gale of the true trade wind at ſouth-ſouth-eaſt, very fair and clear weather; but hauling off in the evening to ſea, were next morning out of ſight of land; and the land now trending away north-eaſterly, and we being to the northward of it, and the wind alſo ſhrinking from the ſouth-ſouth-eaſt to the eaſt-ſouth-eaſt (that is, from the true trade-wind to the ſea-breeze, as the land now lay), we could not get in with the land again yet-awhile, ſo as to ſee it, though we trimmed ſharp and kept cloſe on a wind. We were this 19th day in latitude 21° 42′. The 20th we were in latitude 19° 37′, and kept cloſe on a wind to get ſight of the land again, but could

not yet ſee it. We had very fair weather; and though we were ſo far from the land as to be out of ſight of it, yet we had the ſea and land breezes. In the night we had the land-breeze at ſouth-ſouth-eaſt a ſmall gentle gale, which in the morning about ſun-riſing would ſhift about gradually (and withal increaſing in ſtrength) till about noon, we ſhould have it at eaſt-ſouth-eaſt, which is the true ſea-breeze here; then it would blow a briſk gale, ſo that we could ſcarce carry our top-ſails double reefed; and it would continue thus till three in the afternoon, when it would decreaſe again. The weather was fair all the while, not a cloud to be ſeen, but very hazy, eſpecially nigh the horizon. We ſounded ſeveral times this 20th day, and at firſt had no ground, but had afterwards from fifty-two to forty-five fathom, coarſe brown ſand, mixt with ſmall brown and white ſtones, with dints beſides in the tallow.

The 21ſt day alſo we had ſmall land-breezes in the night, and ſea-breezes in the day; and as we ſaw ſome ſea-ſnakes every day, ſo this day we ſaw a great many, of two different ſorts or ſhapes; one ſort was yellow, and about the bigneſs of a man's wriſt, about four feet long, having a flat tail about four fingers broad; the other ſort was much ſmaller and ſhorter, round and ſpotted black and yellow: this day we ſounded ſeveral times, and had forty-five fathom ſand; we did not make the land till noon, and then ſaw it firſt from our topmaſt-head; it bore ſouth-eaſt by eaſt about nine leagues diſtance, and it appeared like a cape or head of land; the ſea-breeze this day was not ſo ſtrong as the day before, and it veered out more, ſo that we had a fair wind to run in with to the ſhore, and at ſunſet anchored in twenty fathom, clean ſand, about five leagues from the Bluff-point, which was not a cape (as it appeared at a great diſtance), but the eaſternmoſt end of an iſland, about five or ſix leagues in length, and one in breadth. There were three or four rocky iſlands about a league from us between us and the bluff point; and we ſaw many other iſlands both to the eaſt and weſt of it, as far as we could ſee either way from our top-maſt-head; and all within them to the ſouth there was nothing but iſlands of a pretty height, that may be ſeen eight or nine leagues off; by what we ſaw of them they muſt have been a range of iſlands of about twenty leagues in length, ſtretching from eaſt-north-eaſt to weſt-ſouth-weſt and for ought I know, as far as to thoſe of Shark's-Bay, and to a conſiderable breadth alſo, for we could ſee nine or ten leagues in among them) towards the continent or main land of New Holland, if there be any ſuch thing hereabouts; and by the great tides I met with a while afterwards, more to the north-eaſt, I had a ſtrong ſuſpicion that here might be a kind of archipelago of iſlands, and a paſſage poſſibly to the ſouth of New Holland and New Guinea into the great South Sea eaſtward, which I had thoughts alſo of attempting in my return from New Guinea, had circumſtances permitted, and told my officers ſo; but I would not attempt it at this time, becauſe we wanted water, and could not depend upon finding it there. This place is in the latitude of 20° 21′, but in the draught that I had of this coaſt, which was Taſman's, it was laid down in 19° 50′, and the ſhore is laid down as all along joining in one body or continent, with ſome openings appearing like rivers, and not like iſlands, as really they are. This place lies more northerly by 40′ than is laid down in Mr. Taſman's draught; and beſide its being made a firm continued land, only with ſome openings like the mouths of rivers, I found the ſoundings alſo different from what the pricked line of his courſe ſhews them, and generally ſhallower than he makes them; which inclines me to think that he came not ſo near the ſhore as his line ſhews, and ſo had deeper ſoundings, and could not ſo well diſtinguiſh the iſlands; his meridian or difference of longitude from Shark's-

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Bay, agrees well enough with my account, which is two hundred and thirty two leagues, though we differ in latitude; and to confirm my conjecture that the line of his courſe is made too near the ſhore, at leaſt not far to the eaſt of this place, the water is there ſo ſhallow that he could not come there ſo nigh.

But to proceed; in the night we had a ſmall land-breeze, and in the morning I weighed anchor, deſigning to run in among the iſlands, for they had large channels between them, of a league wide at leaſt, and ſome two or three leagues wide; I ſent in my boat before to ſound, and if they found ſhoal-water to return again, but if they found water enough, to go aſhore on one of the iſlands, and ſtay till the ſhip came in, where they might in the mean time ſearch for water; ſo we followed after with the ſhip, ſounding as we went in, and had twenty fathom, till within two leagues of the Bluff-head, and then we had ſhoal water, and very uncertain ſoundings; yet we ran in ſtill with an eaſy ſail, ſounding and looking out well, for this was dangerous work. When we came abreaſt of the Bluff-head, and about two miles from it, we had but ſeven fathom; then we edged away from it, but had no more water, and running in a little farther, we had but four fathoms, ſo we anchored immediately; and yet when we had veered out a third of a cable we had ſeven fathom water again, ſo uncertain was the water. My boat came immediately on board, and told me that the iſland was very rocky and dry, and they had little hopes of finding water there: I ſent them to ſound, and bade them, if they found a channel of eight or ten fathom water, to keep on, and we would follow with the ſhip. We were now about four leagues within the outer ſmall rocky iſlands, but ſtill could ſee nothing but iſlands within us, ſome five or ſix leagues long, others not above a mile round. The large iſlands were pretty high; but all appeared dry, and moſtly rocky and barren. The rocks looked of a ruſty yellow colour, and therefore I deſpaired of getting water on any of them; but was in ſome hopes of finding a channel to run in beyond all theſe iſlands, could I have ſpent time here, and either got to the main of New Holland, or find out ſome other iſlands that might afford us water and other refreſhments; beſides, that among ſo many iſlands, we might have found ſome ſort of rich mineral, or ambergreaſe, it being a good latitude for both theſe. But we had not ſailed above a league farther before our water grew ſhoaler again, and then we anchored in ſix fathom hard ſand.

We were now on the inner ſide of the iſland, on whoſe outſide is the Bluff-point. We rode a league from the iſland, and I preſently went aſhore, and carried ſhovels to dig for water, but found none. There grow here two or three ſorts of ſhrubs, one juſt like roſemary, and therefore I called this Roſemary Iſland; it grew in great plenty here, but had no ſmell; ſome of the other ſhrubs had blue and yellow flowers; and we found two ſorts of grain like beans; the one grew on buſhes, the other on a ſort of a creeping vine that runs along on the ground, having very thick broad leaves, and the bloſſom like a bean bloſſom, but much larger, and of a deep red colour, looking very beautiful. We ſaw here ſome cormorants, gulls, crabcatchers, &c. a few ſmall land-birds, and a ſort of white parrots, which flew a great many together. We found ſome ſhell-fiſh, viz. limpits, perriwinkles, and abundance of ſmall oyſters growing on the rocks, which were very ſweet. In the ſea we ſaw ſome green turtle, many ſharks, and abundance of water-ſnakes of ſeveral ſorts and ſizes. The ſtones were all of ruſty colour, and ponderous.

We ſaw a ſmoak on an iſland three or four leagues off; and here alſo the buſhes had been burned, but we found no other ſign of inhabitants. It was probable, that on the iſland where the ſmoak was there were inhabitants, and freſh water for them.

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In the evening I went aboard, and conſulted with my officers whether it was beſt to ſend thither, or to ſearch among any other of theſe iſlands with my boat, or elſe go from hence, and coaſt along ſhore with the ſhip, till we could find ſome better place than this was to ride in, where we had ſhoal water, and lay expoſed to winds and tides. They all agreed to go from hence; ſo I gave orders to weigh in the morning as ſoon as it ſhould be light, and to get out with the land-breeze.

Accordingly, Auguſt the 23d, at five in the morning we ran out, having a pretty freſh land-breeze at ſouth-ſouth-eaſt. By eight o'clock we were got out, and very ſeaſonably, for before nine the ſea-breeze came on us very ſtrong, and increaſing, we took in our top-ſails and ſtood off under two courſes and a mizen, this being as much ſail as we could carry. The ſky was clear, there being not one cloud to be ſeen; but the horizon appeared very hazy, and the ſun at ſetting the night before, and this morning at riſing, appeared very red. The wind continued very ſtrong till twelve, then it began to abate; I have ſeldom met with a ſtronger breeze. Theſe ſtrong ſea-breezes laſted thus in their turns three or four days. They ſprung up with the ſun-riſe; by nine o'clock they were very ſtrong, and ſo continued till noon, when they began to abate; and by ſun-ſet there was little wind, or a calm till the land-breezes came, which we ſhould certainly have in the morning about one or two o'clock. The land-breezes were between the ſouth-ſouth-weſt and ſouth-ſouth-eaſt: the ſea-breezes between the eaſt-north-eaſt and north-north-eaſt. In the night while calm, we fiſhed with hook and line, and caught good ſtore of fiſh, viz. ſnappers, breams, old-wives, and dog-fiſh. When theſe laſt came we ſeldom caught any others; for if they did not drive away the other fiſh, yet they would be ſure to keep them from taking our hooks, for they would firſt have them themſelves, biting very greedily. We caught alſo a monk-fiſh, of which I brought home the picture.

On the 25th of Auguſt, we ſtill coaſted along ſhore, that we might the better ſee any opening; kept ſounding, and had about twenty fathom clean ſand. The 26th day, being about four leagues off ſhore, the water began gradually to ſholden from twenty to fourteen fathom. I was edging in a little towards the land, thinking to have anchored; but preſently after the water decreaſed almoſt at once, till we had but five fathom. I durſt therefore adventure no farther, but ſteered out the ſame way that we came in; and in a ſhort time had ten fathom (being then about four leagues and a half from the ſhore) and even ſoundings. I ſteered away eaſt-north-eaſt, coaſting along as the land lies. This day the ſea-breezes began to be very moderate again, and we made the beſt of our way along ſhore, only in the night edging off a little for fear of ſhoals. Ever ſince we left Shark's Bay we had fair clear weather, and ſo for a great while ſtill.

The 27th day, we had twenty fathom water all night, yet we could not ſee land till one in the afternoon from our topmaſt-head. By three we could juſt diſcern land from our quarter-deck; we had then ſixteen fathom. The wind was at north, and we ſteered eaſt-by-north, which is but one point in on the land; yet we decreaſed our water very faſt: for at four we had but nine fathom; the next caſt but ſeven, which frightened us; and we then tacked inſtantly and ſtood off; but in a ſhort time the wind coming at north-weſt and weſt-north-weſt, we tacked again, and ſteered north-north-eaſt, and then deepened our water again, and had all night from fifteen to twenty fathom.

The 28th day we had between twenty and forty fathom. We ſaw no land this day, but ſaw a great many ſnakes and ſome whales. We ſaw alſo ſome boobies, and noddy-birds; and in the night caught one of theſe laſt. It was of another ſhape and colour than any I had ſeen before. It had a ſmall long bill, as all of them have, flat

feet

feet like ducks feet, its tail forked like a ſwallow, but longer and broader, and the fork deeper than that of the ſwallow, with very long wings; the top or crown of the head of this noddy was coal-black, having alſo ſmall black ſtreaks round about and cloſe to the eyes; and round theſe ſtreaks on each ſide, a pretty broad white circle. The breaſt, belly, and under-part of the wings of this noddy were white; and the back and upper-part of its wings of a faint black or ſmoak colour. Noddies are ſeen in moſt places between the tropics, as well in the Eaſt Indies and on the coaſt of Brazil, as in the Weſt Indies. They reſt aſhore at night, and therefore we never ſee them far at ſea, not above twenty or thirty leagues, unleſs driven off in a ſtorm. When they come about a ſhip they commonly perch in the night, and will ſit ſtill till they are taken by the ſeamen. They build on cliffs againſt the ſea or rocks.

The 30th day, being in latitude 18° 21′, we made the land again, and ſaw many great ſmokes near the ſhore; and having fair weather and moderate breezes, I ſteered in towards it. At four in the afternoon I anchored in eight fathom water, clear ſand, about three leagues and a half from the ſhore. I preſently ſent my boat to ſound nearer in, and they found ten fathom about a mile farther in; and from thence ſtill farther in the water decreaſed gradually to nine, eight, ſeven, and at two miles diſtance to ſix fathom. This evening we ſaw an eclipſe of the moon, but it was abating before the moon appeared to us; for the horizon was very hazy, ſo that we could not ſee the moon till ſhe had been half an hour above the horizon: and at two hours twenty-two minutes after ſun-ſet, by the reckoning of our glaſſes, the eclipſe was quite gone, which was not of many digits. The moon's centre was then 33° 40′ high.

The 31ſt of Auguſt betimes in the morning I went aſhore with ten or eleven men to ſearch for water. We went armed with muſkets and cutlaſſes for our defence, expecting to ſee people there; and carried alſo ſhovels and pickaxes to dig wells. When we came near the ſhore we ſaw three tall black naked men on the ſandy bay a-head of us: but as we rowed in, they went away. When we were landed, I ſent the boat with two men in her to lie a little from the ſhore at an anchor, to prevent being ſeized; while the reſt of us went after the three black men, who were now got on the top of a ſmall hill about a quarter of a mile from us, with eight or nine men more in their company. They ſeeing us coming, ran away. When we came on the top of the hill where they firſt ſtood we ſaw a plain ſavannah, about half a mile from us, farther in from the ſea. There were ſeveral things like hay-cocks, ſtanding in the ſavannah, which at a diſtance we thought were houſes, looking juſt like the Hottentots' houſes at the Cape of Good Hope: but we found them to be ſo many rocks. We ſearched about theſe for water, but could find none, nor any houſes, nor people, for they were all gone. Then we turned again to the place where we landed, and there we dug for water.

While we were at work there came nine or ten of the natives to a ſmall hill a little way from us, and ſtood there menacing and threatening of us, and making a great noiſe. At laſt one of them came towards us, and the reſt followed at a diſtance. I went out to meet him, and came within fifty yards of him, making to him all the ſigns of peace and friendſhip I could; but then he ran away, neither would they any of them ſtay for us to come nigh them; for we tried two or three times. At laſt I took two men with me, and went in the afternoon along by the ſea-ſide, purpoſely to catch one of them, if I could, of whom I might learn where they got their freſh water. There were ten or twelve of the natives a little way off, who ſeeing us three going away from the reſt of our men, followed us at a diſtance. I thought they would follow us: but there being for a while a ſand-bank between us and them, that they could not then

then ſee us, we made a halt, and hid ourſelves in a bending of the ſand-bank. They knew we muſt be thereabouts, and being three or four times our numbers, thought to ſeize us. So they diſperſed themſelves, ſome going to the ſea-ſhore, and others beating about the ſand-hills. We knew by what rencounter we had had with them in the morning that we could eaſily out-run them; ſo a nimble young man that was with me ſeeing ſome of them near, ran towards them; and they for ſome time ran away before him; but he ſoon overtaking them, they faced about and fought him. He had a cutlaſs, and they had wooden lances; with which, being many of them, they were too hard for him. When he firſt ran towards them I chaſed two more that were by the ſhore; but fearing how it might be with my young man, I turned back quickly, and went up to the top of a ſand-hill, whence I ſaw him near me, cloſely engaged with them. Upon their ſeeing me, one of them threw a lance at me, that narrowly miſſed me. I diſcharged my gun to ſcare them, but avoided ſhooting any of them; till finding the young man in great danger from them, and myſelf in ſome; and that though the gun had a little frightened them at firſt, yet they had ſoon learnt to deſpiſe it, toſſing up their hands, and crying, "pooh, pooh, pooh;" and coming on afreſh with a great noiſe, I thought it high time to charge again, and ſhoot one of them, which I did. The reſt, ſeeing him fall, made a ſtand again; and my young man took the opportunity to diſengage himſelf, and come off to me; my other man alſo was with me, who had done nothing all this while, having come out unarmed; and I returned back with my men, deſigning to attempt the natives no farther, being very ſorry for what had happened already. They took up their wounded companion; and my young man, who had been ſtruck through the cheek by one of their lances, was afraid it had been poiſoned: but I did not think that likely. His wound was very painful to him, being made with a blunt weapon; but he ſoon recovered of it.

Among the New Hollanders, whom we were thus engaged with, there was one who by his appearance and carriage, as well in the morning as this afternoon, ſeemed to be the chief of them, and a kind of prince or captain among them. He was a young briſk man, not very tall, nor ſo perſonable as ſome of the reſt, though more active and courageous: he was painted (which none of the reſt were at all) with a circle of white paſte or pigment (a ſort of lime, as we thought) about his eyes, and a white ſtreak down his noſe, from his forehead to the tip of it: and his breaſt and ſome part of his arms were alſo made white with the ſame paint; not for beauty or ornament, one would think, but as ſome wild Indian warriors are ſaid to do, he ſeemed thereby to deſign the looking more terrible; this his painting adding very much to his natural deformity; for they all of them have the moſt unpleaſant looks and the worſt features of any people that ever I ſaw; though I have ſeen great variety of ſavages. Theſe New Hollanders were probably the ſame ſort of people as thoſe I met with on this coaſt in my Voyage round the World; for the place I then touched at was not above forty or fifty leagues to the north-eaſt of this; and theſe were much the ſame blinking creatures, (here being alſo abundance of the ſame kind of fleſh-flies teazing them,) and with the ſame black ſkins, and hair frizzled, tall and thin, &c. as thoſe were: but we had not the opportunity to ſee whether theſe, as the former, wanted two of their fore-teeth.

We ſaw a great many places where they had made fires, and where there were commonly three or four boughs ſtuck up to windward of them; for the wind (which is the ſea-breeze) in the day-time blows always one way with them, and the land-breeze is but ſmall. By their fire-places we ſhould always find great heaps of fiſh-ſhells of ſeveral ſorts; and it is probable that theſe poor creatures here lived chiefly on the ſhell-fiſh, as thoſe I before deſcribed did on ſmall-fiſh, which they caught in wires or holes

in the ſand at low water. Theſe gathered their ſhell-fiſh on the rocks at low water; but had no wires (that we ſaw) whereby to get any other ſorts of fiſh: as among the former I ſaw not any heaps of ſhells as here, though I know they alſo gathered ſome ſhell-fiſh. The lances alſo of thoſe were ſuch as theſe had; however they being upon an iſland, with their women and children, and all in our power, they did not there uſe them againſt us, as here on the continent, where we ſaw none but ſome of the men under head, who come out purpoſely to obſerve us. We ſaw no houſes at either place; and I believe they have none, ſince the former people on the iſland had none, though they had all their families with them.

Upon returning to my men I ſaw that though they had dug eight or nine feet deep, yet found no water. So I returned aboard that evening, and the next day, being September 1ſt, I ſent my boatſwain aſhore to dig deeper, and ſent the ſain with him to catch fiſh. While I ſtaid aboard I obſerved the flowing of the tide, which runs very ſwift here, ſo that our nun-buoy would not bear above the water to be ſeen. It flows here (as on that part of New Holland I deſcribed formerly) about five fathom; and here the flood runs ſouth-eaſt by ſouth till the laſt quarter; then it ſets right in towards the ſhore (which lies here ſouth-ſouth-weſt and north-north-eaſt) and the ebb runs north-weſt by north. When the tides ſlackened we fiſhed with hook and line, as we had already done in ſeveral places on this coaſt; on which in this voyage hitherto we had found but little tides; but by the heighth, and ſtrength, and courſe of them hereabouts, it ſhould ſeem that if there be ſuch a paſſage or ſtreight going through eaſtward to the great South Sea, as I ſaid one might ſuſpect, one would expect to find the mouth of it ſomewhere between this place and Roſemary Iſland, which was the part of New Holland I came laſt from.

Next morning my men came aboard and brought a rundlet of brackiſh water which they got out of another well that they dug in a place a mile off, and about half as far from the ſhore; but this water was not fit to drink. However we all concluded that it would ſerve to boil our oatmeal, for burgoo, whereby we might ſave the remains of our other water for drinking, till we ſhould get more; and accordingly the next day we brought aboard four hogſheads of it: but while we were at work about the well we were ſadly peſtered with the flies, which were more troubleſome to us than the ſun, though it ſhone clear and ſtrong upon us all the while very hot. All this while we ſaw no more of the natives, but ſaw ſome of the ſmoaks of ſome of their fires at two or three miles diſtance.

The land hereabouts was much like the port of New Holland that I formerly deſcribed; it is low, but ſeemingly barricadoed with a long chain of ſand-hills to the ſea, that lets nothing be ſeen of what is farther within land. At high water the tides riſing ſo high as they do, the coaſt ſhews very low; but when it is low water it ſeems to be of an indifferent heighth. At low water-mark the ſhore is all rocky, ſo that then there is no landing with a boat; but at high water a boat may come in over thoſe rocks to the ſandy bay, which runs all along on this coaſt. The land by the ſea for about five or ſix hundred yards is a dry ſandy ſoil, bearing only ſhrubs and buſhes of divers ſorts. Some of theſe had them at this time of the year, yellow flowers or bloſſoms, ſome blue, and ſome white; moſt of them of a very fragrant ſmell. Some had fruit like peaſcods, in each of which there were juſt ten ſmall peas; I opened many of them, and found no more nor leſs. There are alſo here ſome of that ſort of bean which I ſaw at Roſemary Iſland: and another ſort of ſmall red hard pulſe, growing in cods alſo, with little black eyes like beans. I know not their names, but have ſeen them uſed often in the Eaſt Indies for weighing gold; and they make the ſame uſe of them at Guinea, as I have heard, where the women alſo make bracelets with them to wear about their arms.

Theſe

Theſe grow on buſhes; but here are alſo a fruit like beans growing on a creeping ſort of ſhrub-like vine. There was great plenty of all theſe ſorts of cod-fruit growing on the ſand-hills by the ſea-ſide, ſome of them green, ſome ripe, and ſome fallen on the ground: but I could not perceive that any of them had been gathered by the natives; and might not probably be wholeſome food.

The land farther in, that is, lower than what borders on the ſea, was ſo much as we ſaw of it, very plain and even; partly ſavannahs and partly woodland. The ſavannahs bear a ſort of thin coarſe graſs. The mould is alſo a coarſer ſand than that by the ſea-ſide, and in ſome places it is clay. Here are a great many rocks in the large ſavannah we were in, which are five or ſix feet high, and round at top like a hay-cock, very remarkable; ſome red and ſome white. The woodland lies farther in ſtill, where there were divers ſorts of ſmall trees, ſcarce any three feet in circumference, their bodies twelve or fourteen feet high, with a head of ſmall knibs or boughs. By the ſides of the creeks, eſpecially nigh the ſea, there grow a few ſmall black mangrove-trees.

There are but few land-animals. I ſaw ſome lizards; and my men ſaw two or three beaſts like hungry wolves, lean like ſo many ſkeletons, being nothing but ſkin and bones; it is probable that it was the foot of one of thoſe beaſts that I mentioned as ſeen by us in New Holland. We ſaw a rackoon or two, and one ſmall ſpeckled ſnake.

The land-fowls that we ſaw here were crows, juſt ſuch as ours in England, ſmall hawks and kites; a few of each ſort: but here are plenty of ſmall turtle-doves, that are plump, fat, and very good meat. Here are two or three ſorts of ſmaller birds, ſome as big as larks, ſome leſs; but not many of either ſort. The ſea-fowl are pelicans, boobies, noddies, curlews, ſea-pies, &c. and but few of theſe neither.

The ſea is plentifully ſtocked with the largeſt whales that I ever ſaw; but not to compare with the vaſt ones of the Northern Seas. We ſaw alſo a great many green turtle, but caught none, here being no place to ſet a turtle-net in; there being no channel for them, and the tides running ſo ſtrong. We ſaw ſome ſharks and parra-coots; and with hooks and lines we caught ſome rock-fiſh and old-wives. Of ſhell-fiſh, here were oyſters both of the common kind for eating, and of the pearl kind; and alſo wilks, conchs, muſcles, limpits, perriwinkles, &c. and I gathered a few ſtrange ſhells, chiefly a ſort not large, and thick ſet all about with rays or ſpikes growing in rows.

And thus having ranged about a conſiderable time upon this coaſt, without finding any good freſh water, or any convenient place to clean the ſhip, as I had hoped for; and it being moreover the heighth of the dry ſeaſon, and my men growing ſcorbutic for want of refreſhments, ſo that I had little encouragement to ſearch further, I reſolved to leave this coaſt, and accordingly in the beginning of September ſet ſail towards Timor.

On the 12th of December 1699, we ſailed from Babao, coaſting along the iſland Timor to the eaſtward, towards New Guinea. It was the 20th before we got as far as Laphao, which is but forty leagues. We ſaw black clouds in the north-weſt, and expected the wind from that quarter above a month ſooner.

That afternoon we ſaw the opening between the iſlands Omba and Fetter, but feared to paſs through in the night. At two o'clock in the morning it fell calm, and continued ſo till noon, in which time we drove with the current back again ſouth-weſt ſix or ſeven leagues.

On the 22d, ſteering to the eaſtward to get through between Omba and Fetter, we met a very ſtrong tide againſt us, ſo that although we had a very freſh gale, we yet

made way very ſlowly; but before night got through. By a good obſervation we found that the ſouth-eaſt point of Omba lies in latitude 8° 25′. In my drafts it is laid down in 8° 10′. My true courſe from Babao, is eaſt, 25° north, diſtance one hundred eighty-three miles. We ſounded ſeveral times when near Omba, but had no ground. On the north-eaſt point of Omba we ſaw four or five men, and a little further three pretty houſes on a low point, but did not go aſhore.

At five this afternoon we had a tornado, which yielded much rain, thunder, and lightning; yet we had but little wind. The 24th in the morning we catched a large ſhark, which gave all the ſhip's company a plentiful meal.

The 27th we ſaw the Burning Iſland; it lies it latitude 6° 36′ ſouth; it is high, and but ſmall; it runs from the ſea a little ſloping towards the top, which is divided in the middle into two peaks, between which iſſued out much ſmoak: I have not ſeen more from any volcano. I ſaw no trees; but the north ſide appeared green, and the reſt looked very barren.

Having paſſed the Burning Iſland, I ſhaped my courſe for two iſlands, called Turtle Iſles, which lie north-eaſt-by-eaſt a little eaſterly, and diſtant about fifty leagues from the Burning Iſle: I fearing the wind might veer to the eaſtward of the north, ſteered twenty leagues north-eaſt, then north-eaſt-by-eaſt. On the 28th we ſaw two ſmall low iſlands, called Lucca-parros, to the north of us. At noon I accounted myſelf twenty leagues ſhort of the Turtle Iſles.

The next morning, being in the latitude of the Turtle Iſlands, we looked out ſharp for them, but ſaw no appearance of any iſland till eleven o'clock, when we ſaw an iſland at a great diſtance. At firſt we ſuppoſed it might be one of the Turtle Iſles: but it was not laid down true, neither in latitude nor longitude from the Burning Iſle, nor from the Luca-parros, which laſt I took to be a great help to guide me, they being laid down very well from the Burning Iſle, and that likewiſe in true latitude and diſtance from Omba, ſo that I could not tell what to think of the iſland now in ſight, we having had fair weather, ſo that we could not paſs by the Turtle Iſles without ſeeing them, and this in ſight was much too far off for them. We found variation 1° 2′ eaſt. In the afternoon I ſteered north-eaſt-by-eaſt for the iſlands that we ſaw. At two o'clock I went and looked over the fore-yard, and ſaw two iſlands at much greater diſtance than the Turtle Iſlands are laid down in my drafts; one of them was a very high peaked mountain, cleft at top, and much like the Burning Iſland that we paſſed by, but bigger and higher; the other was a pretty long high flat iſland. Now I was certain that theſe were not the Turtle Iſlands, and that they could be no other than the Bande Iſles, yet we ſteered in to make them plainer. At three o'clock we diſcovered another ſmall flat iſland to the north-weſt of the others, and ſaw a great deal of ſmoak riſe from the top of the high iſland. At four we ſaw other ſmall iſlands, by which I was now aſſured that theſe were the Bande Iſles there. At five I altered my courſe and ſteered eaſt, and at eight, eaſt-ſouth-eaſt, becauſe I would not be ſeen by the inhabitants of thoſe iſlands in the morning. We had little wind all night; and in the morning, as ſoon as it was light, we ſaw another high peaked iſland: at eight it bore ſouth-ſouth-eaſt half-eaſt, diſtance eight leagues: and this I knew to be Bird Iſle. It is laid down in our drafts in latitude 5° 9′ ſouth, which is too far ſoutherly by twenty-ſeven miles, according to our obſervation; and the like error in laying down the Turtle Iſlands might be the occaſion of our miſſing them.

At night I ſhortened ſail, for fear of coming too nigh ſome iſlands, that ſtretch away bending like a half moon from Ceram towards Timor, and which in my courſe I muſt of neceſſity paſs through. The next morning betimes I ſaw them, and found

Dory Harbour New Guinea

them to be at a farther diſtance from Bird Iſland than I expected. In the afternoon it fell quite calm, and when we had a little wind, it was ſo unconſtant, flying from one point to another, that I could not without difficulty get through the iſlands where I deſigned; beſides, I found a current ſetting to the ſouthward, ſo that it was betwixt five and ſix in the evening before I paſſed through the iſlands, and then juſt weathered little Watela, whereas I thought to have been two or three leagues more northerly. We ſaw the day before, betwixt two and three, a ſpout but a ſmall diſtance from us; it fell down out of a black cloud, that yielded great ſtore of rain, thunder and lightning: this cloud hovered to the ſouthward of us for the ſpace of three hours, and then drew to the weſtward a great pace, at which time it was that we ſaw the ſpout, which hung faſt to the cloud till it broke, and then the cloud whirled about to the ſouth-eaſt, then to eaſt-north-eaſt, where meeting with an iſland, it ſpent itſelf and ſo diſperſed, and immediately we had a little of the tail of it, having had none before. Afterward we ſaw a ſmoak on the iſland Koſiway, which continued till night.

On new-year's day we firſt deſcried the land of New-Guinea, which appeared to be high land; and the next day we ſaw ſeveral high iſlands on the coaſt of New Guinea, and ran in with the main land. The ſhore here lies along eaſt-ſouth-eaſt and weſt-north-weſt. It is high even land, very well clothed with tall flouriſhing trees, which appeared very green, and gave us a very pleaſant proſpect. We ran to the weſtward of four mountainous iſlands; and in the night had a ſmall tornado, which brought with it ſome rain and a fair wind. We had fair weather for a long time, only when near any land we had ſome tornadoes; but off, at ſea, commonly clear weather; though, if in ſight of land, we uſually ſaw many black clouds hovering about it.

On the 5th and 6th of January, we plied to get in with the land; deſigning to anchor, fill water, and ſpend a little time in ſearching the country, till after the change of the moon, for I found a ſtrong current ſetting againſt us. We anchored in thirty eight fathom water, good oozy ground. We had an iſland of a league long without us, about three miles diſtant, and we rode from the main about a mile. The eaſtermoſt point of land ſeen, bore eaſt-by-ſouth half-ſouth, diſtance three leagues; and the weſtermoſt, weſt-ſouth-weſt half-ſouth, diſtance two leagues. So ſoon as we anchored, we ſent the pinnace to look for water, and try if they could catch any fiſh. Afterwards we ſent the yawl another way to ſee for water. Before night the pinnace brought on board ſeveral ſorts of fruits, that they found in the woods, ſuch as I never ſaw before. One of my men killed a ſtately land-fowl, as big as the largeſt dunghill-cock; it was of a ſky-colour, only in the middle of the wings was a white ſpot, about which were ſome reddiſh ſpots; on the crown it had a large bunch of long feathers, which appeared very pretty; his bill was like a pigeon's: he had ſtrong legs and feet, like dunghill-fowls, only the claws were reddiſh, his crop was full of ſmall berries. It lays an egg as big as a large hen's egg, for our men climbed the tree where it neſted, and brought off one egg. They found water, and reported that the trees were large, tall and very thick, and that they ſaw no ſign of people. At night the yawl came aboard, and brought a wooden fiſgig, very ingeniouſly made, the matter of it was a ſmall cane; they found it by a ſmall barbecue, where they alſo ſaw a ſhattered canoe.

The next morning I ſent the boatſwain aſhore a fiſhing, and at one haul he caught three hundred and fifty-two mackarels, and about twenty other fiſhes, which I cauſed to be equally divided among all my company. I ſent alſo the gunner and chief mate,

to

to ſearch about if they could find convenient anchoring near a watering-place; by night they brought word that they had found a fine ſtream of good water, where the boat could come cloſe to, and it was very eaſy to be filled, and that the ſhip might anchor as near to it as I pleaſed; ſo I went thither. The next morning, therefore, we anchored in twenty-five fathom water, ſoft oozy ground, about a mile from the river: we got on board three tun of water that night, and caught two or three pike-fiſh, in ſhape much like a parracota, but with a longer ſnout, ſomething reſembling a garr, yet not ſo long. The next day I ſent the boat again for water, and before night all my caſks were full.

Having filled here about fifteen tuns of water, ſeeing we could catch but little fiſh, and had no other refreſhments, I intended to ſail next day, but finding that we wanted wood, I ſent to cut ſome, and going aſhore to haſten it, at ſome diſtance from the place where our men were, I found a ſmall cove, where I ſaw two barbecues, which appeared not to be above two months ſtanding; the ſpars were cut with ſome ſharp inſtrument, ſo that, if done by the natives, it ſeems that they have iron. On the 10th, a little after twelve o'clock, we weighed and ſtood over to the north-ſide of the bay, and at one o'clock ſtood out with the wind at north and north-north-weſt. At four we paſſed out by a White Iſland, which I ſo named from its many white cliffs, having no name in our drafts. It is about a league long, pretty high, and very woody: it is about five miles from the main, only at the weſt end it reaches within three miles of it. At ſome diſtance off at ſea, the weſt point appears like a cape-land; the north ſide trends away north-north-weſt, and the eaſt ſide eaſt-ſouth-eaſt. This iſland lies in latitude 3° 4′ ſouth, and the meridian diſtance from Babao, five hundred and twelve miles eaſt. After we were out to ſea, we plied to get to the northward, but met with ſuch a ſtrong current againſt us, that we got but little; for if the wind favoured us in the night, that we got three or four leagues, we loſt it again, and were driven as far aſtern next morning, ſo that we plied here ſeveral days.

The 14th, being paſt a point of land that we had been three days getting about, we found little or no current, ſo that having the wind at north-weſt-by-weſt and weſt-north-weſt, we ſtood to the northward, and had ſeveral ſoundings: at three o'clock thirty-eight fathom, the neareſt part of New Guinea being about three leagues diſtance: at four, thirty-ſeven; at five, thirty-ſix; at ſix, thirty-ſix; at eight, thirty-three fathom; then the Cape was about four leagues diſtant, ſo that as we ran off, we found our water ſhallower: we had then ſome iſlands to the weſtward of us, at about four leagues diſtance.

A little after noon we ſaw ſmoaks on the iſlands to the weſt of us, and having a fine gale of wind, I ſteered away for them: at ſeven o'clock in the evening we anchored in thirty-five fathom, about two leagues from an iſland, good ſoft oozy ground. We lay ſtill all night, and ſaw fires aſhore. In the morning we weighed again, and ran farther in, thinking to have ſhallower water, but we ran within a mile of the ſhore, and came to in thirty-eight fathom good ſoft holding ground: while we were under ſail two canoes came off within call of us; they ſpoke to us, but we did not underſtand their language nor ſigns; we waved to them to come aboard, and I called to them in the Malayan language to do the ſame, but they would not, yet they came ſo nigh us, that we could ſhew them ſuch things as we had to truck with them, yet neither would this entice them to come on board, but they made ſigns for us to come aſhore, and away they went; then I went after them in my pinnace, carrying with me knives, beads, glaſſes, hatchets, &c.; when we came near the ſhore, I called to them in the Malayan language; I ſaw but two men at firſt, the reſt lying in ambuſh behind the buſhes;

buſhes; but as ſoon as I threw aſhore ſome knives and other toys, they came out, flung down their weapons, and came into the water by the boat's ſide, making ſigns of friendſhip by pouring water on their heads with one hand, which they dipped into the ſea: the next day, in the afternoon, ſeveral other canoes came aboard, and brought many roots and fruits, which we purchaſed.

This iſland has no name in our draughts, but the natives call it Pulo Sabuda: it is about three leagues long, and two miles wide, more or leſs; it is of a good height, ſo as to be ſeen eleven or twelve leagues: it is very rocky, yet above the rocks there is good yellow and black mould, not deep, yet producing plenty of good tall trees, and bearing any fruits or roots which the inhabitants plant. I do not know all its produce, but what we ſaw were plaintains, cocoa-nuts, pine-apples, oranges, papaes, potatoes, and other large roots. Here are alſo another ſort of wild jacas, about the bigneſs of a man's two fiſts, full of ſtones or kernels, which eat pleaſant enough when roaſted. The libby tree grows here in the ſwampy valleys, of which they make ſago cakes: I did not ſee them make any, but was told by the inhabitants that it was made of the pith of the tree, in the ſame manner I have deſcribed in my Voyage round the World; they ſhewed me the tree whereof it was made, and I bought about forty of the cakes; I bought alſo three or four nutmegs in their ſhell, which did not ſeem to have been long gathered, but whether they be the growth of this iſland or not, the natives would not tell whence they had them, and ſeemed to prize them very much. What beaſts the iſland affords I know not, but here are both ſea and land fowl. Of the firſt, boobies and men-of-war-birds are the chief; ſome goldens, and ſmall milk-white crab-catchers: the land-fowls are pigeons, about the bigneſs of mountain-pigeons in Jamaica, and crows about the bigneſs of thoſe in England, and much like them, but the inner part of their feathers are white, and the outſide black, ſo that they appear all black, unleſs you extend the feathers: here are large ſky-coloured birds, ſuch as we lately killed on New Guinea, and many other ſmall birds, unknown to us: here are likewiſe abundance of bats, as big as young concys, their necks, head, ears and noſes like foxes, their hair rough, that about their necks is of a whitiſh yellow, that on their heads and ſhoulders black, their wings are four feet over from tip to tip; they ſmell like foxes: the fiſh are baſs, rock-fiſh, and a ſort of fiſh like mullets, old-wives, whip-rays, and ſome other ſorts that I know not, but no great plenty of any, for it is deep water till within leſs than a mile of the ſhore, then there is a bank of coral rocks within which you have ſhoal-water, white clean ſand; ſo there is no good fiſhing with the ſain.

This iſland lies in latitude 2° 43′ ſouth, and meridian diſtance from port Babo, on the iſland Timor, four hundred and eighty-ſix miles: beſides this iſland, here are nine or ten other ſmall iſlands.

The inhabitants of this iſland are a ſort of very tawny Indians, with long black hair, who in their manners differ but little from the Mindanayans, and others of theſe eaſtern iſlands. Theſe ſeem to be the chief; for beſides them we ſaw alſo ſhock curl-pated New-Guinea negroes, many of which are ſlaves to the others, but I think not all: they are very poor, wear no cloaths, but have a clout about their middle, made of the rinds of the tops of palmeto trees; but the women had a ſort of callico cloaths. Their chief ornaments are blue and yellow beads, worn about their wriſts. The men arm themſelves with bows and arrows, lances, broad ſwords, like thoſe of Mindanao; their lances are pointed with bone: they ſtrike fiſh very ingeniouſly with wooden fiſs-gigs, and have a very ingenious way of making the fiſh riſe; for they have a piece of wood curiouſly carved, and painted much like a dolphin (and perhaps other figures); theſe

they let down into the water by a line with a ſmall weight to ſink it; when they think it low enough, they haul the line into their boats very faſt, and the fiſh riſe up after this figure, and they ſtand ready to ſtrike them when they are near the ſurface of the water; but their chief livelihood is from their plantations; yet they have large boats, and go over to New Guinea, where they get ſlaves, fine parrots, &c. which they carry to Goram and exchange for callicos. One boat came from thence a little before I arrived here, of whom I bought ſome parrots, and would have bought a ſlave, but they would not barter for any thing but callicos, which I had not. Their houſes on this ſide were very ſmall, and ſeemed only to be for neceſſity; but on the other ſide of the iſland we ſaw good large houſes: their proes are narrow, with outriggers on each ſide, like other Malayans. I cannot tell of what religion theſe are; but I think they are not Mahometans, by their drinking brandy out of the ſame cup with us without any ſcruple. At this iſland we continued till the 20th inſtant, having laid in ſtore of ſuch roots and fruits as the iſland afforded.

On the 20th, at half an hour after ſix in the morning, I weighed, and ſtanding out we ſaw a large boat full of men lying at the north point of the iſland. As we paſſed by, they rowed towards their habitations, where we ſuppoſed they had withdrawn themſelves for fear of us, though we gave them no cauſe of terror, or for ſome differences among themſelves.

We ſtood to the northward till ſeven in the evening, then ſaw a rippling; and the water being diſcoloured, we ſounded, and had but twenty-two fathom. I went about and ſtood to the weſtward till two next morning, then tacked again, and had theſe ſeveral ſoundings: at eight in the evening, twenty-two; at ten, twenty-five; at eleven, twenty-ſeven; at twelve, twenty-eight fathom; at two in the morning twenty-ſix; at four, twenty-four; at ſix, twenty-three; at eight, twenty-eight; at twelve, twenty-two.

We paſſed by many ſmall iſlands, and among many dangerous ſhoals, without any remarkable occurrence, till the 4th of February, when we got within three leagues of the north-weſt cape of New Guinea, called by the Dutch Cape Mabo. Off this cape there lies a ſmall woody iſland, and many iſlands of different ſizes to the north and north-eaſt of it. This part of New Guinea is high land, adorned with tall trees, that appeared very green and flouriſhing. The Cape itſelf is not very high, but ends in a low ſharp point, and on either ſide there appears another ſuch point at equal diſtances, which makes it reſemble a diamond. This only appears when you are abreaſt of the middle point, and then you have no ground within three leagues of the ſhore.

In the afternoon we paſſed by the cape, and ſtood over for the iſlands. Before it was dark, we were got within a league of the weſternmoſt, but had no ground with fifty fathom of line: however, fearing to ſtand nearer in the dark, we tacked and ſtood to the eaſt, and plied all night. The next morning we were got five or ſix leagues to the eaſtward of that iſland, and having the wind eaſterly, we ſtood in to the northward among the iſlands, ſounded, and had no ground; then I ſent in my boat to ſound, and they had ground with fifty fathom near a mile from the ſhore. We tacked before the boat came aboard again, for fear of a ſhoal that was about a mile to the eaſt of that iſland the boat went to, from whence alſo a ſhoal-point ſtretched out itſelf till it met the other: they brought with them ſuch a cockle, as I have mentioned in my voyage round the world, found near Celebes, and they ſaw many more, ſome bigger than that which they brought aboard, as they ſaid, and for this reaſon I named it Cockle Iſland. I ſent them to ſound again, ordering them to fire a muſket

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if they found good anchoring; we were then ſtanding to the ſouthward, with a fine breeze. As ſoon as they fired, I tacked and ſtood in; they told me they had fifty fathom when they fired. I tacked again, and made all the ſail I could to get out, being near ſome rocky iſlands and ſhoals to leeward of us. The breeze increaſed, and I thought we were out of danger, but having a ſhoal juſt by us, and the wind falling again, I ordered the boat to tow us, and by their help we got clear from it. We had a ſtrong tide ſetting to the weſtward.

At one o'clock, being paſt the ſhoal, and finding the tide ſetting to the weſtward, I anchored in thirty-five fathom coarſe ſand, with ſmall coral and ſhells. Being neareſt to Cockle Iſland, I immediately ſent both the boats thither, one to cut wood, and the other to fiſh. At four in the afternoon, having a ſmall breeze at ſouth-ſouth-weſt, I made a ſign for my boats to come on board. They brought ſome wood, and a few ſmall cockles, none of them exceeding ten pounds weight, whereas the ſhell of the great one weighed ſeventy-eight pounds; but it was now high water, and therefore they could get no bigger: they alſo brought on board ſome pigeons, of which we found plenty on all the iſlands where we touched in theſe ſeas: alſo in many places we ſaw many large bats, but killed none, except thoſe I mentioned at Pulo Sabuda. As our boats came aboard, we weighed and made ſail, ſteering eaſt-ſouth-eaſt as long as the wind held. In the morning we found we had got four or five leagues to the eaſt of the place where we weighed. We ſtood to and fro till eleven; and finding that we loſt ground, anchored in forty-two fathom coarſe gravelly ſand, with ſome coral. This morning we thought we ſaw a ſail.

In the afternoon I went aſhore on a ſmall woody iſland, about two leagues from us. Here I found the greateſt number of pigeons that ever I ſaw either in the Eaſt or Weſt Indies, and ſmall cockles in the ſea round the iſland, in ſuch quantities that we might have laden the boat in an hour's time. Theſe were not above ten or twelve pounds weight. We cut ſome wood, and brought off cockles enough for all the ſhip's company, but having no ſmall ſhot, we could kill no pigeons. I returned about four o'clock, and then my gunner and both mates went thither, and in leſs than three quarters of an hour they killed and brought off ten pigeons. Here is a tide: the flood ſets weſt and the ebb eaſt, but the latter is very faint, and but of ſmall continuance; and ſo we found it ever ſince we came from Timor: the winds we found eaſterly, between north-eaſt and eaſt-ſouth-eaſt, ſo that if theſe continue, it is impoſſible to beat farther to the eaſtward on this coaſt againſt wind and current. Theſe eaſterly winds increaſed from the time we were in the latitude of about 2° ſouth, and as we drew nigher the line they hung more eaſterly: and now being to the north of the continent of New Guinea, where the coaſt lies eaſt and weſt, I find the trade-wind here at eaſt, which yet in higher latitudes is uſually at north-north-weſt and north-weſt; and ſo I did expect them here, it being to the ſouth of the line.

The 7th, in the morning, I ſent my boat aſhore on Pigeon Iſland, and ſtaid till noon. In the afternoon my men returned, brought twenty-two pigeons, and many cockles, ſome very large, ſome ſmall: they alſo brought one empty ſhell, that weighed two hundred and fifty-eight pounds.

At four o'clock we weighed, having a ſmall weſterly wind and a tide with us; at ſeven in the evening we anchored in forty-two fathom, near King William's Iſland, where I went aſhore the next morning, drank His Majeſty's health, and honoured it with his name. It is about two leagues and a half in length, very high, and extraordinarily well clothed with woods; the trees are of divers ſorts, moſt unknown to us, but all very green and flouriſhing; many of them had flowers, ſome white, ſome pur-

ple, others yellow; all which ſmelt very fragrantly: the trees are generally tall and ſtraight bodied, and may be fit for any uſe. I ſaw one of a clean body, without knot or limb, ſixty or ſeventy feet high by eſtimation: it was three of my fathoms about, and kept its bigneſs, without any ſenſible decreaſe, even to the top. The mould of the iſland is black, but not deep, it being very rocky. On the ſides and top of the iſland are many palmeto trees, whoſe heads we could diſcern over all the other trees, but their bodies we could not ſee.

About one in the afternoon we weighed and ſtood to the eaſtward, between the main and King William's Iſland, leaving the iſland on our larboard ſide, and ſounding till we were paſt the iſland, and then we had no ground. Here we found the flood ſetting eaſt-by-north, and the ebb weſt-by-ſouth; there were ſhoals and ſmall iſlands between us and the main, which cauſed the tide to ſet very inconſtantly, and make many whirlings in the water; yet we did not find the tide to ſet ſtrong any way, nor the water to riſe much.

On the 9th, being to the eaſtward of King William's Iſland, we plied all day between the main and other iſlands, having eaſterly winds and fair weather till ſeven the next morning; then we had very hard rain till eight, and ſaw many ſhoals of fiſh: we lay becalmed off a pretty deep bay on New Guinea, about twelve or fourteen leagues wide, and ſeven or eight leagues deep, having low land near its bottom, but high land without. The eaſternmoſt part of New Guinea ſeen, bore eaſt-by-ſouth, diſtant twelve leagues; Cape Mabo weſt-ſouth-weſt half-ſouth, diſtant ſeven leagues.

At one in the afternoon it began to rain, and continued till ſix in the evening, ſo that having but little wind and moſt calms, we lay ſtill off the fore-mentioned bay, having King William's Iſland ſtill in ſight, though diſtant by judgment fifteen or ſixteen leagues weſt. We ſaw many ſhoals of ſmall fiſh, ſome ſharks, and ſeven or eight dolphins, but catched none. In the afternoon, being about four leagues from the ſhore, we ſaw an opening in the land, which ſeemed to afford good harbour. In the evening we ſaw a large fire there, and I intended to go in (if winds and weather would permit) to get ſome acquaintance with the natives.

Since the 4th inſtant that we paſſed Cape Mabo, to the 12th, we had ſmall eaſterly winds and calms, ſo that we anchored ſeveral times, where I made my men cut wood, that we might have a good ſtock when a weſterly wind ſhould preſent, and ſo we plied to the eaſtward, as winds and currents would permit, having not got in all above thirty leagues to the eaſtward of Cape Mabo; but on the 12th, at four in the afternoon, a ſmall gale ſprung up at north-eaſt-by-north, with rain; at five it ſhuffled about to north-weſt, from thence to the ſouth-weſt, and continued between thoſe two points a pretty briſk gale, ſo that we made ſail and ſteered away north-eaſt, till the 13th, in the morning, to get about the Cape of Good Hope; when it was day we ſteered north-eaſt half-eaſt, then north-eaſt-by-eaſt, till ſeven o'clock, and being then ſeven or eight leagues off ſhore, we ſteered away eaſt, the ſhore trending eaſt-by-ſouth: we had very much rain all night, ſo that we could not carry much ſail, yet we had a very ſteady gale. At eight this morning the weather cleared up, and the wind decreaſed to a fine top-gallant gale, and ſettled at weſt by ſouth. We had more rain theſe three days paſt, than all the voyage, in ſo ſhort a time. We were now about ſix leagues from the land of New Guinea, which appeared very high; and we ſaw two head-lands about twenty leagues aſunder, the one to the eaſt, and the other to the weſt, which laſt is called the Cape of Good Hope. We found variation eaſt 4°.

The 15th, in the morning, between twelve and two o'clock, it blew a very briſk gale at north-weſt, and looked very black in the ſouth-weſt. At two it flew about at once to

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the ſouth-ſouth-weſt, and rained very hard. The wind ſettled ſometime at weſt-ſouth-weſt, and we ſteered eaſt-north-eaſt till three in the morning; then the wind and rain abating, we ſteered eaſt-half-north for fear of coming near the land. Preſently after, it being a little clear, the man at the bowſprit end, called out, land on our ſtarboard bow; we looked out and ſaw it plain: I preſently ſounded, and had but ten fathom ſoft ground. The maſter, being ſomewhat ſcared, came running in haſte with this news, and ſaid it was beſt to anchor; I told him no, but ſound again; then we had twelve fathom; the next caſt thirteen and a half; the fourth, ſeventeen fathom; and then no ground with fifty fathom line. However, we kept off the iſland, and did not go ſo faſt but that we could ſee any other danger before we came nigh it; for here might have been more iſlands not laid down in my drafts beſides this; for I ſearched all the drafts I had, if perchance I might find any iſland in the one, which was not in the others, but I could find none near us. When it was day, we were about five leagues off the land we ſaw; but, I believe, not above five miles, or at moſt two leagues off it, when we firſt ſaw it in the night.

This is a ſmall iſland, but pretty high; I named it Providence. About five leagues to the ſouthward of this, there is another iſland, which is called William Scouten's Iſland, and laid down in our drafts; it is a high iſland, and about twenty leagues long.

It was by mere providence that we miſſed the ſmall iſland; for had not the wind come to weſt-ſouth-weſt, and blown hard, ſo that we ſteered eaſt-north-eaſt, we had been upon it by our courſe that we ſteered before, if we could not have ſeen it. This morning we ſaw many great trees and logs ſwim by us; which, it is probable, came out of ſome great rivers on the main.

On the 16th, we croſſed the line, and found variation 6° 26′ eaſt. The 18th, by my obſervation at noon, we found that we had had a current ſetting to the ſouthward, and probably that drew us in ſo nigh Scouten's Iſland. For this twenty-four hours we ſteered eaſt-by-north with a large wind, yet made but an eaſt-by-ſouth half-ſouth courſe, though the variation was not above 7° eaſt.

The 21ſt, we had a current ſetting to the northward, which is againſt the true trade monſoon, it being now near the full moon. I did expect it here, as in all other places. We had variation 8° 45′ eaſt. The 22d we found but little current, if any, it ſet to the ſouthward.

On the 23d, in the afternoon, we ſaw two ſnakes, and the next morning another, paſſing by us, which was furiouſly aſſaulted by two fiſhes, that had kept us company five or ſix days; they were ſhaped like mackarel, and were about that bigneſs and length, and of a yellow greeniſh colour. The ſnake ſwam away from them very faſt, keeping his head above water; the fiſh ſnapped at his tail, but when he turned himſelf, that fiſh would withdraw, and another would ſnap, ſo that by turns they kept him employed, yet he ſtill defended himſelf, and ſwam away a great pace, till they were out of ſight.

The 25th, betimes in the morning, we ſaw an iſland to the ſouthward of us, at about fifteen leagues diſtance. We ſteered away for it, ſuppoſing it to be that which the Dutch call Wiſhart's Iſland, but finding it otherwiſe, I called it Matthias, it being that ſaint's day. This iſland is about nine or ten leagues long, mountainous and woody, with many ſavannahs, and ſome ſpots of land which ſeemed to be cleared.

At eight in the evening we lay by, intending, if I could, to anchor under Matthias Iſle; but the next morning, ſeeing another iſland about ſeven or eight leagues to the eaſtward of it, we ſteered away for it; at noon we came up fair with its ſouth-weſt end,

intending to run along by it, and anchor on the ſouth-eaſt ſide, but the tornadoes came in ſo thick and hard, that I could not venture in. This iſland is pretty low and plain, and clothed with wood; the trees were very green, and appeared to be large and tall, as thick as they could ſtand one by another. It is about two or three leagues long, and at the ſouth-weſt point there is another ſmall low woody iſland, about a mile round, and about a mile from the other. Between them there runs a reef of rocks, which joins them. (The biggeſt, I named Squally Iſland).

Seeing we could not anchor here, I ſtood away to the ſouthward, to make the main; but having many hard ſqualls and tornadoes, we were often forced to hand all our ſails and ſteer more eaſterly to go before it. On the 26th, at four o'clock, it cleared up to a hard ſky, and a briſk ſettled gale; then we made as much ſail as we could. At five it cleared up over the land, and we ſaw, as we thought, Cape Solomaſwer bearing ſouth-ſouth-eaſt, diſtance ten leagues. We had many great logs and trees ſwimming by us all this afternoon, and much graſs; we ſteered in ſouth-ſouth-eaſt till ſix, then the wind ſlackened, and we ſtood off till ſeven, having little wind; then we lay by till ten, at which time we made ſail, and ſteered away eaſt all night. The next morning, as ſoon as it was light, we made all the ſail we could, and ſteered away eaſt-ſouth-eaſt, as the land lay, being fair in ſight of it, and not above ſeven leagues diſtance. We paſſed by many ſmall low woody iſlands which lay between us and the main, not laid down in our drafts. We found variation 9° 50′ eaſt.

The 28th we had many violent tornadoes, wind, rain, and ſome ſpouts, and in the tornadoes the wind ſhifted. In the night we had fair weather, but more lightning than we had ſeen at any time this voyage. This morning we left a large high iſland on our larboard-ſide, called in the Dutch drafts Wiſhart's Iſle, about ſix leagues from the main, and ſeeing many ſmoaks upon the main, I therefore ſteered towards it.

The main land at this place is high and mountainous, adorned with tall flouriſhing trees; the ſides of the hills had many large plantations and patches of clear land, which, together with the ſmoaks we ſaw, were certain ſigns of its being well inhabited; and I was deſirous to have ſome commerce with the inhabitants. Being nigh ſhore, we ſaw firſt one proe, a little after, two or three more, and at laſt a great many boats came from all the adjacent bays; when they were forty-ſix in number they approached ſo near us, that we could ſee each others ſigns, and hear each other ſpeak, though we could not underſtand them, nor they us; they made ſigns for us to go in towards the ſhore, pointing that way; it was ſqually weather, which at firſt made me cautious of going too near; but the weather beginning to look pretty well, I endeavoured to get into a bay a-head of us, which we could have got into well enough at firſt; but while we lay by, we were driven ſo far to leeward, that now it was more difficult to get in. The natives lay in their proes round us; to whom I ſhewed beads, knives, glaſſes, to allure them to come nearer, but they would not come ſo nigh as to receive any thing from us; therefore I threw out ſome things to them, viz. a knife faſtened to a piece of board, and a glaſs bottle corked up with ſome beads in it, which they took up and ſeemed well pleaſed. They often ſtruck their left breaſt with their right hand, and as often held up a black truncheon over their heads, which we thought was a token of friendſhip, wherefore we did the like: and when we ſtood in towards their ſhore, they ſeemed to rejoice, but when we ſtood off, they frowned, yet kept us company in their proes, ſtill pointing to the ſhore. About five o'clock we got within the mouth of the bay, and ſounded ſeveral times, but had no ground, though within a mile of the ſhore. The baſon of this bay was above two miles within us, into which we might have gone; but as I was not aſſured of anchorage there, ſo I thought it not prudent

to run in at this time, it being near night, and ſeeing a black tornado riſing in the weſt, which I moſt feared; beſides, we had near two hundred men in proes, cloſe by us; and the bays on the ſhore were lined with men from one end to the other, where there could not be leſs than three or four hundred more. What weapons they had, we know not, nor yet their deſign; therefore I had, at their firſt coming near us, got up all our ſmall arms, and made ſeveral put on cartouch boxes to prevent treachery. At laſt I reſolved to go out again; which, when the natives in their proes perceived, they began to fling ſtones at us as faſt as they could, being provided with engines for that purpoſe, wherefore I named this place Slinger's Bay; but at the firing of one gun they were all amazed, drew off, and flung no more ſtones. They got together, as if conſulting what to do, for they did not make in towards the ſhore, but lay ſtill, though ſome of them were killed or wounded, and many more of them had paid for their boldneſs, but that I was unwilling to cut off any of them; which if I had done, I could not hope afterwards to bring them to treat with me.

The next day we ſailed cloſe by an iſland, where we ſaw many ſmoaks, and men in the bays; out of which came two or three canoes, taking much pains to overtake us but they could not, though we went with an eaſy ſail, and I could not now ſtay for them. As I paſt by the ſouth-eaſt point, I ſounded ſeveral times within a mile of the Sandy Bays, but had no ground: about three leagues to the northward of the ſouth-eaſt point, we opened a large deep bay, ſecured from weſt-north-weſt and ſouth-weſt winds. There were two other iſlands that lay to the north-eaſt of it, which ſecured the bay from north-eaſt winds; one was but ſmall, yet woody; the other was a league long, inhabited, and full of cocoa-nut-trees. I endeavoured to get into this bay, but there came ſuch flaws off from the high land over it, that I could not; beſides, we had many hard ſqualls, which deterred me from it; and night coming on, I would not run any hazard, but bore away to the ſmall inhabited iſland, to ſee if we could get anchorage on the eaſt ſide of it. When we came there, we found the iſland ſo narrow, that there could be no ſhelter; therefore I tacked and ſtood toward the greater iſland again; and being more than midway between both, I lay by, deſigning to endeavour for anchorage next morning. Between ſeven and eight at night, we ſpied a canoe cloſe by us, and ſeeing no more, ſuffered her to come aboard. She had three men in her, who brought off five cocoa-nuts, for which I gave each of them a knife and a ſtring of beads, to encourage them to come off again in the morning; but before theſe went away, we ſaw two more canoes coming; therefore we ſtood away to the northward from them, and then lay by again till day. We ſaw no more boats this night, neither deſigned to ſuffer any to come aboard in the dark.

By nine o'clock the next morning, we were got within a league of the great iſland, but were kept off by violent guſts of wind. Theſe ſqualls gave us warning of their approach, by the clouds which hung over the mountains, and afterwards deſcended to the foot of them; and then it is we expect them ſpeedily.

On the 3d of March, being about five leagues to leeward of the great iſland, we ſaw the main land a-head, and another great high iſland to leeward of us, diſtance about ſeven leagues; which we bore away for. It is called in the Dutch drafts Garret Dennis Iſle. It is about fourteen or fifteen leagues round; high and mountainous, and very woody; ſome trees appeared very large and tall; and the bays by the ſea-ſide are well ſtored with cocoa-nut trees; where we alſo ſaw ſome ſmall houſes. The ſides of the mountains are thick ſet with plantations; and the mould in the new cleared land ſeemed to be of a brown reddiſh colour. This iſland is of no regular figure, but is full of points ſhooting forth into the ſea, between which are many ſandy bays, full of cocoa-nut trees. The middle

of

of the iſle lies in 3° 10′ ſouth latitude. It is very populous; the natives are very black, ſtrong, and well limbed people; having great round heads, their hair naturally curled and ſhort, which they ſhave into ſeveral forms, and dye it alſo of divers colours, viz. red, white, and yellow. They have broad round faces, with great bottle-noſes, yet agreeable enough, till they disfigure them by painting, and by wearing great things through their noſes as big as a man's thumb, and about four inches long; theſe are run clear through both noſtrils, one end coming out by one cheek-bone, and the other end againſt the other; and their noſes ſo ſtretched, that only a ſmall ſlip of them appears about the ornament; they have alſo great holes in their ears, wherein they wear ſuch ſtuff as in their noſes. They are very dextrous active fellows in their proes, which are very ingeniouſly built. They are narrow and long, with out-riggers on one ſide, the head and ſtern higher than the reſt, and carved into many devices, viz. ſome fowl, fiſh, or a man's head painted or carved; and though it is but rudely done, yet the reſemblance appears plainly, and ſhews an ingenious fancy. But with what inſtruments they make their proes or carved work, I know not, for they ſeem to be utterly ignorant of iron. They have very neat paddles, with which they manage their proes dextrouſly, and make great way through the water. Their weapons are chiefly lances, ſwords and ſlings, and ſome bows and arrows: they have alſo wooden fiſsgigs, for ſtriking fiſh. Thoſe that came to aſſault us in Slingers Bay on the main, are in all reſpects like theſe; and I believe theſe are alike treacherous. Their ſpeech is clear and diſtinct; the words they uſed moſt, when near us, were *vacouſee allamais*, and then they pointed to the ſhore. Their ſigns of friendſhip are either a great truncheon, or bow of a tree full of leaves, put on their heads, often ſtriking their heads with their hands.

The next day, having a freſh gale of wind, we got under a high iſland, about four or five leagues round, very woody, and full of plantations upon the ſides of the hills; and in the bays, by the water-ſide, are abundance of cocoa-nut trees. It lies in the latitude of 3° 25′ ſouth, and meridian diſtance from Cape Mabo 1316 miles. On the ſouth-eaſt part of it are three or four other ſmall woody iſlands, one high and peaked, the other low and flat, all bedecked with cocoa-nut trees and other wood. On the north there is another iſland of an indifferent height, and of a ſomewhat larger circumference than the great high iſland laſt-mentioned. We paſſed between this and the high iſland. The high iſland is called in the Dutch drafts Anthony Cave's Iſland. As for the flat low iſland, and the other ſmall one, it is probable they were never ſeen by the Dutch, nor the iſlands to the north of Garret Dennis's Iſland. As ſoon as we came near Cave's Iſland, ſome canoes came about us, and made ſigns for us to come aſhore, as all the reſt had done before, probably thinking we could run the ſhip a-ground any where, as they did their proes, for we ſaw neither ſail nor anchor among any of them, though moſt Eaſtern Indians have both. Theſe had proes made of one tree, well dug, with out-riggers on one ſide; they were but ſmall, yet well ſhaped. We endeavoured to anchor, but found no ground within a mile of the ſhore; we kept cloſe along the north-ſide, ſtill ſounding till we came to the north-eaſt end, but found no ground, the canoes ſtill accompanying us, and the bays were covered with men going along as we ſailed; many of them ſtrove to ſwim off to us, but we left them aſtern. Being at the north eaſt point, we found a ſtrong current ſetting to the north-weſt, ſo that though we had ſteered to keep under the high iſland, yet we were driven towards the flat one. At this time three of the natives came on board: I gave each of them a knife, a looking-glaſs, and a ſtring of beads. I ſhewed them pumpkins and cocoa-nut ſhells, and made ſigns to them to bring ſome aboard, and had preſently three cocoa-nuts out of one

one of the canoes. I ſhewed them nutmegs, and by their ſigns I gueſſed they had ſome on the iſland. I alſo ſhewed them ſome gold-duſt, which they ſeemed to know, and called out Manneel, Manneel, and pointed towards the land. A while after theſe men were gone, two or three canoes came from the flat iſland, and by ſigns invited us to their iſland, at which the others ſeemed diſpleaſed, and uſed very menacing geſtures and (I believe) ſpeeches to each other. Night coming on, we ſtood off to ſea, and having but little wind all night, were driven away to the north-weſt. We ſaw many great fires on the flat iſland. The laſt men that came off to us were all black, as thoſe we had ſeen before, with frizzled hair; they were very tall, luſty, well-ſhaped men, they wear great things in their noſes, and paint as the others, but not much; they make the ſame ſigns of friendſhip, and their language ſeems to be one; but the others had proes, and theſe canoes. On the ſides of ſome of theſe we ſaw the figures of ſeveral fiſh neatly cut; and theſe laſt were not ſo ſhy as the others.

Steering away from Cave's Iſland ſouth-ſouth-eaſt, we found a ſtrong current againſt us, which ſet only in ſome places in ſtreams, and in them we ſaw many trees and logs of wood, which drove by us. We had but little wood aboard; wherefore I hoiſted out the pinnace, and ſent her to take up ſome of this drift-wood. In a little time ſhe came aboard with a great tree in a tow, which we could hardly hoiſt in with all our tackles. We cut up the tree and ſplit it for fire-wood. It was much worm-eaten, and had in it ſome live worms above an inch long, and about the bigneſs of a gooſe-quill, and having their heads cruſted over with a thin ſhell.

After this we paſſed by an iſland, called by the Dutch St. John's Iſland, leaving it to the north of us. It is about nine or ten leagues round, and very well adorned with lofty trees. We ſaw many plantations on the ſides of the hills, and abundance of cocoa-nut trees about them, as alſo thick groves on the bays by the ſea-ſide. As we came near it, three canoes came off to us, but would not come aboard; they were ſuch as we had ſeen about the other iſlands; they ſpoke the ſame language, and made the ſame ſigns of peace, and their canoes were ſuch as at Cave's Iſland.

We ſtood along by St. John's Iſland, till we came almoſt to the ſouth-eaſt point, and then ſeeing no more iſlands to the eaſtward of us, nor any likelihood of anchoring under this, I ſteered away for the main of New Guinea, we being now, as I ſuppoſed, to the eaſt of it, on this north-ſide. My deſign of ſeeing theſe iſlands as I paſſed along, was to get wood and water, but could find no anchor ground, and therefore could not do as I purpoſed: beſides, theſe iſlands are all ſo populous, that I dared not ſend my boat aſhore, unleſs I could have anchored pretty nigh; wherefore I rather choſe to proſecute my deſign on the main, the ſeaſon of the year being now at hand, for I judged the weſterly winds were nigh ſpent.

On the 8th of March we ſaw ſome ſmoaks on the main, being diſtant from it four or five leagues: it is very high, woody land, with ſome ſpots of ſavannah. About ten in the morning ſix or ſeven canoes came off to us; moſt of them had no more than one man in them; they were all black, with ſhort curled hair, having the ſame ornaments in their noſes, and their heads ſo ſhaved and painted, and ſpeaking the ſame words as the inhabitants of Cave's Iſland before mentioned.

There was a head-land to the ſouthward of us, beyond which ſeeing no land, I ſuppoſed that from thence the land trends away more weſterly. This head-land lies in the latitude of 5° 2′ ſouth, and meridian diſtance from Cape Mabo 1290 miles. In the night we lay by, for fear of over-ſhooting this head-land, between which and Cape St. Maries the land is high, mountainous and woody, having many points of land

ſhooting out into the ſea, which make ſo many fine bays: the coaſt lies north-north-eaſt and ſouth-ſouth-weſt.

The 9th in the morning a huge black man came off to us in a canoe, but would not come aboard. He made the ſame ſigns of friendſhip to us as the reſt we had met with; yet ſeemed to differ in his language, not uſing any of thoſe words which the others did. We ſaw neither ſmoaks nor plantations near this head-land. We found here variation 1° eaſt.

In the afternoon, as we plied near the ſhore, three canoes came off to us; one had four men in her, the others two a-piece. That with the four men came pretty nigh us, and ſhewed us a cocoa-nut and water in a bamboo, making ſigns that there was enough aſhore where they lived; they pointed to the place where they would have us go, and ſo went away. We ſaw a ſmall round pretty high iſland about a league to the north of this head-land, within which there was a large deep bay, whither the canoes went; and we ſtrove to get thither before night, but could not; wherefore we ſtood off, and ſaw land to the weſtward of this head-land, bearing weſt-by-ſouth half-ſouth, diſtance about ten leagues; and, as we thought, ſtill more land bearing ſouth-weſt-by-ſouth, diſtance twelve or fourteen leagues; but being clouded, it diſappeared, and we thought we had been deceived. Before night we opened the head-land fair, and I named it Cape St. George. The land from hence trends away weſt-north-weſt about ten leagues, which is as far as we could ſee it; and the land that we ſaw to the weſtward of it in the evening, which bore weſt-by-ſouth half-ſouth, was another point about ten leagues from Cape St. George; between which there runs in a deep bay for twenty leagues or more. We ſaw ſome high land in ſpots like iſlands, down in that bay at a great diſtance; but whether they are iſlands, or the main cloſing there, we know not. The next morning we ſaw other land to the ſouth-eaſt of the weſtermoſt point, which till then was clouded; it was very high land, and the ſame that we ſaw the day before that diſappeared in a cloud. This Cape St. George lies in the latitude of 5° 5′ ſouth; and meridian diſtance from Cape Mabo 1290 miles. The iſland off this cape, I called St. George's Iſle; and the bay between it and the weſt point I named St. George's Bay. Note, no Dutch drafts go ſo far as this cape by ten leagues. On the 10th, in the evening, we got within a league of the weſtermoſt land ſeen, which is pretty high and very woody, but no appearance of anchoring. I ſtood off again, deſigning, if poſſible, to ply to and fro in this bay, till I found a conveniency to wood and water. We ſaw no more plantations nor cocoa-nut-trees; yet in the night we diſcerned a ſmall fire right againſt us. The next morning we ſaw a burning mountain in the country. It was round, high, and peaked at top, as moſt volcanoes are, and ſent forth a great quantity of ſmoak. We took up a log of drift wood, and ſplit it for firing; in which we found ſome ſmall fiſh.

The day after, we paſſed by the ſouth-weſt cape of this bay, leaving it to the north of us: when we were abreaſt of it, I called my officers together, and named it Cape Orford, in honour of my noble patron, drinking his Lordſhip's health. This cape bears from Cape St. George ſouth-weſt about eighteen leagues. Between them there is a bay about twenty-five leagues deep, having pretty high land all round it, eſpecially near the capes, though they themſelves are not high. Cape Orford lies in the latitude of 5° 24′ ſouth, by my obſervation; and meridian diſtance from Cape St. George, forty-four miles weſt. The land trends from this cape north-weſt by weſt into the bay, and on the other ſide ſouth-weſt per compaſs, which is ſouth-weſt 9° weſt, allowing the variation, which is here 9° eaſt. The land on each ſide of the cape is more ſavannah than wood land, and is higheſt on the north-weſt ſide. The cape itſelf is a

bluff-

bluff-point, of an indifferent heighth, with a flat table-land at top. When we were to the ſouth-weſt of the cape, it appeared to be a low point ſhooting out, which you cannot ſee when abreaſt of it. This morning we ſtruck a log of drift-wood with our turtle-irons, hoiſted it in, and ſplit it for fire-wood. Afterwards we ſtruck another, but could not get it in. There were many fiſh about it.

We ſteered along ſouth-weſt as the land lies, keeping about ſix leagues off the ſhore; and being deſirous to cut wood and fill water, if I ſaw any conveniency, I lay by in the night, becauſe I would not miſs any place proper for thoſe ends, for fear of wanting ſuch neceſſaries as we could not live without. This coaſt is high and mountainous, and not ſo thick with trees as that on the other ſide of Cape Orford.

On the 14th, ſeeing a pretty deep bay a-head, and ſome iſlands where I thought we might ride ſecure, we ran in towards the ſhore and ſaw ſome ſmoaks. At ten o'clock we ſaw a point, which ſhot out pretty well into the ſea, with a bay within it, which promiſed fair for water; and we ſtood in with a moderate gale. Being got into the bay within the point, we ſaw many cocoa-nut-trees, plantations, and houſes. When I came within four or five miles of the ſhore, ſix ſmall boats came off to view us, with about forty men in them all. Perceiving that they only came to view us, and would not come aboard, I made ſigns and waved to them to go aſhore; but they did not or would not underſtand me; therefore I whiſtled a ſhot over their heads out of my fowling-piece, and then they pulled away for the ſhore as hard as they could. Theſe were no ſooner aſhore, but we ſaw three boats coming from the iſlands to leeward of us, and they ſoon came within call, for we lay becalmed. One of the boats had about forty men in her, and was a large well-built boat; the other two were but ſmall. Not long after, I ſaw another boat coming out of the bay where I intended to go; ſhe likewiſe was a large boat, with a high head and ſtern painted, and full of men; this I thought came off to fight us, as it is probable they all did; therefore I fired another ſmall ſhot over the great boat that was nigh us, which made them leave their babling and take to their paddles. We ſtill lay becalmed; and therefore they rowing wide of us, directed their courſe toward the other great boat that was coming off: when they were pretty near each other I cauſed the gunner to fire a gun between them, which he did very dexterouſly; it was loaden with round and partridge-ſhot; the laſt dropped in the water ſomewhat ſhort of them, but the round ſhot went between both boats, and grazed about one hundred yards beyond them; this ſo affrighted them, that they both rowed away for the ſhore as faſt as they could, without coming near each other; and the little boats made the beſt of their way after them: and now having a gentle breeze at ſouth-ſouth-eaſt, we bore into the bay after them. When we came by the point, I ſaw a great number of men peeping from under the rocks: I ordered a ſhot to be fired cloſe by, to ſcare them. The ſhot grazed between us and the point, and mounting again, flew over the point, and grazed a ſecond time juſt by them. We were obliged to ſail along cloſe by the bays; and ſeeing multitudes ſetting under the trees, I ordered a third gun to be fired among the cocoa-nut-trees to ſcare them; for my buſineſs being to wood and water, I thought it neceſſary to ſtrike ſome terror into the inhabitants, who were very numerous, and (by what I ſaw now, and had formerly experienced) treacherous. After this I ſent my boat to ſound; they had firſt forty, then thirty, and at laſt twenty fathom water. We followed the boat, and came to anchor about a quarter of a mile from the ſhore, in twenty-ſix fathom water, fine black ſand and oaze. We rode right againſt the mouth of a ſmall river, where I hoped to find freſh water. Some of the natives ſtanding on a ſmall point at the river's mouth, I ſent a ſmall ſhot over their heads to fright them, which it did effectually. In the after-

noon I ſent my boat aſhore to the natives who ſtood upon the point by the river's mouth with a preſent of cocoa-nuts; when the boat was come near the ſhore, they came running into the water, and put their nuts into the boat. Then I made a ſignal for the boat to come aboard, and ſent both it and the yawl into the river to look for freſh water, ordering the pinnace to lie near the river's mouth, while the yawl went up to ſearch. In an hour's time they returned aboard with ſome barrecoes full of freſh water, which they had taken up about half a mile up the river. After which I ſent them again with caſks, ordering one of them to fill water, and the other to watch the motions of the natives, leſt they ſhould make any oppoſition; but they did not, and ſo the boats returned a little before ſun-ſet with a tun and half of water; and the next day by noon brought aboard about ſix tuns of water.

I ſent aſhore commodities to purchaſe hogs, &c. being informed that the natives have plenty of them, as alſo of yams and other good roots; but my men returned without getting any thing that I ſent them for; the natives being unwilling to trade with us; yet they admired our hatchets and axes, but would part with nothing but cocoa-nuts, which they uſed to climb the trees for; and ſo ſoon as they gave them our men, they beckoned to them to be gone, for they were much afraid of us.

The 18th, I ſent both boats again for water, and before noon they had filled all my caſks. In the afternoon I ſent them both to cut wood; but ſeeing about forty natives ſtanding on the bay at a ſmall diſtance from our men, I made a ſignal for them to come aboard again, which they did, and brought me word that the men which we ſaw on the bay were paſſing that way, but were afraid to come nigh them. At four o'clock I ſent both the boats again for more wood, and they returned in the evening. Then I called my officers to conſult whether it were convenient to ſtay here longer, and endeavour a better acquaintance with theſe people, or go to ſea. My deſign of tarrying here longer, was, if poſſible, to get ſome hogs, goats, yams, or other roots; as alſo to get ſome knowledge of the country and its product. My officers unanimouſly gave their opinions for ſtaying longer here. So the next day I ſent both boats aſhore again, to fiſh and to cut more wood. While they were aſhore, about thirty or forty men and women paſſed by them; they were a little afraid of our people at firſt, but upon their making ſigns of friendſhip, they paſſed by quietly; the men finely bedecked with feathers of divers colours about their heads, and lances in their hands; the women had no ornament about them, nor any thing to cover their nakedneſs, but a bunch of ſmall green boughs before and behind, ſtuck under a ſtring which came round their waiſts. They carried large baſkets on their heads, full of yams. And this I have obſerved amongſt all the wild natives I have known, that they make their women carry the burdens, while the men walk before, without any other load than their arms and ornaments. At noon our men came aboard with the wood they had cut, and had catched but ſix fiſhes at four or five hauls of the ſain, though we ſaw abundance of fiſh leaping in the bay all the day long.

In the afternoon I ſent the boats aſhore for more wood; and ſome of our men went to the natives' houſes, and found they were now more ſhy than they uſed to be; had taken down all the cocoa-nuts from the trees, and driven away their hogs. Our people made ſigns to them to know what was become of their hogs, &c. The natives pointing to ſome houſes in the bottom of the bay, and imitating the noiſe of thoſe creatures, ſeemed to intimate that there were both hogs and goats of ſeveral ſizes, which they expreſſed by holding their hands abroad at ſeveral diſtances from the ground.

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At night our boats came aboard with wood; and the next morning I went myſelf with both boats up the river to the watering-place, carrying with me all ſuch trifles and iron-work as I thought moſt proper to induce them to a commerce with us; but I found them very ſhy and roguiſh. I ſaw but two men and a boy: one of the men by ſome ſigns was perſuaded to come to the boat's ſide, where I was; to him I gave a knife, a ſtring of beads, and a glaſs-bottle; the fellow called out, "Cocos, cocos," pointing to a village hard by, and ſignified to us that he would go for ſome; but he never returned to us: and thus they had frequently of late ſerved our men. I took eight or nine men with me, and marched to their houſes, which I found very mean, and their doors made faſt with withes.

I viſited three of their villages, and finding all the houſes thus abandoned by the inhabitants, who carried with them all their hogs, &c. I brought out of their houſes ſome ſmall fiſhing-nets in recompence for thoſe things they had received of us. As we were coming away we ſaw two of the natives; I ſhewed them the things that we carried with us, and called to them, "Cocos, cocos," to let them know that I took theſe things becauſe they had not made good what they had promiſed by their ſigns, and by their calling out Cocos. While I was thus employed, the men in the yawl filled two hogſheads of water, and all the barrecoes. About one in the afternoon I came aboard, and found all my officers and men very importunate to go to that bay where the hogs were ſaid to be. I was loth to yield to it, fearing they would deal too roughly with the natives. By two o'clock in the afternoon many black clouds gathered over the land, which I thought would deter them from their enterprize; but they ſolicited me the more to let them go. At laſt I conſented, ſending thoſe commodities I had aſhore with me in the morning, and giving them a ſtrict charge to deal by fair means, and to act cautiouſly for their own ſecurity. The bay I ſent them to was about two miles from the ſhip. As ſoon as they were gone, I got all things ready, that, if I ſaw occaſion, I might aſſiſt them with my great guns. When they came to land, the natives in great companies ſtood to reſiſt them, ſhaking their lances, and threatening them; and ſome were ſo daring, as to wade into the ſea, holding a target in one hand and a lance in the other. Our men held up to them ſuch commodities as I had ſent, and made ſigns of friendſhip, but to no purpoſe, for the natives waved them off. Seeing therefore they could not be prevailed upon to a friendly commerce, my men, being reſolved to have ſome proviſion among them, fired ſome muſkets to ſcare them away; which had the deſired effect upon all but two or three, who ſtood ſtill in a menacing poſture, till the boldeſt dropped his target and ran away; they ſuppoſed he was ſhot in the arm: he and ſome others felt the ſmart of our bullets, but none were killed; our deſign being rather to fright than to kill them. Our men landed, and found abundance of tame hogs running among the houſes. They ſhot down nine, which they brought away, beſides many that ran away wounded. They had but little time; for in leſs than an hour after they went from the ſhip it began to rain; wherefore they got what they could into the boats, for I had charged them to come away if it rained. By the time the boat was aboard, and the hogs taken in, it cleared up, and my men deſired to make another trip thither before night; this was about five in the evening, and I conſented, giving them orders to repair on board before night. In the cloſe of the evening they returned accordingly, with eight hogs more, and a little live pig; and by this time the other hogs were jerked and ſalted. Theſe that came laſt we only dreſſed and corned till morning; and then ſent both boats aſhore for more refreſhments either of hogs or roots: but in the night the natives had conveyed away their proviſions of all ſorts. Many of them were now about the houſes, and none offered to reſiſt our boats landing, but on the contrary were ſo amicable, that one man

brought ten or twelve cocoa-nuts, left them on the ſhore after he had ſhewed them to our men, and went out of ſight. Our people finding nothing but nets and images, brought ſome of them away, which two of my men brought aboard in a ſmall canoe, and preſently after my boats came off. I ordered the boatſwain to take care of the nets till we came at ſome place where they might be diſpoſed of for ſome refreſhment for the uſe of all the company. The images I took into my own cuſtody.

In the afternoon I ſent the canoe to the place from whence ſhe had been brought, and in her two axes, two hatchets (one of them helved), ſix knives, ſix looking-glaſſes, a large bunch of beads, and four glaſs bottles. Our men drew the canoe aſhore, placed the things to the beſt advantage in her, and came off in the pinnace which I ſent to guard them: and now being well ſtocked with wood, and all my water-caſks full, I reſolved to ſail the next morning. All the time of our ſtay here we had very fair weather, only ſometimes in the afternoon we had a ſhower of rain, which laſted not above an hour at moſt; alſo ſome thunder and lightning, with very little wind: we had ſea and land breezes, the former between the ſouth-ſouth-eaſt, and the latter from north-eaſt to north-weſt.

This place I named Port Montague, in honour of my noble patron: it lies in the latitude of 6° 10′ ſouth, and meridian diſtance from Cape St. George, one hundred and fifty-one miles weſt. The country hereabouts is mountainous and woody, full of rich valleys and pleaſant freſh water-brooks. The mould in the valleys is deep and yellowiſh, that on the ſides of the hill of a very brown colour, and not very deep, but rocky underneath, yet excellent planting land. The trees in general are neither very ſtraight, thick nor tall, yet appear green and pleaſant enough; ſome of them bore flowers, ſome berries, and others big fruits, but all unknown to any of us: cocoa-nut-trees thrive very well here, as well on the bays by the ſea-ſide, as more remote among the plantations; the nuts are of an indifferent ſize, the milk and kernel very thick and pleaſant. Here is ginger, yams, and other very good roots for the pot, that our men ſaw and taſted: what other fruits or roots the country affords, I know not. Here are hogs and dogs; other land-animals we ſaw none. The fowls we ſaw and knew, were pigeons, parrots, cockadores, and crows like thoſe in England; a ſort of birds about the bigneſs of a black-bird, and ſmaller birds many. The ſea and rivers have plenty of fiſh; we ſaw abundance, though we catched but few, and theſe were cavallies, yellow-tails and whip-rays.

We departed from hence on the 22d of March, and on the 24th, in the evening, we ſaw ſome high land bearing north-weſt half-weſt, to the weſt of which we could ſee no land, though there appeared ſomething like land bearing weſt a little ſoutherly, but not being ſure of it, I ſteered weſt-north-weſt all night, and kept going on with an eaſy ſail, intending to coaſt along the ſhore at a diſtance. At ten o'clock, I ſaw a great fire bearing north-weſt-by-weſt, blazing up in a pillar, ſometimes very high for three or four minutes, then falling quite down for an equal ſpace of time; ſometimes hardly viſible, till it blazed up again. I had laid me down, having been indiſpoſed theſe three days; but upon a ſight of this, my chief mate called me; I got up and viewed it for about half an hour, and knew it to be a burning-hill by its intervals: I charged them to look well out, having bright moon-light. In the morning I found that the fire we had ſeen the night before, was a burning-iſland, and ſteered for it. We ſaw many other iſlands, one large high iſland, and another ſmaller, but pretty high. I ſtood near the volcano, and many ſmall low iſlands with ſome ſhoals.

March the 25th, 1700, in the evening, we came within three leagues of this burning-hill, being at the ſame time two leagues from the main; I found a good channel to

paſs between them, and kept nearer the main than the iſland. At ſeven in the evening I ſounded, and had fifty-two fathom fine ſand and oaze. I ſtood to the northward to get clear of this ſtreight, having but little wind and fair weather. The iſland all night vomited fire and ſmoke very amazingly, and at every belch we heard a dreadful noiſe like thunder, and ſaw a flame of fire after it, the moſt terrifying that ever I ſaw; the intervals between its belches were about half a minute, ſome more, others leſs; neither were theſe pulſes or eruptions alike, for ſome were but faint convulſions, in compariſon of the more vigorous; yet even the weakeſt vented a great deal of fire; but the largeſt made a roaring noiſe, and ſent up a large flame twenty or thirty yards high; and then might be ſeen a great ſtream of fire running down to the foot of the iſland, even to the ſhore. From the furrows made by this deſcending fire, we could, in the day time, ſee great ſmoaks ariſe, which probably were made by the ſulphureous matter thrown out of the funnel at the top, which tumbling down to the bottom, and there lying in a heap, burned till either conſumed or extinguiſhed; and as long as it burned and kept its heat, ſo long the ſmoak aſcended from it; which we perceived to increaſe or decreaſe, according to the quantity of matter diſcharged from the funnel: but the next night, being ſhot to the weſtward of the burning-iſland, and the funnel of it lying on the ſouth-ſide, we could not diſcern the fire there, as we did the ſmoak in the day when we were to the ſouthward of it. This volcano lies in the latitude of 5° 33′ ſouth, and meridian diſtance from Cape St. George, three hundred and thirty-two miles weſt.

The eaſternmoſt part of New Guinea lies forty miles to the weſtward of this tract of land; and by hydrographers they are made joining together; but here I found an opening and paſſage between, with many iſlands, the largeſt of which lie on the north ſide of this paſſage or ſtreight. The channel is very good, between the iſlands and the land to the eaſtward. The eaſt part of New Guinea, is high and mountainous, ending on the north-eaſt with a large promontory, which I named King William's Cape, in honour of His preſent Majeſty. We ſaw ſome ſmoaks on it, and leaving it on our larboard ſide, ſteered away near the eaſt land, which ends with two remarkable capes or heads, diſtant from each other about ſix or ſeven leagues: within each head were two very remarkable mountains, aſcending very gradually from the ſea ſide; which afforded a very pleaſant and agreeable proſpect. The mountains and lower land were pleaſantly mixed with wood-land and ſavannahs; the trees appeared very green and flouriſhing; and the ſavannahs ſeemed to be very ſmooth and even; no meadow in England appears more green in the ſpring than theſe. We ſaw ſmoaks, but did not ſtrive to anchor here, but rather choſe to get under one of the iſlands, (where I thought I ſhould find few or no inhabitants), that I might repair my pinnace, which was ſo crazy, that I could not venture aſhore any where with her. As we ſtood over to the iſlands, we looked out very well to the north, but could ſee no land that way; by which I was well aſſured that we were got through, and that this eaſt land does not join to New Guinea; therefore I named it Nova Britannia. The north-weſt cape, I called Cape Gloceſter, and the ſouth-weſt-point Cape Anne; and the north-weſt mountain, which is very remarkable, I called Mount Gloceſter.

This iſland which I called Nova Britannia, has about 4° of latitude: the body of it lying in 4°, and the northernmoſt part in 2° 32′, and the ſouthernmoſt in 6° 30′ ſouth. It has about 5° 18′ longitude from eaſt to weſt. It is generally high mountainous land, mixed with large valleys, which, as well as the mountains, appeared very fertile; and in moſt places that we ſaw, the trees are very large, tall and thick. It is alſo very well inhabited with ſtrong well-limbed negroes, whom we found very daring and bold at

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ſeveral places. As to the product of it, I know no more than what I have ſaid in my account of Port Mountague; but it is very probable this iſland may afford as many rich commodities as any in the world; and the natives may be eaſily brought to commerce, though I could not pretend to it under my preſent circumſtances.

Being near the iſland to the northward of the Volcano, I ſent my boat to ſound, thinking to anchor here, but ſhe returned and brought me word that they had no ground, till they met with a riff of coral rocks about a mile from the ſhore; then I bore away to the north ſide of the iſland, where we found no anchoring neither. We ſaw ſeveral people, and ſome cocoa-nut-trees, but could not ſend aſhore for want of my pinnace, which was out of order. In the evening I ſtood off to ſea, to be at ſuch a diſtance that I might not be driven by any currunt upon the ſhoals of this iſland, if it ſhould prove calm. We had but little wind, eſpecially the beginning of the night; but in the morning I found myſelf ſo far to the weſt of the iſland, that the wind being at eaſt-ſouth-eaſt, I could not fetch it, wherefore I kept on to the ſouthward, and ſtemmed with the body of a high iſland about eleven or twelve leagues long, lying to the ſouthward of that which I before deſigned for. I named this iſland Sir George Rook's Iſland.

We alſo ſaw ſome other iſlands to the weſtward, which may be better ſeen in my draft of theſe lands than here deſcribed; but ſeeing a very ſmall iſland lying to the north-weſt of the long iſland which was before us, and not far from it, I ſteered away for that, hoping to find anchoring there; and having but little wind, I ſent my boat before to ſound, which, when we were about two miles diſtance from the ſhore, came on board and brought me word that there was good anchoring in thirty or forty fathom water, a mile from the iſle, and within a reeff of the rocks which lay in a half-moon, reaching from the north part of the iſland to the ſouth-eaſt; ſo at noon we got in and anchored in thirty-ſix fathom, a mile from the iſle.

In the afternoon I ſent my boat aſhore to the iſland, to ſee what convenience there was to haul our veſſel aſhore in order to be mended, and whether we could catch any fiſh. My men in the boat rowed about the iſland, but could not land by reaſon of the rocks and a great ſurge running in upon the ſhore. We found variation here, 8° 25′ weſt.

I deſigned to have ſtaid among theſe iſlands till I had got my pinnace refitted; but having no more than one man who had ſkill to work upon her, I ſaw ſhe would be a long time in repairing (which was one great reaſon why I could not proſecute my diſcoveries further); and the eaſterly winds being ſet in, I found I ſhould ſcarce be able to hold my ground.

The 31ſt, in the forenoon, we ſhot in between two iſlands, lying about four leagues aſunder, with intention to paſs between them. The ſouthernmoſt is a long iſland, with a high hill at each end; this I named Long Iſland. The northernmoſt is a round high iſland towering up with ſeveral heads or tops, ſomething reſembling a crown; this I named Crown Iſle, from its form. Both theſe iſlands appeared very pleaſant, having ſpots of green ſavannahs mixed among the wood-land: the trees appeared very green and flouriſhing, and ſome of them looked white and full of bloſſoms. We paſſed cloſe by Crown Iſle, ſaw many cocoa-nut trees on the bays and ſides of the hills; and one boat was coming off from the ſhore, but returned again. We ſaw no ſmoaks on either of the iſlands, neither did we ſee any plantations, and it is probable they are not very well peopled. We ſaw many ſhoals near Crown Iſland, and reefs of rocks running off from the points a mile or more into the ſea: my boat was once over-board, with deſign

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to have ſent her aſhore, but having little wind, and ſeeing ſome ſhoals, I hoiſted her in again, and ſtood off out of danger.

In the afternoon, ſeeing an iſland bearing north-weſt-by-weſt, we ſteered away north-weſt-by-north, to be to the northward of it. The next morning, being about midway from the iſlands we left yeſterday, and having this to the weſtward of us, the land of the main of New Guinea within us to the ſouthward, appeared very high. When we came within four or five leagues of this iſland to the weſt of us, four boats came off to view us, one came within call, but returned with the other three without ſpeaking to us; ſo we kept on for the iſland, which I named Sir R. Rich's Iſland. It was pretty high, woody, and mixed with ſavannahs like thoſe formerly mentioned. Being to the north of it, we ſaw an opening between it and another iſland two leagues to the weſt of it, which before appeared all in one. The main ſeemed to be high land, trending to the weſtward.

On Tueſday, the 2d of April, about eight in the morning, we diſcovered a high-peaked iſland to the weſtward, which ſeemed to ſmoak at its top: the next day we paſſed by the north ſide of the Burning Iſland, and ſaw a ſmoak again at its top, but the vent lying on the ſouth ſide of the peak, we could not obſerve it diſtinctly, nor ſee the fire. We afterwards opened three more iſlands, and ſome land to the ſouthward, which we could not well tell whether it were iſlands or part of the main. Theſe iſlands are all high, full of fair trees and ſpots of great ſavannahs, as well the Burning Iſle as the reſt; but the Burning Iſle was more round and peaked at top, very fine land near the ſea, and for two-thirds up it: we alſo ſaw another iſle ſending forth a great ſmoak at once, but it ſoon vaniſhed, and we ſaw it no more; we ſaw alſo, among theſe iſlands, three ſmall veſſels with ſails, which the people on Nova Britannia ſeem wholly ignorant of.

The 11th, at noon, having a very good obſervation, I found myſelf to the northward of my reckoning, and thence concluded that we had a current ſetting north-weſt, or rather more weſterly, as the land lies. From that time to the next morning we had fair clear weather, and a fine moderate gale from ſouth-eaſt to eaſt-by-north: but at day-break the clouds began to fly, and it lightened very much in the eaſt, ſouth-eaſt, and north-eaſt. At ſun-riſing, the ſky looked very red in the eaſt near the horizon, and there were many black clouds both to the ſouth and north of it. About a quarter of an hour after the ſun was up, there was a ſquall to the windward of us; when on a ſudden one of our men on the fore-caſtle called out that he ſaw ſomething a-ſtern, but could not tell what: I looked out for it, and immediately ſaw a ſpout beginning to work within a quarter of a mile of us, exactly in the wind: we preſently put right before it. It came very ſwiftly, whirling the water up in a pillar about ſix or ſeven yards high. As yet I could not ſee any pendulous cloud, from whence it might come; and was in hopes it would ſoon loſe its force. In four or five minutes time, it came within a cable's length of us, and paſſed away to leeward, and then I ſaw a long pale ſtream coming down to the whirling water. This ſtream was about the bigneſs of a rainbow: the upper end ſeemed vaſtly high, not deſcending from any dark cloud, and therefore the more ſtrange to me; I never having ſeen the like before. It paſt about a mile to leeward of us, and then broke. This was but a ſmall ſpout, not ſtrong nor laſting; yet I perceived much wind in it as it paſſed by us. The current ſtill continued at north-weſt a little weſterly, which I allowed to run a mile per hour.

By an obſervation the 13th, at noon, I found myſelf 25′ to the northward of my reckoning; whether occaſioned by bad ſteerage, a bad account, or a current, I could not determine; but was apt to judge it might be a complication of all; for I could not think it was wholly the current, the land here lying eaſt-by-ſouth, and weſt-by-north,

or a little more northerly and ſoutherly. We had kept ſo nigh as to ſee it, and at fartheſt had not been above twenty leagues from it, but ſometimes much nearer; and it is not probable that any current ſhould ſet directly off from a land. A tide indeed may; but then the flood has the ſame force to ſtrike in upon the ſhore, as the ebb to ſtrike off from it: but a current muſt have ſet nearly along ſhore, either eaſterly or weſterly; and if any thing northerly or ſoutherly, it could be but very little in compariſon of its eaſt or weſt courſe, on a coaſt lying as this doth; which yet we did not perceive. If therefore we were deceived by a current, it is very probable that the land is here disjoined, and that there is a paſſage through to the ſouthward, and that the land from King William's Cape to this place is an iſland, ſeparated from New Guinea by ſome ſtreight, as Nova Britannia is by that which we came through. But this being at beſt but a probable conjecture, I ſhall inſiſt no farther upon it.

The 14th we paſſed by Scouten's Iſland, and Providence Iſland, and found ſtill a very ſtrong current ſetting to the north-weſt. On the 17th we ſaw a high mountain on the main, that ſent forth great quantities of ſmoke from its top: this volcano we did not ſee in our voyage out. In the afternoon we diſcovered King William's Iſland, and crowded all the ſail we could to get near it before night, thinking to lie to the eaſtward of it till day, for fear of ſome ſhoals that lie at the weſt end of it. Before night we got within two leagues of it, and having a fine gale of wind and a light moon, I reſolved to paſs through in the night, which I hoped to do before twelve o'clock, if the gale continued; but when we came within two miles of it, it fell calm; yet afterwards by the help of the current, a ſmall gale, and our boat, we got through before day. In the night we had a very fragrant ſmell from the iſland. By morning-light we were got two leagues to the weſtward of it; and then were becalmed all the morning; and met ſuch whirling tides, that when we came into them, the ſhip turned quite round: and though ſometimes we had a ſmall gale of wind, yet ſhe could not feel the helm when ſhe came into theſe whirlpools: neither could we get from amongſt them, till a briſk gale ſprung up; yet we drove not much any way, but whirled round like a top. And thoſe whirlpools were not conſtant to one place but drove about ſtrangely; and ſometimes we ſaw among them large ripplings of the water, like great over-falls, making a fearful noiſe. I ſent my boat to ſound, but found no ground.

The 18th Cape Mabo bore ſouth, diſtance nine leagues; by which account it lies in the latitude of 50′ ſouth, and meridian diſtance from Cape St. George one thouſand two hundred and forty-three miles. St. John's Iſle lies forty-eight miles to the eaſt of Cape St. George; which being added to the diſtance between Cape St. George and Cape Mabo, makes one thouſand two hundred and ninety-one meridional parts; which was the furtheſt that I was to the eaſt. In my outward-bound voyage I made meridian diſtance between Cape Mabo and Cape St. George, one thouſand two hundred and ninety miles; and now in my return, but one thouſand two hundred and forty-three; which is forty-ſeven ſhort of my diſtance going out. This difference may probably be occaſioned by the ſtrong weſtern current which we found in our return, which I allowed for after I perceived it; and though we did not diſcern any current when we went to the eaſtward, except when near the iſlands, yet it is probable we had one againſt us, though we did not take notice of it becauſe of the ſtrong weſterly winds. King William's Iſland lies in the latitude of 21′ ſouth, and may be ſeen diſtinctly off Cape Mabo.

In the evening we paſt by Cape Mabo; and afterwards ſteered away ſouth-eaſt half-eaſt, keeping along the ſhore, which here trends ſouth-eaſterly. The next morning,

ſeeing

ſeeing a large opening in the land, with an iſland near the ſouth ſide; I ſtood in, thinking to anchor there. When we were ſhot in within two leagues of the iſland, the wind came to the weſt, which blows right into the opening. I ſtood to the north ſhore; intending, when I came pretty nigh, to ſend my boat into the opening, and ſound, before I would adventure in. We found ſeveral deep bays, but no ſoundings within two miles of the ſhore; therefore I ſtood off again. Then ſeeing a ripling under our lee, I ſent my boat to ſound on it; which returned in half an hour, and brought me word that the rippling we ſaw was only a tide, and that they had no ground there.

ABSTRACT OF CAPTAIN COOK'S FIRST VOYAGE.

Begun in 1768, *and finiſhed in* 1771.

A FEW years after His preſent Majeſty's acceſſion to the throne, he turned his thoughts to voyages of diſcovery, particularly in the ſouthern hemiſphere. Three were made by Captain (now Admiral) Byron, Captain Wallis, and Captain Carteret, at different periods. In conſequence of their ſucceſs, other voyages were thought of upon a more enlarged ſcale, and carried into execution by Captain Cook, who made three alſo; in the laſt of which he unhappily loſt his life. Of this a compendium has been already laid before the public; and his two former expeditions are now intended to be given in the ſame ſummary manner.

Captain Cook received his commiſſion in the month of May, 1768, and on the 26th of Auguſt following, ſailed from Plymouth in the Endeavour, a veſſel of about three hundred tons, which was originally intended for the coal trade.

Mr. Banks, a gentleman of conſiderable property in Lincolnſhire (now Sir Joſeph Banks, and Preſident of the Royal Society), and Dr. Solander, a native of Sweden, who had ſtudied under Linnæus, both undertook, from a laudable deſire of acquiring knowledge in aſtronomy and botany, to accompany the captain. The former of theſe gentlemen was not long returned from a voyage to Newfoundland; his principal object now was to view the tranſit of Venus. They took two draftſmen with them; one to delineate ſubjects in natural hiſtory, the other landſcapes. Mr. Banks had alſo a ſecretary and four ſervants.

Thurſday, December 8th, 1768, having procured all neceſſary ſupplies, they left Rio de Janeiro. They did not meet with any material occurrence from this time to the 22d, when they were ſurrounded by great numbers of porpoiſes, of a ſingular ſpecies, which were about fifteen feet in length, and of an aſh colour. On the 23d they obſerved an eclipſe of the moon; and about ſeven o'clock in the morning a ſmall white cloud appeared in the weſt, from which a train of fire iſſued, extending itſelf weſterly; about two minutes after they heard two diſtinct loud exploſions, immediately ſucceeding each other, like cannon, after which the cloud ſoon diſappeared.

On the 30th they ran upwards of fifty leagues, through vaſt numbers of land inſects, ſome in the air, and others upon the water; they appeared to reſemble exactly the flies that are ſeen in England, though they were thirty leagues from land, and ſome of theſe inſects never quit it beyond a few yards.

January 4th, 1769, they ſaw an appearance of land, which they miſtook for Pepy's iſland; but on their ſtanding towards it, it proved what the ſailors call a Fog Bank. On the 14th they entered the ſtreight of Le Maire; but the tide being againſt them, they were driven out with great violence, and the waves ran ſo high, that the ſhip's bowſprit was frequently under water; at length however they got anchorage, at the entrance of a little cove, which Captain Cook called St. Vincent's Bay.

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The weeds, which here grow upon rocky ground, are very remarkable; they appear above the ſurface in eight and nine fathoms water; the leaves are four feet in length, and many of the ſtalks, though not more than an inch and a half in circumference, above one hundred. Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander having been on ſhore ſome hours, returned with more than a hundred different plants and flowers, hitherto unnoticed by the European botaniſts.

Sunday 15th, having anchored in twelve fathoms water, upon coral rocks, before a ſmall cove, diſtant from ſhore about a mile, two of the natives came down upon the beach, in expectation that they would land; but this ſituation affording little ſhelter, the captain got under ſail again, and the natives retired.

About two o'clock they anchored in the bay of Good Succeſs, and the captain went on ſhore, accompanied by Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander, to ſearch for a watering-place, and confer with the Indians. Theſe gentlemen proceeded about a hundred yards before the captain, when two of the Indians having advanced forward and ſeated themſelves, they roſe, upon Mr. Banks and the doctor's coming up, and each of them threw away a ſmall ſtick, which they had before in their hands; this they did in ſuch a direction, that the ſtick flew both from themſelves and the ſtrangers, which they meant as a token of peace, and a teſtimonial of their renouncing weapons; they then returned briſkly towards their companions, who had remained at ſome diſtance behind, and made ſigns to the ſtrangers to advance, which they accordingly complied with. The reception the gentlemen met with was friendly, though the manner was uncouth. The civility was returned, by the diſtribution of beads and ribbons, with which the Indians were much pleaſed. After a mutual confidence had been thus eſtabliſhed, the reſt of the Engliſh party joined, and a general converſation, though of a ſingular kind, enſued. Three of the Indians now returned with the captain and his friends to the ſhip, whom they cloathed with jackets, and gave them bread, jerked beef, &c. part of which they eat, and carried the remainder on ſhore. They refuſed to drink rum or brandy, after taſting them, intimating by ſigns that it burnt their throats. One of them ſtole the covering of a globe, which he ſecreted under his cloak. After ſtaying near two hours on board they went on ſhore. They were of a middle ſtature with broad flat faces, low foreheads, high cheeks, noſes inclining to flatneſs, wide noſtrils, ſmall black eyes, large mouths, ſmall but indifferent teeth, and black ſtraight hair, falling down over their ears and forehead, which was commonly ſmeared with brown and red paint; and, like all the original natives of America, they were beardleſs. Their garments were the ſkins of guanicos and ſeals, which they wrapped round their ſhoulders. The women have a ſmall ſtring tied round each ancle, and wear each a flap of ſkin round the middle. They carry the children on their backs, and are generally employed in domeſtic labour and drudgery.

Mr. Banks, Dr. Solander, Mr. Buchan, and ſeveral other gentlemen, accompanied by ſervants, went a conſiderable way into the country, where they had marſhy ground, and very cold blaſts of wind and ſnow, to contend with; however, after great fatigue, they at laſt attained a conſiderable eminence they had in view. Here they found a great variety of plants, that gratified their curioſity, and repaid them for their toil.

It was now near eight o'clock in the evening, and Dr. Solander, who knew from experience that extreme cold, when joined with fatigue, occaſions a drowſineſs that is not eaſily reſiſted, intreated his friends to keep in motion, however diſagreeable it might be to them; his words were, "Whoever ſits down, will ſleep; and whoever ſleeps, will wake no more." Every one ſeemed accordingly armed with reſolution;

but on a ſudden the cold became ſo very intenſe, as to threaten the moſt direful effects. It was very remarkable, that Dr Solander himſelf, who had ſo forcibly admoniſhed and alarmed his party, ſhould be the firſt who inſiſted upon being ſuffered to repoſe. In ſpite of the moſt earneſt entreaties of his friends, he lay down amidſt the ſnow, and it was with great difficulty they kept the doctor awake. One of the black ſervants became alſo weary and faint, and was upon the point of following the doctor's example. Mr. Buchan was therefore detached with a party to make a fire at the firſt commodious ſpot they could meet with. Mr. Banks, with four more, remained with the Doctor and Richmond the black, who, with the utmoſt difficulty, were induced to come on; but after walking a few miles farther, they expreſſed their inability of proceeding. When the black was informed, that if he remained there he would ſoon be frozen to death, he replied, that he was ſo exhauſted with fatigue, that death would be a relief to him. Dr. Solander ſaid he was not unwilling to go, but that he muſt firſt take ſome ſleep, notwithſtanding what he had before declared to the company. Thus reſolved, they both ſat down, ſupported by buſhes, and in a ſhort time fell faſt aſleep. Intelligence now came from the advanced party, that a fire was kindled about a quarter of a mile farther on the way. Mr. Banks then waked the doctor, who had almoſt loſt the uſe of his limbs already, though it was but a few minutes ſince he ſat down; he nevertheleſs conſented to go on. Every meaſure taken to relieve the black proved ineffectual; he remained motionleſs, and they were obliged to leave him to the care of the other black ſervant and a ſailor, who appeared to have been the leaſt hurt by the cold, and they were to be relieved, as ſoon as two others were ſufficiently warmed to ſupply their places. The doctor was with much difficulty got to the fire. Thoſe who were ſent to relieve the companions of Richmond, returned in about half an hour without being able to find them. What rendered the mortification ſtill greater was, that a bottle of rum, the whole ſtock of the party, could not be found, and was judged to have been left with one of the three who were miſſing. There was a fall of ſnow which inceſſantly continued for near two hours, and there remained no hopes of ſeeing the three abſentees again, at leaſt, alive. About twelve o'clock, however, a great ſhouting was heard at a diſtance, which gave inexpreſſible ſatisfaction to every one preſent. Mr. Banks and four others went forth and met the ſailor, with juſt ſtrength enough to walk; he was immediately ſent to the fire, and they proceeded to ſeek for the two others. They found Richmond upon his legs, but incapable of moving them; the other black was lying ſenſeleſs upon the ground. All endeavours to bring them to the fire were fruitleſs, nor was it poſſible to kindle one upon the ſpot, on account of the ſnow that had fallen, and was ſtill falling, ſo that there was no alternative, and they were compelled to leave the two unfortunate negroes to their fate, making them, however, a bed of boughs of trees, and covering them very thick with the ſame.

As all hands had been employed in endeavouring to move the two blacks to the fire, and had therefore been expoſed to the cold for near an hour and a half, ſome of them began to be afflicted in the ſame manner as thoſe they went to relieve. Briſcoe, another of Mr. Banks's ſervants, in particular, began to loſe his ſenſibility. They at length reached the fire, and there paſſed the night in a very diſagreeable manner. The party that ſet out from the ſhip conſiſted of twelve, of whom two were already judged to be dead: it was doubtful whether a third would be able to return on board; and Mr. Buchan, a fourth, who had but juſt recovered from fits, ſeemed threatened with them again. They had wandered ſo far into the internal parts, that the ſhip was a long day's

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journey diſtant, through an unfrequented wood, in which they might probably be bewildered till night; and being equipped only for a journey of a few hours, they had not proviſions left ſufficient to afford the company a ſingle meal.

On the 17th, in the morning, at day-break, nothing preſented itſelf to view all around but ſnow, the trees being equally covered with it as the ground; and the blaſts of wind were ſo violent and frequent, that their journey was rendered impracticable, and there was much reaſon to dread periſhing with cold and famine. However, at about ſix in the morning they were flattered with a dawn of hope of being delivered, by diſcovering the ſun through the clouds, which gradually diminiſhed. Previous to their ſetting out, meſſengers were diſpatched to the unhappy negroes, who returned with the melancholy news of their death.

About ten o'clock in the morning they ſet out on their journey to the ſhip, and in about three hours, to their great aſtoniſhment and ſatisfaction, they found themſelves upon the ſhore, much nearer to the ſhip than their moſt ſanguine expectations could have flattered them. When they took a retroſpect of their former route from the ſea, they found that inſtead of aſcending the hill in a direct line, they had made a circle almoſt round the country. The congratulations every one on board expreſſed at their return, can better be imagined than expreſſed.

On the 20th, Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander made another excurſion into the country. After walking for ſome time, they arrived at a ſmall town, conſiſting of about a dozen miſerable huts, conſtructed without art or regularity, in the form of a ſugar loaf, with a place left open, which anſwered the double purpoſe of a door and chimney. Their bows and arrows were conſtructed with neatneſs and ingenuity: they were made of wood highly poliſhed; and the point, which was either glaſs or flint, was fitted with much ſkill. Mr. Banks obſerved glaſs and flint amongſt them unwrought, with cloth, canvaſs, rings, buttons, &c. it was therefore judged, that they travelled at times to the north, as no ſhip had touched at this part of Terra del Fuego for ſome years.

They did not ſeem to have any form of government among them, nor did there appear any kind of ſubordination. Theſe people appeared upon the whole to be the out-caſts of human nature, whoſe lives were paſſed in wandering in a forlorn manner over dreary waſtes; their only food was ſhell-fiſh, deſtitute of every convenience ariſing from the rudeſt art, or even an implement to dreſs their food. Such were theſe people, who nevertheleſs appeared content; ſo little does refinement or luxury promote happineſs.

The generality of writers, who have deſcribed the iſland of Terra del Fuego, have repreſented it as covered with ſnow, and deſtitute of wood. In this, however, they are evidently miſtaken, and their error muſt have ariſen from having viſited it in the winter ſeaſon, when it poſſibly is covered with ſnow. The crew of the Endeavour perceived trees when they were at a conſiderable diſtance from the iſland, and on their nearer approach, they found the ſea coaſt and the ſides of the hills clothed with an agreeable verdure. The ſummit of the hills are barren, but the valleys are rich, and a brook is to be found at the foot of almoſt every hill; the water has a reddiſh tinge, but is not ill taſted, and was ſome of the beſt the captain took in during his whole voyage.

Thurſday, January 26th, Captain Cook weighed anchor, and the weather being very calm, Mr. Banks ſailed in a ſmall boat to ſhoot birds, when he killed ſome ſheerwaters and albatroſſes; the latter were larger than thoſe caught to the north of the ſtreight;

ſtreight; the ſheerwaters were leſs, and their backs darker coloured. The albatroſſes proved very good eating.

Notwithſtanding the doubling of Cape Horn is repreſented as a very dangerous courſe, and that it is generally thought paſſing through the ſtreight of Magellan is leſs perilous, the Endeavour doubled it with as little danger as the North Foreland on the Kentiſh coaſt; the heavens were fair, the wind temperate, the weather pleaſant, and, being near ſhore, they had a very diſtinct view of the coaſt.

Mr. Banks killed more than ſixty birds in one day, and he caught two foreſt flies of the ſame ſpecies, but never yet deſcribed. He alſo found a cuttle-fiſh, which had juſt been killed by the birds; it was different from the fiſhes of this name met with in the European ſeas, having a double row of ſharp talons, reſembling thoſe of a cat, which iſſued or retracted at will. This fiſh made excellent ſoup.

Saturday, the 25th, on account of a ſquabble about a bit of ſeal ſkin which he had taken in a frolick, but which was repreſented to his officer as a theft, one of the marines, a young fellow about twenty, threw himſelf overboard, and was drowned.

About ten o'clock, Tueſday, April 4th, Peter Briſcoe, ſervant to Mr. Banks, diſcovered land to the ſouth, about three or four leagues diſtant. The captain immediately hauled up for it, and found it to be an iſland of an oval form, with a lake or lagoon in the centre, that extended over the greateſt part of it; the border of land which ſurrounded the lake was in many places low and narrow, eſpecially towards the ſouth, where the beach conſiſted of a reef of rocks; three places on the north ſide had the ſame appearance. Captain Cook came within a mile on the north ſide, but though he caſt a line of one hundred and thirty fathom, he found no bottom, and could not meet with any anchorage. There were ſeveral natives viſible on ſhore; they ſeemed tall, with remarkable large heads, which might probably be increaſed by ſome bandage; their hair was black, and their complexions copper colour. There appeared along the beach, abreaſt of the ſhip, ſome of theſe inhabitants, with pikes or poles in their hands, which ſeemed twice the height of themſelves. They at this time appeared naked; but when they retired, upon the ſhip's paſſing the iſland, they put on a covering of a light colour.

Captain Cook ſaw land again in the afternoon to the north-weſt. He reached it by ſun-ſet, when it appeared a low iſland covered with wood, in form circular, about a mile in circumference. No inhabitants were viſible, nor any cocoa-nut trees, though the Endeavour had reached the ſhore within half a mile; yet the iſland appeared covered with verdure of various tinges. This iſland, which is diſtant from that of Lagoon, about ſeven leagues north, ſixty-two weſt, the gentlemen on board named Thrumb Cap.

On the 5th, they diſcovered to the weſt a low iſland, which appeared to be inhabited, and at three o'clock they came up with it. This land now ſeemed divided into two iſlands, or rather collections of iſlands, their extent being near nine leagues. The two largeſt were divided from each other by a ſtreight of near half a mile in breadth.

On the 10th, upon their looking out for the iſland to which they were deſtined, they ſaw land a-head. The next morning it appeared very high and mountainous, and it was known to be King George the Third's Iſland, ſo named by Captain Wallis, but by the natives called Otaheite. The calms prevented the Endeavour from approaching it till the morning of the 12th, when a breeze ſpringing up, before eleven ſeveral canoes were making towards the ſhip; only a few approached, and the people on board thoſe that came the neareſt would not come on board Captain Cook. Each

canoe

canoe had in it young plantains, and branches of trees, as tokens of peace and friendſhip; and they were handed up the ſides of the ſhip by the people in one of the canoes, who made ſignals in a very expreſſive manner, intimating, that they deſired theſe emblems of pacification ſhould be placed in a conſpicuous part of the ſhip: and they were accordingly ſtuck among the rigging, at which they teſtified their approbation. Their cargoes conſiſted of cocoa nuts, bananas, bread-fruit, apples and figs, which were very acceptable to the crew, and were then purchaſed.

In the evening they opened the north-weſt point, and ſaw York Iſland, ſo named by the crew of the Dolphin. They lay off and on all night, and in the morning of the 13th they entered Port Royal Harbour, in the iſland of Otaheite, and anchored within half a mile of the ſhore. A great number of the natives immediately came off in their canoes, bringing with them bananas, cocoa-nuts, bread-fruit, apples, and ſome hogs, which they bartered with the ſhip's crew for beads and other trinkets.

The tree that bears the bread-fruit is about the ſize of the horſe-cheſnut; its leaves are near a foot and a half long, in ſhape oblong, reſembling, in almoſt every reſpect, thoſe of the fig-tree; its fruit is not unlike the Cantaloupe melon, either in ſize or ſhape; it is incloſed in a thin ſkin, and its core is as large as a perſon's thumb; it is ſomewhat of the conſiſtency of new bread, and as white as the blanched almond; it divides into parts, and they roaſt it before it is eaten; it has little or no taſte. An elderly man, named Owhaw, who was known to Mr. Gore and others, who had viſited this iſland with Captain Wallis, came on board; and as he was conſidered a uſeful man, the captain endeavoured to gratify all his enquiries. Captain Cook now drew up ſeveral neceſſary rules for the regulation of traffic with the inhabitants, and ordered that they ſhould be punctually obſerved.

When the ſhip was properly ſecured, the captain went on ſhore with Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander, a party under arms, and their friend the old Indian. They were received on ſhore by ſome hundreds of the natives, who were ſtruck with ſuch awe, that the firſt who approached crept almoſt upon his hands and knees. He alſo preſented to them branches of trees, the uſual ſymbol of peace. This ſymbol was received, on the part of the Engliſh gentlemen, with demonſtrations of ſatisfaction and friendſhip; and noticing, that each of the Indians held one of theſe branches in his hand, they gathered ſome, and followed the example of the natives.

They were conducted by the old Indian, accompanied by his countrymen, towards the place where the Dolphin had watered. Here, the ground being cleared, the chiefs of the natives threw down their boughs, and the captain and his companions followed the example, after having drawn up the marines, who, marching in order, dropped their branches upon thoſe of the Indians. When they came to the watering-place, the Indians intimated that they had their permiſſion to occupy that ground, but it was not ſuited to their purpoſe. In the courſe of this walk, and a circuit through the woods, the Indians had got rid of their timidity, and became familiarized. On the way they received beads and other ſmall preſents, at which they expreſſed great pleaſure.

The whole circuit was near four miles, through groves, conſiſting of trees of cocoa-nuts and bread-fruit; beneath which trees were the habitations of the natives, conſiſting of only a roof, deſtitute of walls. In this peregrination the gentlemen were not a little diſappointed at finding very few fowls or hogs. Captain Cook was informed by ſuch of the party as had been here with the Dolphin, that none of the people hitherto ſeen were of the firſt rank, and they imagined the Queen's reſidence was moved, no traces remaining of it. Next morning, before they left the ſhip, ſeveral canoes came about her, filled with people, whoſe dreſs denoted them of the ſuperior claſs: two of

theſe came on board, and each of them fixed upon a friend; one of them choſe Mr. Banks, and the other Captain Cook. The ceremony conſiſted of taking off their clothes in great part, and putting them upon their adopted friends. This compliment was returned, by preſenting them ſome trinkets. They then made ſigns for theſe gentlemen to go with them to the place of their abode; and the captain being deſirous of meeting with a more convenient harbour, and knowing more of the people, readily aſſented. Accordingly the captain, Mr. Banks, Dr. Solander, with the Indians and other friends, got into two boats. About three miles diſtance they landed, among ſeveral hundreds of the natives, who conducted them to a large houſe. Upon their entrance they ſaw a middle-aged man, named Tootahah, who, as ſoon as they were ſeated, ordered a cock and hen to be produced, which he preſented to Mr. Banks and the captain, as well as a piece of perfumed cloth; which compliment was returned by a preſent from Mr. Banks. They were then conducted with great civility to ſeveral large houſes, conſtructed in the ſame manner as thoſe already deſcribed; the ladies, ſo far from ſhunning, invited, and even preſſed them to be ſeated. Whilſt they were afterwards walking along the ſhore, they met, accompanied by a great number of natives, another chief, named Tubora Tumaida, with whom they ſettled a treaty of peace, in the manner before deſcribed. Tubora Tumaida intimated, he had proviſions for them if they choſe to eat, and they accordingly dined heartily upon bread-fruit, plantains, and fiſh.

In the courſe of this viſit, Tomio, the wife of the chief, placed herſelf upon the ſame mat with Mr. Banks, cloſe by him; but ſhe not being young, nor appearing ever to have poſſeſſed many charms, to theſe cauſes may be aſcribed the little attention this gentleman paid her; and Tomio received the additional mortification of Mr. Banks's beckoning to a pretty girl, who, with ſome reluctance, came and ſeated herſelf by him. The Princeſs was ſomewhat mortified at the preference given to her rival, nevertheleſs ſhe continued her aſſiduities to him. This whimſical ſcene was interrupted by an event of a ſerious nature. Dr. Solander having diſcovered that he had loſt an opera-glaſs, he complained to the chief, and interrupted the convivial party. This complaint was enforced by Mr. Banks's ſtarting up and ſtriking the butt-end of his muſquet on the ground, which ſtruck the Indians with a panic, and they all precipitately ran out of the houſe, except the chief, and a few others of the ſuperior claſs.

The chief appeared much concerned at this accident, and gave us to underſtand, with an appearance of great probity, that he would endeavour if poſſible to have the glaſs recovered; but that if this could not be done; he would make the doctor compenſation, by giving him as much new cloth, of which he ſhewed large quantities, as ſhould be thought equal to its value. The caſe however was in a little time brought, and the glaſs itſelf ſoon after. After this adventure was amicably terminated, they returned to the ſhip about ſix o'clock in the evening.

Saturday the 15th, in the morning, ſeveral of the chiefs, one of whom was very corpulent, came on board, bringing with them hogs, bread-fruit, and other refreſhments; in exchange they gave them hatchets, linen, beads, and other trinkets; but ſome of them took the liberty of ſtealing the top of the lightning chain. This day the captain, attended by Mr. Banks and ſome of the other gentlemen went aſhore to fix on a proper ſpot to erect a ſmall fort for their defence during their ſtay on the iſland; and the ground was accordingly marked out for that purpoſe, a great number of the natives looking on all the while, and behaving in the moſt peaceable and friendly manner.

Mr. Banks went a ſhooting in the woods, ſome marines and a petty officer being appointed to guard the tent in the interim; ſeveral of the natives accompanied the

gentlemen

gentlemen in this excurſion. Upon croſſing a little river Mr. Banks perceiving ſome ducks, fired, and killed three. The Indians were ſtruck with the utmoſt terror at this event, which occaſioned them to fall ſuddenly to the ground, as if they had been ſhot at the ſame time; they recovered, however, preſently from their fright, and continued their march. Before this party had gone much further, they were alarmed by the diſcharge of two pieces, fired by the tent-guard. Owhaw, after calling together the captain's party, diſperſed all the Indians except three, who broke branches of trees, as pledges of their fidelity. Upon their return to the tent, it appeared, that an Indian had taken an opportunity to ſnatch away one of the centinel's muſquets; whereupon a young midſhipman, under whoſe command the party was, very imprudently ordered the marines to fire, which they did immediately amongſt the thickeſt of the fugitive Indians, in number above a hundred, ſeveral of whom were wounded; but as the criminal did not fall, they purſued and ſhot him dead.

When Mr. Banks heard of the affair, he was greatly diſpleaſed with the guard, and he uſed his utmoſt endeavours to accommodate the difference; and through the mediation of an old man, prevailed on many of the natives to come over to them, bringing plantain-trees, their uſual ſignal of peace, and clapping their hands on their breaſts, they cried Tyau, which ſignifies friendſhip.

Few of the natives appeared next morning upon the beach, and not one of them came on board. From hence Mr. Banks and the other gentlemen concluded, that their apprehenſions were not entirely removed, more eſpecially as even Owhaw had forſaken them. The captain, in conſequence of theſe diſagreeable appearances, brought the ſhip nearer to ſhore, and moored her ſo as to make her broadſide bear on the ſpot which had been marked for erecting the fort. The captain went on ſhore in the evening, with ſome of the gentlemen, when the Indians aſſembled round them, and they trafficked together in a friendly manner.

The fort began to be erected on the 18th. Some of the company were employed in throwing up intrenchments, whilſt others were occupied in cutting faſcines and pickets, which the Indians of their own accord cheerfully aſſiſted in bringing from the woods. Three ſides of the fort were fortified with intrenchments and palliſades; and on the other, which was flanked by a river, the water-caſks being filled, were placed ſo as to form a breaſt-work.

This day the natives brought down ſuch quantities of bread-fruit and cocoa-nuts, that it was neceſſary to reject them, and to intimate to them, that the company would not want any for two days. Beads were trafficked this day for every thing. Mr. Banks's tent being got up, he, for the firſt time, ſlept on ſhore. No Indian attempted to approach it the whole night; however, a precaution had been taken to place proper ſentinels about it.

Mr. Monkhouſe, the ſurgeon, ſaid he had ſeen, in his evening walk, the body of the man who had been ſhot at the tent. It was depoſited in a ſhed, cloſe to the houſe where he had reſided when alive. The corpſe was placed on a bier, the frame of which was wood, with a matted bottom, ſupported by poſts about five feet high. The corpſe was covered with a mat, and over that a white cloth; by its ſide lay a wooden mace, and towards the head two cocoa-nut ſhells; towards the feet was a bunch of green leaves and ſmall dried boughs, tied together and ſtuck in the ground, near which was a ſtone the ſize of a cocoa-nut: here was alſo placed a young plaintain-tree and a ſtone axe. The natives ſeemed diſpleaſed at his approaching the body.

They had a ſpecimen of the muſic of the country on the 22d; ſome of the natives performing on flutes, which had only two ſtops; they were blown like the German

flute, but the performer blew with his noſtril inſtead of his mouth: ſeveral others ſung, only one tune, to this inſtrument.

Some of the Indians brought the Engliſh axes to grind and repair, moſt of which they had received from the Dolphin; but a French one occaſioned much ſpeculation, and it at length appeared to have been left here by M. de Bougainville.

On the 25th, ſeveral knives belonging to the officers were miſſing; upon which Mr. Banks, who had loſt his among the reſt, accuſed one of the chiefs with having ſtolen it, which cauſed him to be very unhappy, as he happened to be innocent of the fact, Mr. Banks's ſervant having miſlaid it; and the reſt were produced in a rag by a native. This chief was ſome time before he would forget this accuſation, the tears ſtarting from his eyes, and he made ſigns with the knife, that if he had ever been guilty of ſuch an action, as was imputed to him, he would ſuffer his throat to be cut. However, in general, theſe people, from the higheſt to the loweſt, are the greateſt thieves in the world.

On the 26th, ſix ſwivel-guns were mounted upon the fort, which put the natives into great conſternation, and cauſed ſeveral fiſhermen, who lived upon the point, to remove farther off, imagining they were to be fired at in a few days.

The next day Tubora Tumaida, with a friend, a remarkable glutton, and three of his women, dined at the fort; after which he ſet out for his houſe in the wood. In a ſhort time he returned in much agitation, to acquaint Mr. Banks, that the ſhip's butcher had threatened to cut his wife's throat, upon her refuſing to ſell him a ſtone hatchet, which he had taken a fancy to, for a nail. It clearly appeared he had been culpable, and he was flogged on board, in ſight of ſeveral Indians. As ſoon as the firſt ſtroke was given they interfered, and earneſtly intreated that he might be untied. This being refuſed, they burſt into tears, and ſhewed great concern.

During the forenoon of this day, canoes were continually coming in, and the tents at the fort were filled with people of both ſexes. Mr. Molineux, maſter of the Endeavour, went on ſhore, and ſeeing a woman, whoſe name was Oberea, he declared ſhe was the perſon he judged to be the queen of the iſland, when he came there on board the Dolphin in the laſt voyage.

The eyes of every one were now fixed on her who had made ſo diſtinguiſhed a figure in the accounts that had been given by the firſt diſcoverers of this iſland. The perſon of the Queen Oberea was of a large make, and tall; ſhe was about forty years of age, her ſkin white; her eyes had great expreſſion and meaning in them; ſhe had been handſome, but her beauty was now upon the decline. She was ſoon conducted to the ſhip, and went on board, accompanied with ſome of her family. Many preſents were made her, particularly a child's doll, which ſeemed the moſt to engroſs her attention. Captain Cook accompanied her on ſhore; and as ſoon as they landed, ſhe preſented him with a hog, and ſome plantains, which were carried to the fort in proceſſion, Oberea and the captain bringing up the rear. They met Tootahah, who, though not king, ſeemed to be at this time inveſted with ſovereign authority. He immediately became jealous of the Queen's having the doll; which made them find it neceſſary to compliment him with one alſo.

On Saturday 29th, in the forenoon, Mr. Banks paid a viſit to Oberea, who was ſtill aſleep under the awning of her canoe, whither he went with an intention of calling her up. Upon entering her chamber, to his great ſurprize, he found her in bed with a handſome young fellow, about five-and-twenty; upon which he immediately retired with ſome precipitation, not a little diſconcerted at this diſcovery; but he was ſoon given to underſtand, that ſuch amours were by no means conſidered ſcandalous,

and that Obadie, the perſon found in bed with the Queen, was by every one known to have been ſelected by her as the object of her laſcivious hours. The Queen ſoon got up and dreſſed herſelf to wait upon Mr. Banks.

The next day, Sunday, the 30th, Tomio came running to the tents, and taking Mr. Banks by the arm, to whom they applied in all emergent caſes, told him that Tubora Tumaida was dying, owing to ſomething which had been given him to eat by his people, and prayed him to go inſtantly to him. Accordingly Mr. Banks went, and found the Indian very ſick. He was told, that he had been vomiting, and had thrown up a leaf, which they ſaid contained ſome of the poiſon which he had taken. Upon examining the leaf, Mr. Banks found it to be nothing more than tobacco, which the Indian had begged of ſome of their people. He looked up to Mr. Banks, while he was examining the leaf, as if he had not a moment to live. Mr. Banks, now knowing his diſorder, ordered him to drink of cocoa-nut milk, which ſoon reſtored him to health, and he was as cheerful as ever.

On the 1ſt of May, Captain Cook produced an iron adze, made in imitation of one of their ſtone ones, which had been brought home by Captain Wallis, and ſhewed it to Tootahah, who took ſuch a fancy to it, that notwithſtanding he was offered the choice of any of the things that were in his cheſts, he ſnatched it up with the greateſt eagerneſs, and would accept of nothing elſe. The ſame day a chief, who had dined on board a few days before, accompanied by ſome of his women, who uſed to feed him, came on board by himſelf, and when dinner was on table, the captain helped him to ſome victuals, thinking upon this occaſion he would condeſcend to feed himſelf; but he never attempted to eat, and had not one of the ſervants fed him, he would certainly have gone without his dinner.

In the afternoon they took the aſtronomical quadrant, with ſome other inſtruments, on ſhore.

On Tueſday, the 2d, having occaſion to uſe the quadrant, to their great aſtoniſhment and concern it was miſſing; this was the more extraordinary, as a ſentinel had been poſted the whole night within a few yards of the tent in which it had been depoſited; and it had never been taken out of the caſe in which it was packed. Their own people were at firſt ſuſpected, imagining they might have miſtaken the contents for articles uſed in traffic. They ſearched the fort and the adjacent places, and a conſiderable reward was offered, as the loſs of this inſtrument would have rendered it impoſſible for them to have made the neceſſary obſervations reſpecting the tranſit, one of the principal objects of their voyage. After every fruitleſs ſearch had been made, Mr. Banks, accompanied by Mr. Green and ſome other gentlemen, ſet out for the woods, where he thought he might gain ſome intelligence of the robbery, if it had been committed by the natives. In the courſe of their journey they met Tubora Tumaida, with a few of the natives, who was made by ſigns to underſtand, that ſome of his countrymen had ſtolen the quadrant, and Mr. Banks inſiſted upon being conducted to the place where it was concealed. Accordingly, they proceeded together a few miles, and, after ſome enquiry, Tubora Tumaida received information of the thief, and that he was to be found at a place about four miles diſtant.

Having obtained from Captain Cook a party of men armed as guards, they proceeded to the ſpot, and were met by one of Tubora Tumaida's own people, with part of the quadrant; ſoon afterwards the box in which it had been packed, containing the other parts of it, was recovered. It had received no material injury, though taken to pieces.

On Wedneſday the 3d, in the morning, Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander attended as uſual to purchaſe proviſions, but the Indians brought nothing to market; nor could they procure any from ſome fiſhing-boats which came abreaſt of the tents, though they were in great want of cocoa-nuts and bread-fruit.

Their proviſions now were extremely ſcarce, and the markets ill ſupplied. Next day, with ſome difficulty, Mr. Banks obtained a few baſkets of bread-fruit from Tubora Tumaida in the woods, which were a very ſeaſonable relief. An axe and ſhirt were ſent for this day by Tootahah, in return for his two hogs, which they promiſed to bring him the next day. If they had not complied with this requeſt, they could have ſcarcely procured any proviſions.

After his ſending again early in the morning, on Friday 5th, Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander, with the captain, ſet out in the pinnace, taking one of Tootahah's people with them. They ſoon reached Eparre, the place where he dwelt, which was but a few miles to the weſt of the tents. Upon their arrival, they found great numbers of people upon the ſhore waiting for them. They were immediately conducted to the chief, whilſt the natives ſhouted round them, *Taio Tootahah*, "Tootahah is your friend." They found him ſitting under a tree, and ſome old men ſtanding round him. As ſoon as he had made ſigns for them to ſit down, he aſked for his axe, which Captain Cook preſented to him, with a ſhirt and a broad cloth garment, with which he ſeemed greatly pleaſed; and put the garment on. After eating a mouthful together in the boat, they were conducted to a large area, or court-yard, on one ſide of his houſe, where an entertainment was provided for them, conſiſting of wreſtling. The chief ſat at the upper end of the area, with ſeveral of his principal men on each ſide of him, by way of judges, from whom the conquerors received applauſe.

Ten or twelve combatants entered the area, and after many ſimple ceremonies of challenging each other, they engaged, endeavouring to throw one another by dint of ſtrength; then ſeizing hold of each other by the thigh, the hand, the hair, or the clothes, they grappled without the leaſt art till one was thrown on his back; this conqueſt was applauded by ſome words from the old men, and three huzzas.

A man with a ſtick, who made way for them when they landed, officiated here as maſter of the ceremonies, keeping order among the people.

When this entertainment was at an end, they were informed that ſome hogs and a quantity of bread-fruit were preparing for their dinner; which intelligence was the more agreeable, as their appetites were at this time exceedingly keen. But inſtead of dining either on ſhore or on board of the boat, they had the mortification of going as far as the ſhip, by the deſire of the chief.

As ſoon as the chief was known to be on board the ſhip, the people brought plenty of bread-fruit, cocoa-nuts, and other proviſions to the fort.

On Tueſday 9th, in the forenoon Oborea paid them a viſit, accompanied by her favourite Obadee; ſhe preſented them with a hog and ſome bread-fruit.

The forge being now ſet up, and frequently at work, became not only a new ſubject of admiration to the Indians, but afforded the captain an additional opportunity of conferring obligations on them, by permitting the ſmith, during his leiſure hours, to convert the old iron, which they were ſuppoſed to have procured from the Dolphin, into different kinds of tools.

The natives, after repeated attempts, finding themſelves incapable of pronouncing the names of the Engliſh gentlemen, had recourſe to new ones formed from their own language. Mr. Cook was named Toote; Hicks, Hete; Gore, Toura; Solander, To-

lano; Banks, Opana; Green, Treene; and ſo on for the greateſt part of the ſhip's crew.

As Mr. Banks was ſitting in his boat, trading with them as uſual, on Friday the 12th, a very extraordinary ceremony was performed by ſome ladies who were ſtrangers, to whom the reſt of the Indians giving way on each ſide, and forming a paſſage, they advanced in proceſſion towards Mr. Banks, to whom they preſented ſome parrots feathers, plantains, and other plants. They then brought a large bundle of cloth, conſiſting of nine pieces, which being divided into three parcels, one of the women, who appeared to be the principal, ſtepping on one of the parcels, pulled up all her clothes as high as her waiſt, and then, with an air of unaffected ſimplicity, turned round three times. This ceremony ſhe repeated in the ſame manner on the other two parcels of cloth, and the whole being then preſented to Mr. Banks, the ladies went and ſaluted him; in return for which he made them ſuch preſents as he thought would gratify them the moſt.

The next evening Mr. Banks was under the diſagreeable neceſſity of reprimanding, in very ſtrong terms, Tubora Tumaida, for having the inſolence to ſnatch his gun from him, and firing it in the air; a thing which ſurpriſed Mr. Banks greatly, as he imagined him totally ignorant of the uſe of it. And as their ſafety depended on keeping them in that ſtate, he told him, with threats, that his touching his piece was the greateſt of inſults. The Indian made no reply, but ſet off with his family to his houſe at Eparre. He being an uſeful man, Mr. Banks, accompanied by Mr. Molineux, thought fit to go after him, and they found him among a number of people, greatly dejected. However, as Mr. Banks judiciouſly cauſed all animoſity to ceaſe, they brought him back to ſupper; after which, the chief and his wife both ſlept in Mr. Banks's tent. One of the natives, not intimidated by their preſence, attempted that very evening to ſcale the walls of the fort, but was prevented by the ſentinel. Theſe Indians could not reſiſt making attempts to ſteal the iron and iron tools within the works.

On the evening of the 14th, ſeveral of the officers were witneſſes to an entertainment of a very extraordinary nature, which conſiſted of the moſt indecent acts of lewdneſs. For example, a young fellow cohabited in public with a girl about eleven or twelve years of age, without the leaſt ſenſe of ſhame: and what is ſtill more extraordinary, Oberea, with ſeveral other females of the firſt rank, were preſent during the whole time.

On Monday the 15th, Mr. Banks detected Tubora Tumaida in having ſtolen ſome nails. Mr. Banks having a good opinion of this chief, was willing to put his fidelity to the teſt, and ſeveral temptations were thrown in his way, among the reſt a baſket of nails, which proved irreſiſtible. He confeſſed the fact, and upon Mr. Banks's inſiſting upon reſtitution, he declared the nails were at Eparre; this occaſioned high words, and at length the Indian produced one of them. He was to have been forgiven upon reſtoring the reſt, but not having reſolution to fulfil his engagement, he fled with his furniture and family before night.

On the 17th, one of the natives who came in the morning to ſteal ſome caſks, it not being the firſt offence, the ſentinel ſnapped his gun at him, but, it miſſing fire, he eſcaped.

On the 27th of May, Tootahah being removed to a place called Atahourou, Mr. Banks, Dr. Solander, Captain Cook, and ſome others, ſet out in the pinnace to pay him a viſit; after making preſents of a few trifling articles, they were invited to ſtay the night. Mr. Banks having accepted a place in Oberea's canoe, left his companions in order to retire to reſt. Notwithſtanding the care Oberea took of his clothes,

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by having them in her own cuſtody, they were ſtolen, with his piſtols, powder-horn, and many other things that were in his waiſtcoat pockets. The alarm was given to Tootahah, who ſlept in the next canoe, and who went with Oberea in ſearch of the thief, leaving Mr. Banks with only his breeches on, and his muſket uncharged. They ſoon returned, but without ſucceſs; Mr. Banks thought proper to put up with the loſs for the preſent. He judged it now neceſſary to get up and try to find his companions; he firſt went to the hut, where Captain Cook and three of his aſſociates lay, and began to relate his melancholy tale; but inſtead of receiving much comfort from them, he was told, that they had ſhared the ſame fate, having loſt their ſtockings and jackets.

In their return to the boats, they were greatly amuſed by ſeeing ſome Indians ſwimming for their diverſion, amidſt a ſurf which no European boat could have lived in, or the beſt ſwimmer in Europe have ſaved himſelf from drowning, had he by accident been expoſed to its fury.

Some Indians from a neighbouring iſland, to which Captain Wallis gave the name of Duke of York's Iſland, informed them of more than twenty iſlands in the neighbourhood of Otaheite.

They now began to make preparations for obſerving the tranſit of Venus, and, from the hints which Captain Cook had received from the Royal Society, he ſent out two parties to make obſervations from different ſpots, that in caſe they failed at Otaheite, they might ſucceed elſewhere; they employed themſelves in preparing their inſtruments, and inſtructing ſuch gentlemen with the uſe of them, as were to go out. And on Thurſday the 1ſt of June, the next Saturday being the day of the tranſit, they ſent the long boat to Eimayo, having on board Mr. Gore, Mr. Monkhouſe, and Mr. Sporing, a friend of Mr. Banks; each furniſhed with neceſſary inſtruments by Mr. Green. Mr. Banks and ſeveral of the Indians went out with this party. Others were diſpatched to find out a convenient ſpot, at ſuch a diſtance from their principal ſtation, as might ſuit their purpoſe.

Thoſe who went to Eimayo in the long boat, after rowing beſt part of the night, by the help of ſome Indians on board a canoe, which they hailed, found a proper ſituation for their obſervatory upon a rock, which roſe out of the water, about one hundred and forty yards from the ſhore; where they fixed their tents, and prepared the apparatus for the following day's obſervation.

On Saturday, the 3d, as ſoon as it was light, Mr. Banks left them to go to the iſland for freſh proviſions. As he was trading with the natives who belonged to Tarrao, the King of the iſland, His Majeſty arrived with his ſiſter, whoſe name was Nuna, in order to pay him a viſit. It being cuſtomary among theſe people to be ſeated during their conferences, Mr. Banks ſpread on the ground his Indian cloth turban, that he wore inſtead of a hat, on which they all ſat down. After this the royal preſent was brought, conſiſting of a hog, a dog, ſome cocoa-nuts, bread-fruit, &c. A meſſenger was diſpatched by Mr. Banks for an adze, a ſhirt, and ſome beads, and they were preſented to His Majeſty, who received them with much pleaſure. Tubora Tumaida and Tomio, Indians who had gone with Mr. Banks upon the expedition, came from the obſervatory: Tomio, ſaid to be related to Tarrao, brought him a long nail, and a ſhirt for Nuna, by way of preſents. Mr. Banks returned to the obſervatory with Tarrao, Nuna, and three beautiful young women, their chief attendants. He ſhewed them the tranſit of Venus over the ſun, and informed them, that he and his companions had come from their own country ſolely to view it in that ſituation.

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The produce of this iſland, according to the inſpection of Mr. Banks, proved to be much the ſame as that of Otaheite, the people alſo reſembling thoſe of that iſland; many of them he had ſeen upon it, who were well acquainted with the value of the trading articles.

Both the parties which were ſent out, made their obſervations with great ſucceſs. They nevertheleſs differed in the accounts of the times of the contacts more than might have been imagined.

Mr. Green's account was as follows:

	Hours.	Min.	Sec.	
The firſt external contact, or firſt appearance of Venus on the ſun, was	9	25	4	Morning.
The firſt internal contact or total immerſion was	9	44	4	Morning.
The ſecond internal contact, or beginning of the immerſion	3	14	8	Afternoon.
The ſecond external contact, or total immerſion	3	32	10	Afternoon.
Latitude of the obſervatory	17°	15′	29″	

Longitude 149° 32′ 30″ weſt of Greenwich.

While they were viewing the tranſit of Venus, ſome of the ſhip's company broke into one of the ſtore-rooms, and ſtole a quantity of ſpike nails. As the circulation of theſe nails might have been highly detrimental to them, ſtrict ſearch was made, and one of the thieves was detected. He had only a few in his cuſtody; but was however puniſhed with two dozen laſhes.

There having been a ſcarcity of bread-fruit for ſome days, an enquiry was made of the cauſe, and the reaſon the Indians gave was, that there being a great crop, the fruit had been gathered to make a ſort of ſour paſte, which the natives call mahie, which, after fermentation, will keep a long time, and ſupply them in times of dearth.

Complaint was made on Monday, the 12th, to the captain, that the Indians had loſt ſome bows and arrows, and ſtrings of plaited hair; the affair was enquired into, and the fact being well atteſted, two dozen laſhes were inflicted upon the ſailors who had ſtolen them.

An iron coal-rake for the oven being ſtole in the night of the 14th, and many other things having at different times been taken by the Indians, the captain judged it of ſome conſequence, if poſſible, to put an end to theſe practices, by making it their common intereſt to prevent it. He had already given ſtrict orders that the ſentinels ſhould not fire upon them, even if they were detected in the fact. About twenty-ſeven of their double canoes with ſails were juſt come in with cargoes of fiſh, which the captain ſeized, and then gave notice, that unleſs the rake, and all the other things, which had at different times been ſtolen, were returned, the veſſels ſhould be burnt. The captain had, indeed, no ſuch deſign, as will appear by the event. The menace produced no other effect than the reſtitution of the rake, all the other things remaining in their poſſeſſion. At length the captain thought proper to give up the cargoes, as the innocent natives were in great diſtreſs for want of them; and at laſt, to prevent confuſion, from the difficulty of aſcertaining to whom the different lots belonged, he promiſed alſo to releaſe the canoes.

About this time another event had nearly involved the Engliſh in a quarrel with the Indians. The captain having ſent a boat on ſhore to get ballaſt, the officer not meeting immediately with what he wanted, began to pull down one of their ſepulchral buildings; this meaſure was ſtrenuouſly oppoſed by the Indians. Mr. Banks, having received intelligence

intelligence of the affair, repaired to the ſpot, and the matter was ſoon amicably terminated, there being ſtones ſufficient found elſewhere.

On the 19th, in the evening, ſoon after dark, while the canoes were detained by the captain, Oberea the queen, and ſeveral of her attendants, paid the gentlemen a viſit. She came from Tootahah's palace in a double canoe, and brought with her a hog, bread-fruit, and other preſents, among which was a dog; but none of the things that had been ſtolen; thoſe, ſhe pleaded, had been taken away by her gallant Obadee, for which ſhe had beaten him. She was deſirous of ſleeping with her attendants in Mr. Bank's tent; but this being refuſed, ſhe was obliged to paſs the night in her canoe.

The next morning the Queen returned to the fort. Two of her attendants were very earneſt in getting themſelves huſbands, in which they ſucceeded by means of the ſurgeon and one of the lieutenants. They ſeemed very agreeable till bed-time, and determined to lie in Mr. Bank's tent, which they accordingly did, till the ſurgeon having ſome words with one of them, Mr. Banks thruſt her out, and ſhe was followed by the reſt, except Otea Tea, who cried for ſome time, till he turned her out alſo. This had like to have become a ſerious affair, a duel being talked of between Mr. Banks and Mr. Monkhouſe; but it was happily avoided. Dogs are eſteemed here more delicate eating than pork; as thoſe bred to be eaten taſte no animal food, but live entirely upon vegetables; and the experiment was tried. Tupia undertook to kill and dreſs one, which he did, by making a hole in the ground and baking it. It was deemed a very good diſh.

They were viſited on the 21ſt, at the fort, by many of the natives, who brought various kinds of preſents, and among the reſt Oamo, a chief of ſeveral diſtricts on the iſland, whom they had never before ſeen, who brought with him a hog. This chief was treated with great reſpect by the natives, and was accompanied by a boy and a young woman. The boy was carried upon a man's back, though he was very able to walk. Oberea and ſome other of the Indians went out of the fort to meet them, their heads and bodies being firſt uncovered as low as the waiſt. This was conſidered as a mark of reſpect; they had not noticed it before, but judged it was uſually ſhown to perſons of diſtinguiſhed rank among them. Oamo entered the tent, but the young woman, who was about ſixteen, could not be prevailed upon to accompany him, though ſhe ſeemed to combat with her curioſity and inclination. Dr. Solander took the youth by the hand, and conducted him in; but the natives without, who had prevented the girl's entrance, ſoon found means to get him out again.

The curioſity of Mr. Banks and the other gentlemen being excited from theſe circumſtances, they made enquiry who theſe ſtrangers were, and were informed that Oamo was Oberea's huſband, but that by mutual conſent they had been for a conſiderable time ſeparated; and that the youth and girl were their offſpring. The boy was named Terridiri, and was heir apparent to the ſovereignty of the iſland; and he was to eſpouſe his ſiſter as ſoon as he had attained the proper age.

Monday, June 26th, early in the morning, the captain ſet out in the pinnace, accompanied by Mr. Banks, to circumnavigate the iſland. They ſailed to the eaſtward, and in the forenoon they went on ſhore, in a part of the iſland under the government of Ahio, a young chief, who had often viſited them at their tents. They alſo found here ſome other natives of their acquaintance. They then proceeded together to the harbour, wherein M. Bougainville lay when he viſited this iſland, and were ſhewn the ground

ground on which he fixed his tent, and the watering-place. They alſo met with Orette, a chief, who was their particular friend, whoſe brother went away with M. Bougainville.

Having taken a ſurvey of this harbour, and a large bay near which it is ſituated, they propoſed going to the oppoſite ſide of the bay, but Titubaola, who was their conductor, not only refuſed to accompany them, but endeavoured to diſſuade the captain and Mr. Banks from going, ſaying, "That country was inhabited by people who were not ſubjects to Tootahah, and who would deſtroy them all." This information did not, however, prevent the execution of their deſign; and upon loading their pieces with ball, Titubaola took courage to go with them. They rowed till it was dark, when they reached a narrow neck of land that divided the iſland into two peninſulas, which are diſtinct governments. As they were not yet got into the hoſtile part of the country, they agreed to ſpend the night on ſhore, where they were provided with ſupper and lodging by Ooratooa, the lady who paid her compliments to Mr. Banks in ſo remarkable a manner at the fort.

In the morning they purſued their paſſage for the other government. They landed in a diſtrict which was governed by a chief, named Maraitata, the "burying-place of men," and his father was called Pahairede, "the ſtealer of boats." Notwithſtanding their names were ſo ominous, they gave the captain and Mr. Banks a very civil reception; furniſhed them with proviſions, and ſold them a large hog for a hatchet. The curioſity of the natives was ſoon excited, and a crowd gathered round the Engliſh gentlemen; but they ſaw only two people whom they knew. They then advanced till they reached the diſtrict, which was under the dominion of the principal chief, or king, named Waheatua, who had a ſon; but it was not known in whoſe hands the ſovereign power was lodged. Having continued their journey along the ſhore for a conſiderable way, they at laſt ſaw the chief, and with him an agreeable young woman about two-and-twenty, named Toudidde. They were not unacquainted with her name, as they had often heard it mentioned by the natives; and they had great reaſon to ſuppoſe ſhe was the Queen of this peninſula.

In paſſing through this part of the iſland, they found it better cultivated, and more improved than any they had hitherto met with; though the houſes were but few, and thoſe very ſmall, yet there were a great number of canoes which excelled any they had ſeen, both in ſize and workmanſhip. Notwithſtanding the fertility of the country, proviſion of every kind was very ſcarce.

Towards the ſouthernmoſt part of the iſland they found a good harbour, formed by a reef, and the circumjacent country remarkably fruitful.

They landed again a little further to the eaſt. Mathiabo, the chief, with whom they had no acquaintance, nor had ever ſeen before, ſoon came to them, and ſupplied them with cocoa-nuts and bread-fruit. They purchaſed a hog for a glaſs-bottle, which he took in preference to every other thing that was offered him. They ſaw here a turkey-cock and a gooſe, which the Dolphin left on the iſland; they were remarkably fat, and ſeemed to be greatly admired by the Indians.

A very uncommon ſight preſented itſelf in a houſe near this place; ſeveral human jaw-bones were faſtened to a board of a ſemicircular form; they ſeemed freſh, and had not loſt any of their teeth. Mr. Banks could obtain no explanation of this myſtery. They quitted this place, and arrived in a bay on the north-weſt ſide.

Several canoes came off here with ſome very beautiful women, who appeared to be deſirous of their going on ſhore, to which they readily aſſented. They met with a friendly reception from the chief, whoſe name was Wiverou, who gave directions to ſome of his people to aſſiſt them in dreſſing their proviſions, which were now very

plentiful, and they ſupped at Wiverou's houſe, in company with Mathiabo. Part of the houſe was allotted for them to ſleep in, and ſoon after ſupper they retired to reſt. Mathiabo having obtained a cloak from Mr. Banks, under pretence of uſing it as a coverlet when he lay down, immediately made off with it, unperceived by that gentleman or his companions. News however of the robbery was ſoon brought them by one of the natives; in conſequence of which intelligence they ſet out in purſuit of the thief, but had proceeded a very little way before they were met by a perſon bringing back the cloak, which Matiabo had given up through fear.

The houſe, upon their return, was entirely deſerted, and about four in the morning the ſentinel gave the alarm that the boat was miſſing. Mr. Banks and the captain were greatly aſtoniſhed at this account, and ran to the water ſide; but though the morning was clear and ſtar-light, no boat was viſible. Their ſituation was now extremely terrifying; the party conſiſting of but four, with a ſingle muſket and two pocket-piſtols, without a ſpare ball or a charge of powder. After remaining in this diſtreſsful ſtate of anxiety for a conſiderable time, dreading the advantage the Indians would take of it, to their great joy, the boat, which had been driven away by the tide, returned; and Mr. Banks and his companions no ſooner breakfaſted than they departed.

This place is ſituated on the north ſide of Tiarrabou, the ſouth-eaſt peninſula of the iſland. It is fertile and populous, and the inhabitants every where behaved with civility. The laſt diſtrict in Tiarrabou, in which they landed, was governed by a chief named Omoe. He wanted a hatchet, but they had not one with them. He would not trade for nails, and they embarked, the chief accompanying them. After going about three miles, the captain met with ſome of Omoe's people, who had got with them a very large hog. The chief agreed to exchange the hog for a large axe and a nail, and to bring the beaſt to the fort in Port Royal Bay. This reſolution he came to after conſulting his wife; and Mr. Banks judged the exchange to be very advantageous to the Engliſh, as the hog was a remarkably fine one.

At this place they ſaw one of the Eatuas, or gods; it was made of wicker work, and reſembled the figure of a man; it was near ſeven feet in heighth, and was covered with black and white feathers; on the head were four protuberances, which the natives called Tate ete, or little men. Here they took leave of Omoe.

They were now near the diſtrict, named Paparra, which was governed by Oamo and Oberea, where they intended to ſpend the night. Mr. Banks and his company landed about an hour before it was dark, and found that they were both ſet out to pay them a viſit at the fort. They nevertheleſs ſlept at the houſe of Oberea, which, though not large, was very neat; no inhabitant but her father was now in poſſeſſion of it, who ſhewed them much civility. They took this opportunity of walking out to a point, upon which they had obſerved, at a diſtance, ſome trees called Etoa, which uſually grow on the burial-places of theſe people. They call theſe burying-grounds Morai, which are alſo places of worſhip. They here ſaw an immenſe edifice, which they found to be the Morai of Oamo and Oberea, which was by far the moſt conſiderable piece of architecture to be found in the iſland.

It conſiſted of an enormous pile of ſtone-work, raiſed in the form of a pyramid, with a flight of ſteps on each ſide, ſomething after the manner of thoſe little buildings, which are commonly erected in England to place the pillars of ſun-dials upon; it was near two hundred and ſeventy feet long, and about one third as wide, and between forty and fifty feet high.

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The foundation conſiſted of rock-ſtones, the ſteps of coral, and the upper part of round pebbles, all of the ſame ſhape and ſize; the rock and coral-ſtones were all ſquared with the utmoſt neatneſs and regularity, and the whole building appeared as compact and firm, as if it had been erected by the beſt workmen in Europe. As the Indians were totally deſtitute of iron utenſils to ſhape their ſtones, as well as mortar to cement them, when they had made them fit for uſe, a ſtructure of ſuch height and magnitude muſt have been a work of infinite labour and fatigue.

In the centre of the ſummit was the repreſentation of a bird, carved in wood; cloſe to this was the figure of a fiſh, which was in ſtone. This pyramid made part of one ſide of a wide court or ſquare, the ſides of which were nearly equal; the whole was walled in, and paved with flat ſtones. Within this place grew (notwithſtanding it was in this manner paved) ſeveral plantains, and trees which the natives call Etoa. At a little diſtance to the weſt of this edifice was another paved ſquare, which contained ſeveral ſmall ſtages, called by the natives Ewattas, which appeared to be altars; upon them they place proviſions, as ſacrifices to their gods. Mr. Banks afterwards obſerved whole hogs placed upon theſe ewattas, or altars.

The inhabitants of the iſland of Otaheite, ſeem in nothing ſo deſirous of excelling each other as in the grandeur and magnificence of their ſepulchres; and the rank and authority of Oberea was forcibly evinced upon this occaſion. The gentlemen of the Endeavour, it has been obſerved, did not find Oberea poſſeſſed of the ſame power as when the Dolphin was at this place, and they were now informed of the cauſe. The way from her houſe to the Morai, was by the ſea-ſide, and they obſerved, in all places as they paſſed along, a great number of human bones. Inquiry being made into the cauſe of this extraordinary ſight, they were informed, that about four or five months before Captain Cook's arrival, the inhabitants of Tiarrabou, the peninſula to the ſouth-eaſt, made a deſcent here, and ſlew many of the people, whoſe bones were thoſe that were ſeen upon the coaſt: that hereupon Oberea, and Oamo who then held the government for his ſon, had fled and taken refuge in the mountains; and that the victors deſtroyed all the houſes, and pillaged the country. Mr. Banks was alſo informed, that the turkey and gooſe which he had ſeen in the diſtrict of Mathiabo were among the booty. This afforded a reaſon for their being found where the Dolphin had little or no correſpondence; and the jaw-bones being mentioned, which had been ſeen hanging in a houſe, he was informed, that they had likewiſe been carried off as trophies, the jaw-bones of their enemies being conſidered by the natives of this iſland as marks of triumph equally as great as ſcalps are by the Indians in North America.

On Friday, the 30th, they arrived at Otahourou, where their old acquaintance Tootahah reſided; he received them with great civility, and provided for them a good ſupper, and a convenient lodging; and notwithſtanding they were ſo ſhamefully plundered the laſt time they ſlept with this chief, they ſpent the night in the utmoſt ſecurity, none of their clothes, or any other article, being miſſing in the morning.

On Saturday, July 1ſt, they returned to the fort at Port Royal harbour; having diſcovered the iſland, both peninſulas included, to be about one hundred miles in circumference.

Their Indian friends crowded about them upon their return, and none of them came without proviſions.

Monday, the 3d, Mr. Banks made an excurſion, with ſome Indian guides, to trace the river up the valley to its ſource, and obſerve to what extent its banks were inhabited. After meeting with houſes for the ſpace of ſix miles, they came up to one which was ſaid to be the laſt that could be ſeen. The maſter of it preſented them with

cocoa-nuts and other fruits; and after a ſhort viſit, they continued their walk. In this tour they often paſſed under vaults, formed by rocky fragments, in which, they were informed, that thoſe who were benighted often took refuge. During this tour he had a fine opportunity of ſearching for minerals among the rocks, which were almoſt on all ſides naked; he found, however, not the ſmalleſt appearance of any kind of mineral. The ſtones, every where reſembling thoſe of Madeira, gave manifeſt ſigns of having been burnt. There are alſo evident traces of fire in the clay upon the hills, both of this and the neighbouring iſlands.

Mr. Banks was engaged the 4th in planting on each ſide of the fort a great quantity of the ſeeds of water-melons, oranges, lemons, limes, and other plants and trees which he had brought from Rio de Janeiro. He gave of theſe ſeeds to the Indians in great plenty, and planted many of them in the woods: ſome of the melon-ſeeds, which had been planted ſoon after his arrival, had already produced plants, which appeared to be in a very flouriſhing ſtate.

Preparations were now made for departing. On Friday the 7th, the carpenters were ordered to take down the gates and palliſadoes of the fort, to be converted into fire-wood on board the Endeavour, and one of the Indians ſtole the ſtaple and hook belonging to the gate; he was inſtantly purſued, but could not be found; and ſoon after this, their old friend Tubora Tumaida brought back the ſtaple.

They continued on the 8th and 9th to pull down the fort, and their friends ſtill viſited them.

Captain Cook hoped now to quit the iſland without any farther miſunderſtanding with the natives; but in this he was miſtaken. Two foreign ſailors having been out, one of them was robbed of his knife, and ſtriving to recover it, the Indians attacked and wounded him in a dangerous manner with a ſtone; his companion alſo received a ſlight wound in the head. As Captain Cook would have been unwilling to have taken farther notice of the tranſaction, he was not ſorry the offenders had made their eſcape. Another affair equally diſagreeable ſoon after happened. Between the 8th and 9th in the evening, two young marines retired ſecretly from the fort, and in the morning were not to be met with. Notice having been given for all the company to go on board the next day, and that the ſhip would ſail that day or the day enſuing, Captain Cook began to fear that the marines intended to remain on ſhore. He was appriſed, that no effectual ſteps could be taken to recover them, without riſking the harmony and good fellowſhip which at preſent ſubſiſted between the Engliſh and the natives; and therefore reſolved to wait a day in hopes of their returning.

The 10th, in the morning, the marines not being returned, an enquiry was made after them, when the Indians declared they did not propoſe returning, having taken refuge in the mountains where it was impoſſible to diſcover them, and that each had taken a wife. In conſequence of which it was intimated to ſeveral chiefs who were in the fort with their women, among whom were Tubora Tumaida, Tomio and Oberea, that they would not be ſuffered to quit it till the deſerters were produced. Captain Cook thought this precaution neceſſary, as, by concealing them a ſhort time, he might be compelled to go without them. They received the intimation with very little ſigns either of fear or diſcontent, aſſuring the captain that the marines ſhould be ſent back. In the interim he ſent Mr. Hicks in the pinnace to bring Tootahah on board the ſhip, which he executed without giving any alarm. Night coming on, Captain Cook judged it was not prudent to let the people, whom he had detained as hoſtages, remain at the fort, and he therefore ordered Tubora Tumaida, Oberea, and ſome others, to be brought on board. This gave an unuſual alarm, and ſeveral of them, eſpecially the females

females, teſtified their apprehenſions with great agitation of mind, and floods of tears, when they were coming on board. Captain Cook went on board with them, Mr. Banks remaining on ſhore with ſome others, whom he thought it of leſs importance to detain.

One of the marines was brought back in the evening by ſome of the Indians, who reported, that the other, and the two people who were ſent to fetch them back, would be detained whilſt Tootahah was confined. Mr. Hicks was immediately diſpatched in the long-boat, with ſeveral men, to reſcue the Engliſh priſoners; at the ſame time Captain Cook told Tootahah, that it was incumbent on him to aſſiſt them with ſome of his people, and to give orders, in his name, that the men ſhould be ſet at liberty, for that he ſhould expect him to anſwer for the event. Tootahah immediately complied, and this party recovered the men without any oppoſition. About ſeven in the morning, on the 11th, they returned, but without the arms, which had been taken from them when they were made priſoners: the arms were however brought on board ſoon after, and the chiefs were allowed to return on ſhore.

At the time the chiefs were ſet on ſhore from the ſhip, thoſe at the fort were alſo releaſed, and after remaining with Mr. Banks about an hour and a half, they all returned to their reſpective places of reſidence. When the deſerters were examined, it was diſcovered that the account which the Indians had given was no way falſe: they had become fond of two girls, and it was their deſign to keep themſelves concealed till the ſhip had ſet ſail, and continue upon the iſland.

Tupia, whoſe name had been often mentioned in this voyage, had been prime miniſter of Oberea, when ſhe was at the pinnacle of her authority; he was alſo the principal prieſt of the iſland, and therefore intimately acquainted with the religion of the country. He was likewiſe deeply verſed in navigation, and was thoroughly acquainted with the number, ſituation, inhabitants, and produce of the adjacent iſlands. He had often teſtified a deſire to go with them; and on Wedneſday the 12th, in the morning, he came on board, with a boy about twelve years of age, his ſervant, named Taiyota, and requeſted the gentlemen on board to let him go with them. As it was thought he would be uſeful to them in many particulars, they unanimouſly agreed to comply with his requeſt. Tupia then went on ſhore, for the laſt time, to ſee his friends, and took with him ſeveral baubles to give them, as parting tokens of remembrance.

Thurſday the 13th of July, the ſhip was viſited by a multitude of the gentlemen's friends, and ſurrounded by numberleſs canoes, which contained the inferior natives. They weighed anchor about twelve, and the Indians took leave of the gentlemen on board, weeping in a friendly and affecting manner. Tupia ſupported himſelf in this ſcene with a becoming fortitude; tears flowed from his eyes, 'tis true, but the effort that he made to conceal them, did him additional honour. He went with Mr. Banks to the maſt-head, where he continued waving his hand to the canoes as long as they remained viſible.

According to Tupia's account, the iſland could furniſh above ſix thouſand fighting men, whereby a computation of the number of inhabitants may eaſily be made.

The produce of Otaheite is bread-fruit, cocoa-nuts, bananas, plantains; a fruit not unlike an apple, potatoes, yams, cocoas, ſugar-cane, and a variety of other fruits and vegetables.

They have no European fruits, garden ſtuff, or pulſe, nor grain of any ſpecies. Their tame animals are hogs, dogs, and poultry; there is not a wild animal in the iſland, except ducks, pigeons, parroquets, and a few other birds, rats being the only

quadruped; and there are no ſerpents. The ſea, however, ſupplies them with great variety of excellent fiſh.

With regard to the people, they are in general rather of a larger make than Europeans. The males are tall, robuſt, and finely ſhaped, The females of the ſuperior claſs are likewiſe generally above our common ſize; but thoſe of the lower rank are rather below it, and ſome of them are remarkably little.

Their natural complexion is a fine clear olive, or what we call brunette; their ſkin is delicately ſmooth and agreeably ſoft. The ſhape of their faces is in general handſome, and their eyes are full of ſenſibility and expreſſion; their teeth are likewiſe remarkably white and regular, and their breath intirely free from any diſagreeable ſmell; their hair is, for the moſt part, black. Both ſexes always eradicate the hair from their arm-pits, and they often reproached the Engliſh gentlemen with a want of cleanlineſs for not making uſe of the ſame method. Their motions are eaſy and graceful, but not vigorous; their deportment is generous and open, and their behaviour affable and courteous.

Both ſexes frequently wear a piece of cloth of the manufacture of the iſland tied round their heads in the form of a turban; and the women take no little pains in plaiting human hair into long ſtrings, which being folded into branches, are tied on their foreheads by way of ornament.

They ſtain their bodies, by indenting or pricking the fleſh with a ſmall inſtrument made of bone, cut into ſhort teeth; which indentures they fill with a dark blue or blackiſh mixture, prepared from the ſmoke of an oily nut, burnt by them inſtead of candles, and water; this operation, which is called by the natives tattaowing, is exceedingly painful, and leaves an indelible mark on the ſkin. It is uſually performed when they are about ten or twelve years of age, and on different parts of the body; but thoſe which ſuffer moſt ſeverely are the breech and the loins, which are marked with arches, carried one above another a conſiderable way up their backs.

At the operation of tattaowing, performed upon the poſteriors of a girl about twelve years of age, Mr. Banks was preſent; it was executed with an inſtrument that had twenty teeth, and at each a ſtroke, which was repeated every moment, ſerum mixed with blood iſſued. She bore it with great reſolution for ſeveral minutes; but at length the pain became ſo violent, that ſhe murmured and complained, and then burſt into the moſt violent lamentations; but her operator was inexorable, whilſt ſome females preſent chid and even beat her. Mr. Banks was a ſpectator for near an hour, during which time it was performed only on one ſide, the other having undergone the ceremony ſome time before; and the arches upon the loins, which are the moſt painful, but upon which they the moſt pique themſelves, were yet to be made.

They clothe themſelves in cloth and matting of various kinds; the firſt they wear in fair, the latter in wet weather. They are in different forms, no ſhape being preſerved in them; nor are the pieces ſewed together. The women of a ſuperior claſs wear three or four pieces; one, which is of conſiderable length, they wrap ſeveral times round their waiſts, and it falls down to the middle of the leg. Two or three other ſhort pieces, with a hole cut in the middle of each, are placed on one another, and their heads coming through the holes, the long ends hang before and behind, both ſides being open, by which means they have the free uſe of their arms.

The men's dreſs is very ſimilar, differing only in one inſtance, which is that part of the garment inſtead of falling below the knees, is brought between the legs. This dreſs is worn by all ranks of people, the only diſtinction being quantity in the

ſuperior

ſuperior claſs. At noon both ſexes appear almoſt naked, wearing only the piece of cloth that is tied round the waiſt.

The boys and girls go quite naked; the firſt till they are ſeven or eight years old; the latter till they are about five. Their houſes they ſeldom uſe but to ſleep in, or to avoid the rain, as they eat in the open air, under the ſhade of a tree. Their clothes ſerve them at night for covering, and there are no diviſions or apartments. The maſter and his wife repoſe in the middle, then the married people; next to theſe the unmarried females, and at a ſmall diſtance the men who are unmarried; and the ſervants ſleep in the open air in fair weather. The houſes of the chiefs, however, differ in ſome degree; there are ſome very ſmall, and ſo built as to be carried in canoes: all ſides of them are incloſed with the leaves of the cocoa-nut; the air, nevertheleſs, penetrates; in theſe the chief and his wife alone ſleep. There are alſo houſes which are general receptacles for the inhabitants of a diſtrict. Theſe are much larger.

When a chief kills a hog, which is but ſeldom, he divides it equally among his vaſſals; dogs and fowls are more common.

When the bread fruit is not in ſeaſon, they are ſupplied by cocoa-nuts, bananas, plantains, &c.

Their cookery is confined to baking, and their drink is generally water, or the milk of the cocoa-nuts, though there were inſtances in which ſome of them drank ſo freely of the Engliſh liquors, as to become quite intoxicated; this, however, ſeemed to proceed more from ignorance than deſign, as they were never known to repeat a debauch of this kind a ſecond time. They were told, indeed, that the chiefs ſometimes became inebriated by drinking the juice of a plant called *Ava*, but of this they ſaw no inſtance during the time they remained on the iſland.

The chiefs generally eat alone, unleſs when viſited by a ſtranger, who is ſometimes permitted to become a ſecond in their meſs; having nothing to ſupply the want of a table, they ſit on the ground in the ſhade; leaves of trees being ſpread before them, ſerve as a table cloth; their attendants, who are numerous, having placed a baſket before the chiefs, containing their proviſions, and a cocoa-nut ſhell of freſh and ſalt water, ſeat themſelves round them; they then begin by waſhing their mouth and and hands, after which they eat a mouthful of bread-fruit and fiſh, dipt in ſalt water alternately, till the whole is conſumed, taking a ſup of ſalt water likewiſe between almoſt every morſel. The bread-fruit and fiſh being all eaten, they next have either plantains or apples, which they never eat without being pared. During this time a ſoft paſte is prepared from the bread-fruit, which they ſup out of a cocoa-nut ſhell; this finiſhes the meal, and the hands and mouth are again waſhed, as at the beginning.

It is aſtoniſhing how much food they eat at a meal. Mr. Banks and ſome other gentlemen were preſent when one man devoured three fiſh the ſize of a middling carp, four bread-fruits as large as a common melon, thirteen or fourteen plantains ſeven or eight inches long, and above half as big round, and about a quart of the paſte made of bread-fruit.

It is not a little ſurpriſing, that the inhabitants of this iſland, who ſeemed exceedingly ſenſible of the pleaſures of ſociety, ſhould have an univerſal averſion to the leaſt intercourſe with each other at their meals; and ſo rigid are they in the obſervance of this unuſual cuſtom, that even brothers and ſiſters have their ſeparate baſkets to contain their proviſions, and generally ſit ſome yards diſtance when they eat, with their backs turned towards each other, not exchanging a ſingle word during the whole time of their repaſt; the middle aged of ſuperior rank uſually betake themſelves to ſleep after dinner, but what is remarkable, the older people are not ſo lazy; muſic, dancing, wreſtling,

and ſhooting with the bow, or throwing a lance, conſtitute a chief part of their diverſions.

Flutes, which have been mentioned before, and drums, are the only muſical inſtruments among them; their drums are formed of a circular piece of wood, hollow at one end only, which is covered with the ſkin of a ſhark, and they are beaten with the hand inſtead of a ſtick. Their ſongs are extempore, and frequently in rhyme, but conſiſt of only two lines.

Among their other amuſements they have a dance named Timorodee, which is performed by ten or a dozen young females, who put themſelves into the moſt wanton attitudes that can poſſibly be imagined, keeping time during the performance with the greateſt nicety and exactneſs; from theſe dances the women are immediately excluded on their becoming pregnant.

Many of the principal people of this iſland, of each ſex, have united into an aſſociation, in which no woman confines her favours to any particular man; in this manner they obtain a perpetual variety, no one object ever gratifying them but a few days.

The ſocieties are named Arreoy, the members of which have meetings where the men amuſe themſelves by wreſtling; and notwithſtanding the frequent intercourſe which the women have with a variety of men, they dance the Timorodee in ſuch a manner as they imagine will moſt excite the deſires of the male ſex, and which are often gratified upon the ſpot. There are much worſe practices. In caſe any of the women prove with child, which in this manner of life ſeldom happens, they deſtroy the helpleſs infant as ſoon as it is brought into the world, that it may not be a burden to the father, nor interrupt the mother in the purſuit of her laſcivious amuſements. Natural affection, however, for the child, ſometimes happily produces a reformation in the mother; but when this happens the child's life is always forfeited, unleſs the mother can procure a man to adopt it as his child, in which caſe this inhuman murder is prevented; but both the man and woman are for ever expelled the ſociety. The woman being particularized by the appellation of Whannownow, "bearer of children," which among theſe people, is conſidered as a term of the greateſt reproach.

Their perſonal cleanlineſs is an object that merits peculiar attention. Both ſexes never omit to waſh with water three times a day; when they riſe, at noon, and before they go to reſt. They alſo keep their clothes extremely clean; ſo that in the largeſt communities no diſagreeable effluvia ever ariſes, nor is there any other inconvenience than heat.

The chief manufacture of Otaheite is cloth; of this cloth there are three different ſorts, which are made of the bark of as many different trees, viz. the mulberry, the bread-fruit, and a tree not very unlike the wild fig-tree, which is found in ſome parts of the Weſt-Indies. The mulberry-tree, which the Indians call Aouta, produces the fineſt cloth, which is ſeldom worn but by thoſe of the firſt rank. The next ſort, which is worn by the lower claſs of people, is made of the bread-fruit tree, and the coarſeſt of the tree reſembling the fig-tree. This laſt ſort, though more uſeful than the two former, on account of its keeping out water, which neither of the others will, is exceedingly ſcarce, being manufactured but in ſmall quantities.

The cloth becomes exceedingly white by bleaching, and is died of a red, yellow, brown, or black colour; the firſt of which is exceedingly beautiful, and equal, if not ſuperior, to any in Europe.

Matting of various kinds is another conſiderable manufacture, in which they excel, in many reſpects, the Europeans. They make uſe of the coarſer ſort to ſleep on, and in wet weather they wear the finer.

They

They greatly excel in the baſket and wicker-work; both men and women employ themſelves at it, and can make it of a great number of different patterns.

Their fiſhing-lines are eſteemed the beſt in the world, made of the bark of the erowa, a kind of nettle which grows on the mountains; they are ſtrong enough to hold the heavieſt and moſt vigorous fiſh, ſuch as bonetas and albicores; in ſhort, they are extremely ingenious in every expedient for taking all kinds of fiſh.

The tools which theſe people make uſe of for building houſes, conſtructing canoes, hewing ſtone, and for felling, cleaving, carving, and poliſhing timber, conſiſt of nothing more than an adze of ſtone and a chiſſel of bone, moſt commonly that of a man's arm; and for a file or poliſher, they make uſe of a raſp of coral, and coral ſand.

The blades of their adzes are extremely tough, but not very hard; they make them of various ſizes, thoſe for felling weigh ſix or ſeven pounds; and others which are uſed for carving, only a few ounces; they are obliged every minute to ſharpen them on a ſtone, which is always kept near them for that purpoſe.

Some of their ſmaller boats are made of the bread-fruit-tree, which is wrought with much difficulty, being of a light ſpongy nature. Inſtead of planes, they uſe their adzes with great dexterity. Their canoes are all ſhaped with the hand, the Indians not being acquainted with the method of warping a plank.

They are very curious in the conſtruction of their boats, the chief parts or pieces whereof are formed ſeparately without either ſaw, plane, chiſſel, or any other iron tool, which renders their fabrications more ſurpriſing and worthy obſervation. They keep theſe boats with great care in a kind of ſhed, built on purpoſe to contain them.

Their language is ſoft and muſical, abounds with vowels, and is eaſy to be pronounced. But whether it is copious, Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander were not ſufficiently acquainted with it to know. As very few either of their nouns or verbs are declinable, it muſt conſequently be very imperfect. They found means, however, to be mutually underſtood without much difficulty.

Here the management of the ſick falls to the lot of the prieſts, and their method of cure conſiſts chiefly of prayers and ceremonies, which are repeated till the patients recover or die.

From their connection with the Europeans, they have entailed upon themſelves that dreadful curſe, the venereal diſeaſe; which, upon enquiry, evidently appeared to have been brought among them by the veſſels under the command of Monſ. Bougainville. It was called by a name ſomewhat ſimilar in meaning to rottenneſs, but of a much ſtronger import: and they gave a moſt ſhocking account of the ſufferings of thoſe who were firſt infected with it; telling them, that their nails and hair fell off, and the fleſh even rotted from their bones: and ſo greatly were they terrified at the dreadful effects of this alarming diſeaſe, that the infected perſon was forſaken even by his own relations, and left to periſh by himſelf, in ſuch a ſtate of miſery and pain as he had never before experienced.

The religion of theſe people appeared to be exceedingly myſterious.

They emphatically ſtile the Supreme Being, the Cauſer of Earthquakes, but their prayers are more generally addreſſed to Tane, ſuppoſed to be a ſon of the firſt progenitors of nature.

They believe in the exiſtence of the ſoul in a ſeparate ſtate, and that there are two ſituations, differing in their degrees of happineſs, which they conſider as receptacles for different ranks, but not as places of reward and puniſhment; they ſuppoſe that their chiefs and principal people will have the preference to thoſe of inferior rank, as

they imagine their actions no way influence their future ſtate, and that their deities take no cognizance of them whatſoever.

The office of prieſt is hereditary; there are ſeveral of them, and of all ranks; the chief is reſpected next to their Kings, and they are ſuperior to the reſt of the natives not only in point of divine knowledge, but alſo in that of navigation and aſtronomy.

The prieſts here are no way concerned with the ceremony of marriage, it being a ſimple agreement between the man and woman; and when they chuſe to ſeparate, it is done with as little ceremony as that of their marriage.

Slings, with which they are very dexterous, pikes headed with ſtone, and long clubs made of wood, remarkably hard and heavy, conſtitute their weapons.—With theſe they fight with great obſtinacy and cruelty, giving no quarter to either man, woman, or child, if they fall into their hands in time of battle.

There is nothing among them ſubſtituted for money, or a general medium, by which every object may be purchaſed or procured; neither can any permanent good be unlawfully obtained by force or fraud: and the general commerce with women ſets aſide almoſt every excitement for committing adultery. In a word, in a government ſo little poliſhed, though diſtributive juſtice cannot be regularly adminiſtered, as there can at the ſame time be but few crimes for the exerciſe of it, the want of this juſtice is not ſo ſeverely felt as in civilized countries.

Thurſday, July the 13th, after leaving the iſland of Otaheite, they ſailed with a gentle breeze and clear weather; and were informed by Tupia, that four iſlands, which he called Huaheine, Ulietea, Otaha, and Bolabola, were at the diſtance of about one or two days ſail, and that hogs, fowls, and other refreſhments, which had lately been ſcarce, were to be got there in abundance. They accordingly ſteered their courſe in ſearch of theſe iſlands, and on Saturday the 15th, diſcovered the iſland of Huaheine; and on the 16th, in the morning, they ſounded near the north-weſt part of the iſland, but found no bottom with ſeventy fathom. Several canoes immediately put off, but they appeared fearful of coming near the ſhip, till they ſaw Tupia, who totally removed their apprehenſions, and they ventured to come along-ſide; and upon aſſurances of friendſhip, the King of Huaheine and his Queen went on board. Aſtoniſhment was teſtified by Their Majeſties at every thing that was ſhewn to them; yet they made no reſearches, and appeared ſatisfied with what was preſented to their obſervation, making no inquiry after any other objects, though it was reaſonable to ſuppoſe, that a building of ſuch novelty and extent as the ſhip muſt have afforded many curioſities. The King, whoſe name was Oree, made a propoſal to exchange names with Captain Cook, which was readily aſſented to. The cuſtom of exchanging names is very prevalent in this iſland, and is conſidered as a mark of friendſhip. They found the people here nearly ſimilar to thoſe of Otaheite in almoſt every circumſtance, except, if Tupia might be credited, they were not addicted to thieving. Having come to an anchor in a ſmall but fine harbour, on the weſt ſide of the iſland, Captain Cook went aſhore, accompanied by Mr. Banks and ſome other gentlemen, with Tupia and the King. The inſtant they landed, Tupia uncovered himſelf as low as his waiſt, and deſired Mr. Monkhouſe to follow his example. Being ſeated, he now began a ſpeech, which laſted about twenty minutes; the King, who ſtood oppoſite to him, anſwering in what ſeemed to be ſet replies. During this diſcourſe, he delivered at different times a handkerchief, a black ſilk neckcloth, ſome beads and plantains, as preſents to their Eatua, or deity. He received in return, for the Eatua of the Engliſh, a hog, ſome young plantains, and two bunches of feathers, which were carried on board. Theſe ceremonies were conſidered

ſidered as a kind of ratification of a treaty between the Engliſh and the King of Huaheine.

They went on ſhore again on the 18th without Tupia, but his boy, whoſe name was Tayota, accompanied them; with ſome difficulty they negotiated for eleven pigs, and were not without hopes of obtaining more the next morning.

Wedneſday the 19th, they carried ſome hatchets with them, with which they procured three very large hogs. As they propoſed to ſail in the afternoon, the king, accompanied by ſome others of the natives, came on board to take his leave, when His Majeſty received from Captain Cook a ſmall pewter plate, with the following inſcription: "His Britannic Majeſty's ſhip Endeavour, Lieutenant Cook, Commander, 16th July, 1769." He alſo was preſented with ſome medals, or counters, reſembling the coin of England, and a few other trifles.

This iſland is diſtant from Otaheite about thirty leagues, and is about twenty miles in circumference. Mr. Banks found here a ſpecies of ſcorpion which he had not ſeen before. The people are of a very lazy diſpoſition, though they are ſtouter and larger made than thoſe of Otaheite.

From Huaheine they ſailed for the iſland of Ulietea, and in the afternoon came within a league or two of the ſhore. They anchored in a bay, which is formed by a reef, on the north ſide of the iſland; two canoes of natives ſoon came off from the ſhore, and brought with them two ſmall hogs, which they exchanged for ſome nails and beads. On the 20th, Mr. Banks, the captain, and others went on ſhore, accompanied by Tupia, who introduced them with the ſame kind of ceremonies that had taken place on their landing at Huaheine; after which Captain Cook took poſſeſſion of this and the adjacent iſlands in the name of the King of Great Britain.

On the 22d and 23d, it being hazy weather with briſk gales, Captain Cook judged it rather unſafe to put to ſea. On the 24th they got under ſail, and ſteered to the northward within the reef, towards an opening five or ſix leagues diſtant. In effecting this, he was in the greateſt danger of ſtriking on a rock; the man who ſounded, crying out on a ſudden, two fathom, at which they were much alarmed, but happily got clear without receiving any damage.

The proviſions of this iſland conſiſt chiefly of cocoa-nuts, yams, plantains, and a few hogs and fowls; that part of the country where they landed is not ſo fruitful as either Otaheite or Huaheine.

On the 25th, they were within a league or two of the iſland of Otaha, but the wind continuing contrary, they could not get near enough to land till the 28th in the morning, when Mr. Banks and Dr Solander went in the long-boat, with the maſter, to ſound a harbour on the eaſt ſide of the iſland, which they found ſafe and convenient, with good anchorage. They then went on ſhore, and purchaſed ſome hogs and fowls, and a large quantity of yams and plantains.

This iſland appeared to be more barren than Ulietea, but the produce was much the ſame.

On the 29th they ſailed to the northward, and in the afternoon, finding themſelves to windward of ſome harbours that lay on the weſt ſide of Ulietea, they intended to put into one of them, in order to ſtop a leak which they had ſprung in the powder-room, and to take in ſome additional ballaſt. The wind being right againſt them, they plied on and off till the afternoon of the 1ſt of Auguſt, when they came to an anchor in the entrance of the channel which led into one of the harbours.

Wedneſday 2d of Auguſt, in the morning, when the tide turned, they came into a proper place for mooring, in twenty-eight fathoms. In the interim many of the natives

came off, and brought hogs, fowls, and plantains, which were purchaſed upon very moderate terms.

Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander went on ſhore, and ſpent the day very agreeably; the natives ſhewing them great reſpect. Being conducted to the houſes of the chief people, they were received in an uncommon manner. Upon their entrance into a houſe, they found thoſe who had ran haſtily before them, ſtanding on each ſide of a long mat, ſpread upon the ground, and the family ſitting at the further end of it. In one houſe they obſerved ſome very young girls, dreſſed in the neateſt manner, who kept their places, waiting for the ſtrangers to accoſt them: theſe girls were the moſt beautiful the gentlemen had ever ſeen.

Before their departure they were entertained with a dance, different from any they had ſeen before. The performer put upon his head a large piece of wicker-work, about four feet long, of a cylindrical form, covered with feathers, and edged round with ſhark's teeth. Having this head-dreſs on, which is called a Whou, he began to dance with a ſlow motion, frequently moving his head, ſo as to deſcribe a circle with the top of his wicker cap, and ſometimes throwing it ſo near the faces of the bye-ſtanders, as to make them jump back; this they conſidered as an excellent piece of humour, and it always produced a hearty laugh, when practiſed upon any of the Engliſh gentlemen.

On the 3d, they ſaw another company of dancers, conſiſting of ſome of the principal people of the iſland. The women's necks, breaſts, and arms, were naked; the other parts of the body were covered with black cloth, which was faſtened cloſe round them; and by the ſide of each breaſt, next the arms, was a ſmall plume of black feathers, worn like a noſegay.

Thus apparelled they advanced ſideways, keeping time with great exactneſs to the drums, which beat quick and loud; ſoon after, they began to ſhake themſelves in a very whimſical manner, and put their bodies into a variety of ſtrange poſtures, ſometimes ſtanding in a row one behind another, ſometimes ſitting down, and at others falling with their faces to the ground, and reſting on their knees and elbows, moving their fingers at the ſame time with a quickneſs ſcarcely to be credited. The chief dexterity, however, of theſe dancers, as well as the amuſement of the ſpectators, conſiſted in the laſciviouſneſs of their attitudes and geſtures, which decency forbids us to deſcribe.

On Saturday the 5th, ſome hogs and fowls, and ſeveral large pieces of cloth, many of them being fifty or ſixty yards in length, together with a quantity of plantains and cocoa-nuts, were ſent to Captain Cook as a preſent, from the Earee Rahie of a neighbouring iſland called Bolabola, accompanied with a meſſage, that he was then on the iſland, and intended waiting on the captain the next day.

On Sunday the 6th, the King of Bolabola did not viſit them agreeable to his promiſe; his abſence, however, was not in the leaſt regretted, as he ſent three very agreeable young women to demand ſomething in return for his preſent. After dinner they ſet out to pay the King a viſit on ſhore, as he did not think proper to come on board. As this man was the Earee Rahie of the Bolabola men, who had conquered this, and were the dread of all the neighbouring iſlands, they were greatly diſappointed, inſtead of finding a vigorous, enterpriſing young chief, to ſee a poor feeble, decrepid old dotard, half blind, and ſinking under the weight of age and infirmities. He received them without either that ſtate or ceremony which they had hitherto met with among the other chiefs.

They had now plenty of hogs on board, but as they could not be brought to eat any ſort of European grain, or any provender whatever that the ſhip afforded, they

were reduced to the diſagreeable neceſſity of killing them immediately on their leaving thoſe iſlands; and the fowls all died of a diſorder in their head, with which they were ſeized ſoon after they were brought on board.

As they were detained longer at Ulietea in repairing the ſhip than they expected, they did not go on ſhore at Bolabola; but, after giving the general name of the Society Iſlands to the whole group, which lie between the latitude of 16° 10′, and 16° 55′ ſouth, they purſued their courſe, ſtanding ſouthwardly for an iſland, to which they were directed by Tupia, at above an hundred leagues diſtant, which they diſcovered on Sunday the 13th, and were informed by him, that it was called Ohiteroa. The next morning they ſtood in for land. When they came near the ſhore, they could perceive that the inhabitants were armed with lances of a conſiderable length. The appearance of the boat ſoon drew together a great number of them upon the beach, two of whom leaped into the water, and endeavoured to gain the boat, but ſhe ſoon left them behind: ſeveral others made the ſame attempt, but with as little ſucceſs.

The boat having doubled the point where they intended to land, opened a large bay, and diſcovered another party of the natives ſtanding at the end of it, in the ſame manner as thoſe they had already ſeen. The boat's crew rowed towards the ſhore, and began to make preparations for landing, upon which a canoe, with ſome of the natives on board, came off towards them; they ordered Tupia to acquaint theſe people, that they did not intend doing them any injury, but wanted to traffic with them with nails, which they ſhewed them; this information encouraged them to come alongſide the boat, and they accepted of ſome nails, which were given them, with much apparent pleaſure and ſatisfaction: it ſoon appeared, however, to be nothing more than diſſimulation; for, in a few minutes, ſeveral of them unexpectedly boarded the boat, with an intention of dragging her on ſhore; ſome muſkets were immediately diſcharged over their heads, which had the deſired effect, all of them leaping directly into the ſea; and as ſoon as they reached the canoe, they put back to the ſhore as faſt as they could paddle, where a vaſt concourſe of their countrymen were aſſembled to receive them. The captain ſaw enough of their diſpoſition to give up all hopes of eſtabliſhing a friendly intercourſe with them, and returned to the ſhip.

The people of this iſland are very tall, well proportioned, and have long hair, which, like the inhabitants of the other iſlands, they tie in a bunch on the top of their head; they are likewiſe tataowed on different parts of their bodies, but not on their poſteriors.

This iſland does not ſhoot up into high peaks, like the others which they viſited, but is more level and uniform, and divided into ſmall hillocks, ſome of which are covered with groves of trees; they ſaw no bread-fruit, and not many cocoa-nut trees, but great numbers of the tree called etóa, were planted all along the ſhore.

On the 15th, they ſailed to the ſouthward, and on Friday the 25th, they celebrated the anniverſary of their leaving England, from whence they had been abſent one year: a large Cheſhire cheeſe, which had been carefully preſerved for that purpoſe, was brought out, and a barrel of porter tapped, which proved to be as good as any they had ever drank in England.

On Thurſday the 7th of October, they diſcovered land at weſt-by-north, and in the afternoon of the next day, they came to an anchor oppoſite the mouth of a little river about a mile and a half from the ſhore. The captain, with Mr. Banks, Dr. Solander, and ſome other gentlemen, accompanied by a party of marines, went on ſhore in the evening, in the pinnace and yawl.

Having left the pinnace at the entrance of the river, Captain Cook, Mr. Banks, &c. proceeded a little farther up, when they landed, and leaving the yawl to the care of ſome

ſome of their boys, went up to a few ſmall houſes which they ſaw at a little diſtance. Taking the advantage of their abſence from the boat, ſome of the natives, who had concealed themſelves behind the buſhes, ſuddenly ruſhed out, and ran towards it, brandiſhing the long wooden lances which they had in their hands in a threatening manner. The cockſwain fired a muſquetoon over their heads, which did not ſeem to intimidate them; he then fired a ſecond time over their heads, but with no better effect; alarmed at the ſituation of the boat, as they were now got near enough to diſcharge their lances at it, the cockſwain levelled his piece at them, and ſhot one man dead on the ſpot. Struck with aſtoniſhment at the fall of their companion, they retreated to the woods with the utmoſt precipitation. The report of the gun ſoon brought the advanced party back to the boats, and both the pinnace and the yawl immediately returned to the ſhip.

On Monday the 9th, in the morning, a great number of the natives were ſeen near the place where the gentlemen in the yawl had landed the preceding evening, and the greateſt part of them appeared to be unarmed. The long-boat, pinnace, and yawl, being ordered out, and manned with marines and ſailors, Captain Cook, together with Mr. Banks, the reſt of the gentlemen and Tupia went on ſhore, and landed on the oppoſite ſide of the river, over againſt ſeveral Indians who were ſitting on the ground.

They ſtarted up as ſoon as the gentlemen began to land, and their intentions appeared very hoſtile, brandiſhing their weapons in the uſual threatening manner; upon which a muſket was fired at ſome diſtance from them, at the effect of which, the ball happening to ſtrike the water, they appeared rather terrified, and deſiſted from their menaces. The marines being drawn up, the captain, with four or five of the gentlemen and Tupia, advanced nearer to the ſide of the river; Tupia ſpoke to them, and informed them, that they wanted to traffic with them for proviſions. They readily conſented to trade, and requeſted the Engliſh gentlemen to croſs the river and come over to them; which was agreed to, upon condition that the natives would quit their weapons; but this the moſt ſolemn aſſurances of friendſhip could not prevail on them to comply with.

The gentlemen in their turn intreated the Indians to come over to them, which after ſome time they prevailed on one of them to do; he was preſently followed by ſeveral others, bringing their weapons with them. They did not appear to ſet any great value on the beads, iron, &c. which was preſented to them, nor would they give any thing in return, but propoſed to exchange their weapons for thoſe belonging to the Engliſh, which being conſequently objected to, they endeavoured ſeveral times to ſnatch them out of their hands. But their attempts to ſeize the arms were repeatedly fruſtrated, and Tupia, by direction of the gentlemen, gave them notice, that any further offer of violence would be puniſhed with inſtant death. One of them had, nevertheleſs, the audacity to ſnatch Mr. Green's hanger, and retiring a few paces, flouriſhed it over his head; he, however, paid for his temerity with his life, Mr. Monkhouſe firing at him with a muſquet loaded with ball; and that gentleman afterwards, with great difficulty recovered the hanger, one of the Indians endeavouring to ſeize it.

This behaviour of the natives, added to the want of freſh water, induced Captain Cook to continue his courſe round the head of the bay. He was ſtill in hopes of getting ſome of the Indians on board, and by preſents added to civil uſage, convey through them a favourable idea of the Engliſh to their fellow-countrymen; and thereby ſettle a good correſpondence with them. Soon after an event occurred, though attended with diſagreeable circumſtances, that promiſed to facilitate this deſign. Two

canoes appeared making towards land, and Captain Cook propoſed intercepting them with his boats. One of them got clear off, but the Indians in the other, finding it impoſſible to eſcape the boats, began to attack them with their paddles: this compelled the Endeavour's people to fire upon them, when four of the Indians were killed, and the other three, who were youths, jumped into the water, and endeavoured to ſwim to ſhore: they were however taken up and brought on board. They were at firſt greatly terrified, thinking they ſhould be killed; but Tupia, by repeated aſſurances of friendſhip removed their fears, and they afterwards eat very heartily of the ſhip's proviſions. When they retired to reſt, in the evening, they appeared perfectly eaſy in their minds, and ſlept very quietly. The next morning, after they were dreſſed and ornamented, according to the mode of the country, with necklaces and bracelets, Captain Cook propoſed ſetting them on ſhore, that they might give a favourable report to their countrymen of the reception they had met with. They teſtified much ſatisfaction when told they were going to be releaſed; the names of theſe boys were Taahourange, Koikerange, and Maragovete. They informed Captain Cook, that there was a particular kind of deer upon the iſland, likewiſe taro, eapes, romara, yams, a kind of long pepper, bald coote, and black birds.

On the 11th Captain Cook ſet ſail, in hopes of finding a better anchoring place, after giving this bay (called by the natives Toaneora) the name of Poverty Bay; and the ſouth-weſt point he called Young Nick's Head, on account of its being firſt perceived by a lad on board named Nicholas Young.

Captain Cook gave the name of Cape Table to a point of land about ſeven leagues to the ſouth of Poverty Bay, its figure greatly reſembling a table; and the iſland, called by the natives Teahowry, he named Portland Iſland, it being very ſimilar to that of the ſame name in the Britiſh Channel.

On the 12th ſeveral Indians came off in a canoe; they were diſfigured in a ſtrange manner, danced and ſung, and appeared at times to be peaceably inclined, at others to menace hoſtilities; but notwithſtanding Tupia ſtrongly invited them to come on board, none of them would quit the canoe. Whilſt the Endeavour was getting clear of the ſhambles, five canoes full of Indians came off, and ſeemed to threaten the people on board, by brandiſhing their lances, and other hoſtile geſtures; a four pounder, loaded with grape-ſhot, was therefore ordered to be fired, but not pointed at them. This had the deſired effect, and made them drop aſtern. Next morning nine canoes full of Indians came from the ſhore, and five of them, after having conſulted together, purſued the Endeavour, apparently with a hoſtile deſign. Tupia was deſired to acquaint them that immediate deſtruction would enſue, if they perſevered in their attempts; but words had no influence, and a four pounder, with grape ſhot, was fired, to give them ſome notion of the arms of their opponents. They were terrified at this kind of reaſoning, and paddled away faſter than they came.

The following day, Sunday the 15th, in the afternoon, a large canoe, with a number of armed Indians, came up, and one of them, who was remarkably clothed with a black ſkin, found means to defraud the captain of a piece of red baize, under pretence of bartering the ſkin he had on for it. As ſoon as he had got the baize into his poſſeſſion, inſtead of giving the ſkin in return, agreeable to his bargain, he rolled them up together, and ordered the canoe to put off from the ſhip, turning a deaf ear to the repeated remonſtrances of the captain againſt his unjuſt behaviour. After a ſhort time this canoe, together with the fiſhing-boats which had put off at the ſame time, came back to the ſhip, and trade was again begun. During this ſecond traffic with the Indians, one of them unexpectedly ſeized Tupia's little boy Tayota, and pulling

him

him him into his canoe, inſtantly put her off, and paddled away with the utmoſt ſpeed; ſeveral muſquets were immediately diſcharged at the people in the canoe, and one of them receiving a wound, they all let go the boy, who before was held down in the bottom of the canoe. Tayota, taking the advantage of their conſternation, immediately jumped into the ſea, and ſwam back towards the Endeavour. He was taken on board without having received any harm; but his ſtrength was ſo much exhauſted with the weight of his clothes, that it was with great difficulty he reached the ſhip. In conſequence of this attempt to carry off Tayota, Captain Cook called the cape off which it happened Cape Kidnappers. Its diſtance from Portland Iſland is about thirteen leagues, forming the ſouth point of a bay, which the captain named Hawke's Bay, in honour of Sir Edward, who then preſided at the Admiralty board.

As every circumſtance that tends to elucidate the manners and cuſtoms of theſe people muſt attract the attention of the curious reader, we cannot omit Tayota's behaviour upon recovering from his fright, occaſioned by his being kidnapped. He produced a fiſh, and acquainted Tupia, that he deſigned to make an offering of it to his God, or Eatua, as a teſtimonial of his gratitude for his deliverance. Tupia approved of his intention, and by his direction the fiſh was caſt into the ſea. This is an evident proof, that even theſe unenlightened ſavages, by the mere impulſe of nature, believe in the exiſtence of a particular providence.

The Endeavour now paſſed a ſmall iſland, white and high, ſuppoſed to be inhabited only by fiſhermen, as it appeared quite barren, and was named Bare Iſland. On the 17th, Captain Cook gave the name of Cape Turnagain to a head-land. This cape is remarkable for a ſtratum of clay of a bright brown colour; its prominence gradually diminiſhes towards the north ſide, but to the ſouth its deſcent is not ſo regular.

The land between this cape and Kidnapper's Bay is unequal, and reſembles the high downs of England. There appeared numerous inhabitants, and ſeveral villages. Wedneſday the 18th, the Endeavour came abreaſt of a peninſula in Portland Iſland, named Terakako, when a canoe with five Indians came up to the ſhip. Two chiefs who were in this canoe came aboard, where they remained all night, and were treated with great civility. The chiefs would neither eat nor drink, but the ſervants made up for their maſters' abſtinence by their voracious appetites. The three boys had given theſe natives an account of the hoſpitality and liberality of the Engliſh, which had prevailed upon them to pay this viſit.

Thurſday the 19th, the Endeavour paſſed a remarkable head-land, which Captain Cook named Gable-End Foreland. It is diſtinguiſhed by a rock, in the ſhape of a church ſpire, which is very near it. Here three canoes came up, and one Indian came on board; he received ſome ſmall preſents, and retired to his companions. He wore a new garment of white ſilky flax, with a border of black, red, and white.

Many of the Indians had pieces of green ſtone round their necks, by way of necklaces; they were tranſparent, like an emerald, and appeared, on examination, to be a ſpecies of nephritic ſtone, of which all their ornaments of this kind conſiſted. Mr. Banks and the other gentlemen obtained ſeveral pieces of it.

On the 20th they anchored in a bay, about two leagues to the north of the foreland. The natives in canoes invited them hither, and behaved very amicably. There appeared to be two chiefs, who came on board. They received preſents of linen, which gave them much ſatisfaction; but they did not hold ſpike-nails in ſuch eſtimation as the inhabitants of ſome of the other iſlands. The captain, Mr. Banks, and Dr. Solander, went on ſhore, and were courteouſly received by the inhabitants, who did not appear in numerous bodies to avoid giving offence. The captain had the pleaſure to find freſh

water

water, in the courſe of a tour round the bay. They remained on ſhore all night, and next day Mr. Banks and the doctor diſcovered ſeveral plants, and many birds, particularly quails and large pigeons. Dogs with ſmall pointed ears, and very ugly, were the only tame animals among them. They have ſweet potatoes, like thoſe of North America, in great quantities; and the cloth plant grows here ſpontaneouſly. There is plenty of fiſh in the bay, ſuch as crabs, cray-fiſh, and ſhip-jacks or horſe-mackerel, which are larger than thoſe upon our coaſts.

Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander viſited their houſes, and were kindly received. Fiſh conſtituted their principal food at this time, and the root of a ſort of fern ſerved them for bread, which, when roaſted upon a fire, and diveſted of its bark, was ſweet and clammy; in taſte not diſagreeable, but unpleaſant from its number of fibres. Vegetables were, doubtleſs, at other ſeaſons very plentiful. The women paint their faces red, which ſo far from increaſing, diminiſhes the very little beauty they have. The men's faces were not in general painted, but ſome were rubbed over with red ochre from head to foot, their apparel not excepted. Though they could not be compared to the inhabitants of Otaheite for cleanlineſs in general, they ſurpaſſed them in this reſpect in ſome particulars. Every dwelling was ſupplied with a privy, and they had dunghills for depoſiting dirt and filth. The women wore a girdle made of the blade of graſs under a petticoat, and to this girdle was tied in front a bunch of fragrant leaves. They ſeemed to hold chaſtity in but little eſtimation, many of the young females reſorting to the watering place, where they bountifully beſtowed every favour that was requeſted. One of the officers on ſhore meeting with an elderly woman, he accompanied her to her houſe, and having preſented her with ſome cloth and beads, a young girl was ſingled out, and he was given to underſtand he might retire with her. Soon after an elderly man, with two women, came in as viſitors, and with much formality ſaluted all the company, according to the cuſtom of the place, which is by gently joining the tips of their noſes together. Several of the Indians went on board, and teſtified their curioſity and ſurpriſe with regard to the different parts of the ſhip.

Sunday the 22d, in the evening, they ſailed from this bay, which by the natives is called Tegadoo. The wind being contrary, they put into another bay a little to the ſouth, called by the natives Tolaga, in order to complete their wood and water, and extend their correſpondence with the natives.

On the 24th, Mr. Gore and the marines were ſent on ſhore to guard the people employed in cutting wood and filling water. Captain Cook, Mr. Banks, and the doctor alſo went on ſhore; the two latter employed themſelves in collecting plants. In their route they found in the vales many houſes uninhabited, the natives reſiding chiefly in ſlight ſheds on the ridges of the hills, which are very ſteep. In a valley between two very high hills they ſaw a curious rock that formed a large arch, oppoſite to the ſea. This cavity was in length above ſeventy feet, in breadth thirty, and near fifty in height; it commanded a view of the hills and the bay, which had a very happy effect. Indeed the whole country about the bay is agreeable beyond deſcription, and if properly cultivated would be a moſt fertile ſpot. Upon their return, they met an old man, who entertained them with the military exerciſe of the natives, which are performed with the patoo-patoo, and the lance. The former is uſed as a battle-axe; the latter is ten or twelve feet in length, made of extreme hard wood, and ſharpened at each end. A ſtake was ſubſtituted for their old warrior's ſuppoſed enemy; he firſt attacked him with his lance, when, having pierced him, the patoo-patoo was uſed to demoliſh his head, and the force with which he ſtruck would at one blow have ſplit any man's ſkull. Their tataowing is done very curiouſly in various figures, which makes their

ſkin reſemble carving; it is confined to the principal men, the females and ſervants uſing only red paint, with which they daub their faces, that otherwiſe would not be diſagreeable. Their cloth is white, gloſſy, and very even; it is worn principally by the men, though it is wrought by the women, who, indeed, are condemned to all the drudgery and labour.

In converſation with the natives, it was found they eat their enemies after they are killed in war. Captain Cook and Dr. Solander went on the 27th to inſpect the bay, when the doctor was not a little ſurpriſed to find the natives in poſſeſſion of a boy's top, which they knew how to ſpin by whipping it, and he purchaſed it out of curioſity. At the watering-place, the Indians by deſire ſung their war-ſong, which was a ſtrange medley of ſhouting, ſighing, and grimace, at which the women aſſiſted. The next day Captain Cook and the other gentlemen went upon an iſland at the entrance of the bay, and met with a canoe that was ſixty-ſeven feet in length, ſix in breadth, and four in height; her bottom, which was ſharp, conſiſted of three trunks of trees, and the ſides and head were curiouſly carved. Their favourite figure is a volute, or ſpiral, which is ſometimes ſingle, double, and triple, and is done with great exactneſs, though the only inſtruments the gentlemen ſaw were an axe made of ſtone, and a chiſſel.

There are many beautiful parrots, and great numbers of birds of different kinds, particularly one whoſe note reſembled the European black-bird; but here is no ground-fowl or poultry, nor were there any quadrupeds, except rats and dogs, and theſe were not numerous. The dogs are conſidered as delicate food, and their ſkins ſerve for ornaments to their apparel.

Sunday, October 29th, they ſet ſail from this bay, which is called by the natives Tolaga. This is a very hilly country, though it preſents the eye with an agreeable verdure, various woods, and many ſmall plantations. Mr. Banks met with a great number of trees in the woods, quite unknown to Europeans. The fire-wood reſembled the maple-tree, and produced a gum of whitiſh colour. The only roots they met with were yams and ſweet potatoes.

Sailing to the northward, they fell in with a ſmall iſland, about a mile diſtant from the north-eaſt point of the main; and this being the moſt eaſtern part of it, the captain named it Eaſt Cape, and the iſland Eaſt Iſland: it was but ſmall, and appeared barren. In the evening of the 30th, Lieutenant Hicks diſcovered a bay, to which his name was given. Next morning, about nine, ſeveral canoes came off from ſhore with a number of armed men, who appeared to have hoſtile intentions. Before theſe had reached the ſhip, another canoe, larger than any that had yet been ſeen, full of armed Indians, came off, and made towards the Endeavour with great expedition. The captain now judging it expedient to prevent, if poſſible, their attacking him, ordered a gun to be fired over their heads; this not producing the deſired effect, another gun was fired with ball, which threw them into ſuch conſternation, that they immediately returned much faſter than they came. This precipitate retreat induced the captain to give the cape off which it happened the name of Cape Runaway. Next morning, at day-break, they ſaw between forty and fifty canoes along ſhore, many of which came off in the manner they had done the day before, ſhouting, and menacing an attack. One of their chiefs in the largeſt of the canoes made ſeveral harangues, and by the menacing flouriſh of his pike, ſeemed to bid the ſhip defiance; but the gentlemen continuing to invite them to trade, they at laſt came cloſe alongſide, and the chief who had been declaiming, after uttering a ſentence, took up a ſtone and threw it againſt the ſide of the ſhip, which appeared to be a declaration of hoſtilities, as they inſtantly ſeized their arms. One of them took ſome linen that was hanging to dry, and made

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off with it. A muſquet was fired over his head to make him return, but this did not prevail; and even after another was fired at him with ſmall ſhot, which hit him in the back, he ſtill perſevered in his deſign. Upon this the reſt of the Indians dropped aſtern at ſome diſtance, and ſet up their ſong of defiance. They did not, however, make any preparations for attacking the ſhip; but the captain judged, that if he ſuffered them to go off without convincing them of his power of avenging the inſult, it might give an unfavourable opinion of the Engliſh to the natives on ſhore. He accordingly fired a four-pounder, which paſſed over them, and the effect it had in the water terrified them ſo greatly, that they made to ſhore with the utmoſt precipitancy. In the afternoon they deſcried a high iſland to the weſt, and ſome time after perceived ſome other iſlands and rocks in the ſame quarter; not being able to weather them before night came on, they bore up between them and the main land. About ſeven in the evening a double canoe, built like thoſe at Otaheite, but carved after their peculiar manner, came up to the ſhip, and Tupia entered into a friendly converſation with the Indians on board; when, on a ſudden, it being now dark, they pelted the ſhip with ſtones, and then retreated.

The Endeavour paſſed the night under an iſland about twenty miles from the main, which they named the Mayor. In the morning of the 3d, they gave the name of the Court of Aldermen to a number of ſmall iſlands that lay contiguous. The chief, who governed the diſtrict from Cape Turnagain to this coaſt, was named Teratu.

On Friday the 4th, three canoes came along ſide with ſeveral Indians. Theſe canoes were built very different from the others, being formed of the trunks of ſingle trees, made hollow by burning; they were not carved, or in any ſhape ornamented. Theſe Indians were of a darker complexion than the others, but made uſe of the ſame modes of defiance, and threw ſeveral ſtones and ſome of their lances into the ſhip.

The ſame afternoon the Endeavour ſailed towards an inlet they had diſcovered, and anchored in ſeven fathom water. She was ſoon after ſurrounded by ſeveral canoes, and the Indians at firſt did not ſhew any ſigns that they intended committing hoſtilities. One of the Endeavour's people ſhot a bird, which the Indians conveyed on board, without teſtifying any ſurpriſe at the event. For their civility the captain gave them a piece of cloth. But this favour had a very oppoſite influence to what was expected, for when it grew dark they ſung one of their menacing ſongs, and attempted to carry off the anchor's buoy. Some muſquets were now fired over them, which ſeemed rather to irritate than terrify them, and upon their going off, they threatened to return the next morning in greater numbers; they came back however the ſame night about eleven o'clock, in hopes of ſurpriſing the ſhip's crew; but finding them on their guard, they again retired.

In the morning of the 5th, a great number of canoes, with near two hundred men, armed with ſpears, lances, and ſtones, made their appearance, ſeemingly reſolved to attack the ſhip, and deſirous of boarding her, but could not determine at what part, changing their ſtations, and paddling round her. Theſe motions kept the crew upon the watch, in the rain, whilſt Tupia, at the requeſt of the captain, uſed every diſſuaſive argument he could ſuggeſt to prevent their carrying their apparent deſigns into execution; but his expoſtulations did not pacify them, till ſome muſkets were fired; they then laid aſide their hoſtile intentions, and began to trade. They ſold two of their weapons without fraud, but a third, for which they had received cloth, they would not deliver up, and inſtead of paying any attention to the demand that was made of it, they only laughed at them, and turned their expoſtulations into ridicule. As the cap-

tain propoſed to ſtay ſome days at this place, that he might obſerve the tranſit of Mercury, he judged it expedient to chaſtiſe theſe people for their inſolence and knavery; accordingly ſome ſmall ſhot were fired upon the principal offender, and a muſquet-ball went through his canoe. His companions left him to his fate, without taking the leaſt notice of him, though he was wounded, and continued to trade without any diſcompoſure. They for ſome time traded very fairly, but returning to their mal-practices, another canoe was fired upon, and ſtruck; they ſoon after paddled away, whilſt a round ſhot was fired over them.

Several of the Indians came off to the ſhip on the 5th, but behaved much better than they had done the preceding day. They had with them an old man, who had before teſtified his probity and diſcretion; and he appeared to be of ſuperior rank to the reſt. He came on board with another Indian, when the captain preſented them with ſome nails, and two pieces of cloth of Engliſh manufacture. Tojava (which was the name of the old man) informed Mr. Banks, that the natives had been in great terror of the Engliſh; when he was informed, that the captain and his people had no ill deſign againſt the Indians, but, on the contrary, wanted to eſtabliſh a friendly intercourſe, and to traffick with them. Tojava then acquainted the captain, that they were often viſited by free-booters from the north, who ſtripped them of all they could lay their hands on, and often made captives of their children and wives; and that being ignorant who the Engliſh were upon their arrival, the natives had taken the alarm upon the ſhip's appearing off the coaſt, but were now ſatisfied of their good intent. Probably, their poverty and miſery may be aſcribed to the ravages of this banditti, who often ſtrip them of every neceſſary of life.

The aſſurances of friendſhip which they had received from the gentlemen on board, ſeemed to have a proper influence upon the natives, who were now very tractable and ſubmiſſive. In a word, the natives now treated the Engliſh with great hoſpitality; a large ſupply of wood and good water was obtained, and the ſhip being very foul, was heeled, and her bottom ſcrubbed in the bay.

November the 8th, the Indians ſupplied the ſhip's crew with as much excellent fiſh, reſembling mackerel, as was ſufficient for all their dinners, for which they gave ſome pieces of cloth.

A great variety of plants were this day collected by Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander: they had never obſerved any of the kind before.

Early in the morning of the 9th, ſeveral canoes brought a prodigious quantity of mackerel, one ſort of which was no way different from the mackerel caught on our coaſt. Theſe canoes were ſucceeded by many others, equally well loaded with the ſame ſort of fiſh; and the cargoes purchaſed were ſo great, that when ſalted, they might be conſidered as a month's proviſion for the whole ſhip's company.

This being a very clear day, the aſtronomer (Mr. Green) and the other gentlemen landed to obſerve the tranſit of Mercury. Whilſt the obſervation was making, a large canoe, with various commodities on board, came alongſide the ſhip; and Mr. Gore, the officer who had then the command, being deſirous of encouraging them to traffick, produced a piece of Otaheitean cloth, of more value than any they had yet ſeen, which was immediately ſeized by one of the Indians, who obſtinately refuſed either to return it, or to give any thing in exchange; he paid dearly however for his temerity, being ſhot dead on the ſpot.

The death of this young Indian alarmed all the reſt; they fled with great precipitancy, and for the preſent could not be induced to renew their traffick with the Engliſh.

But

But when the Indians on ſhore heard the particulars related by Tojava, who greatly condemned the conduct of the deceaſed, they ſeemed to think that he merited his fate. His name proved to be Otirreeoonooe.

This tranſaction happened, as has been mentioned, whilſt the obſervation was making of the tranſit of Mercury, when the weather was ſo favourable that the whole tranſit was viewed without a cloud intervening. Mr. Green made the obſervation of the ingreſs, whilſt Captain Cook was engaged in aſcertaining the time, by taking the ſun's altitude. In conſequence of this obſervation having been made here, this bay was called Mercury Bay.

On the 10th, Mr. Banks, Dr. Solander, and the Captain, went in boats to inſpect a large river, that runs into the bay. They found it broader ſome miles within than at the mouth, and interſected into a number of ſtreams, by ſeveral ſmall iſlands, which were covered with trees. On the eaſt ſide of the river the gentlemen ſhot ſome ſhags, which proved very good eating.

The Indians ſup before ſun-ſet, when they eat fiſh and birds baked or roaſted. A female mourner was preſent at one of their ſuppers; ſhe was ſeated upon the ground, and wept inceſſantly, at the ſame time repeating ſome ſentences in a doleful manner, but which Tupia could not explain; at the termination of each period ſhe cut herſelf with a ſhell upon her breaſt, her hands, or her face; notwithſtanding this ſhocking bloody ſpectacle greatly affected the gentlemen preſent, yet all the Indians ſaw it with indifference.

November 11th, great plenty of oyſters were procured from a bed which had been diſcovered, and they proved exceedingly good. Next day the ſhip was viſited by two canoes, with unknown Indians; after ſome invitation they came on board, and they all trafficked without any fraud.

They ſailed from this bay, after taking poſſeſſion of it in the name of the King of Great Britain on the 15th of November. A number of iſlands, of different ſizes, appeared toward the north-weſt, which were named Mercury Iſlands. On account of the number of oyſters found in the river, the captain gave it the name of Oyſter river. The inhabitants, though numerous, have no plantations; their canoes are very indifferently conſtructed, and are no way ornamented.

Upon this ſhore iron ſand is in plenty to be found, which proves that there are mines of that metal up the country, it being brought down by a rivulet from thence.

On the 18th, in the morning, the Endeavour ſteered between the main, and an iſland which ſeemed very fertile, and as extenſive as Ulietea. Many canoes filled with Indians came along ſide, and the Indians ſung their war ſong; the Endeavour's people paying them no attention, they threw a volley of ſtones, and then paddled away; but they preſently returned and renewed their inſults. However, upon a muſquet being fired at one of their boats, they made a precipitate retreat.

In the evening they caſt anchor in twenty-three fathom water, and early the next morning they ſailed up an inlet. The Endeavour was now in a bay, called by the natives Ooahaouragee, and Captain Cook, with Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander, &c. went in the boats to the bottom of the bay to examine it, and they did not return till next morning. At the entrance of a wood they met with a tree ninety-eight feet high from the ground to the firſt branch, quite ſtraight, and nineteen feet in circumference; and they found ſtill larger trees of the ſame kind as they advanced into the wood. The captain called this river Thames, being not unlike our river of that name.

The ſhip, at their departure was ſurrounded with canoes, which induced Mr. Banks to remain on board, that he might trade with the Indians. Though the traders were

honeſt

honeſt in their dealing, there was one amongſt them who took a fancy to a half-minute glaſs, but was detected in ſecreting it, and he was puniſhed with the cat-o'-nine tails. The other Indians endeavoured to ſave him from this puniſhment; but being oppoſed, they got their arms from the canoes, and ſome of the people in them attempted to get on board. Mr. Banks and Tupia now coming upon deck, the Indians applied to Tupia, but he having no influence upon Mr. Hicks, the commanding officer, informed them of the nature of the offender's intended puniſhment, which pacified them, as they imagined he was going to be put to death. The criminal not only received twelve laſhes, but afterwards a drubbing from an old man, who was thought to be his father.

On the 23d they tided it down the river, and on the 24th they ſteered along the ſhore, between the iſlands and the main, and in the evening anchored in an open bay, in about fourteen fathoms water. Here they caught a large number of fiſh of the ſcienne, or bream kind; from which the captain named this Bream Bay, and the extreme points of it Bream Head. There are numbers of rocks off this bay, which were called the Hen and Chickens. No inhabitants were viſible; but from the fires perceived at night, the gentlemen concluded it was inhabited.

Sunday the 26th, Captain Cook continued his courſe ſlowly along the ſhore to the north. This day two canoes came up, and ſome of the Indians came on board, when they trafficked very fairly. Two larger canoes ſoon after followed them, and coming up to the ſhip, the people in them hailed the others, when they conferred together, and afterwards came along ſide of the ſhip. The laſt two canoes were finely ornamented with carving, and the people, who appeared to be of higher rank, were armed with various weapons; they held in high eſtimation their patoo-patoos, which were made of ſtone and whalebone, and they had ribs of whale with ornaments of dog's hair, which were very curious.—Theſe Indians ſeemed the ſuperiors of the others, they were nevertheleſs not free from the vice of pilfering, for one of them having agreed to barter a weapon for a piece of cloth, he was no ſooner in poſſeſſion of the cloth than he paddled away without paying the price of it; but a muſquet being fired, he came back and returned the cloth. All the canoes then returned aſhore.

The Endeavour paſſed a remarkable point of land, which the captain called Cape Bret, in honour of the Baronet of that name; this cape is much higher than any of the adjacent land. Within a mile to the north-eaſt-by-north is a curious rocky iſland; it is arched, and has a pleaſing effect at a diſtance. The natives call this Cape Motugogogo: it forms a bay to the weſt, which contains many ſmall iſlands, and Captain Cook named the point at the north-weſt entrance Point Pococke. The inhabitants had the ſame itch for cheating as the others. One of the midſhipmen was ſo nettled at being impoſed upon, that he had recourſe to a whimſical expedient by way of revenge; taking a fiſhing line, he threw the lead with ſo much dexterity, that the hook caught the Indian who had impoſed upon him by the buttock, when the line breaking, the hook remained in his poſteriors. Theſe Indians were ſtrong and well-proportioned; their hair was black, and tied up in a bunch, ſtuck with feathers; the chiefs among them had garments made of fine cloth, ornamented with dog's ſkin; and they were alſo tataowed.

On the 27th, the Endeavour was among a number of ſmall iſlands, from which ſeveral canoes came off; but the Indians, from their frantic geſtures, ſeemed diſordered in their minds; they threw their fiſh into the ſhip by handfuls, without demanding any thing by way of barter. Some other canoes alſo came up, and ſaluted the ſhip with ſtones. One of the Indians who was particularly active, threw a ſtick at one of the Endeavour's men. It was then judged time to bring them to reaſon, and a muſquet,

muſquet, with ſmall ſhot, was fired at him, when he fell down in the canoe. A general terror was now ſpread amongſt them, and they all made a very precipitate retreat. Among the fiſh obtained from theſe canoes, were cavelles in great plenty, and for this reaſon the captain called theſe iſlands by the ſame name.

For ſeveral days the wind was ſo very unfavourable, that the veſſel rather loſt than gained ground. On the 29th, having weathered Cape Bret, they bore away to leeward, and got into a large bay, where they anchored on the ſouth-weſt ſide of ſeveral iſlands; after which the ſhip was ſurrounded by thirty-three large canoes, containing near three hundred Indians, all armed. Some of them were admitted on board and Captain Cook gave a piece of broad cloth to one of the chiefs, and ſome ſmall preſents to the others. They traded peaceably for ſome time, being terrified at the fire-arms, the effect of which they were not unacquainted with; but whilſt the captain was at dinner, on a ſignal given by one of their chiefs, all the Indians quitted the ſhip, and they attempted to tow away the buoy; a muſquet was now fired over them, but it produced no effect; ſmall ſhot was then fired at them, but it did not reach them. A muſquet loaded with ball, was therefore ordered to be fired, and Otegoowgoow (ſon of one of the chiefs) was wounded in the thigh by it, which induced them immediately to throw the buoy overboard. To complete their confuſion a round ſhot was fired, which reached the ſhore, and as ſoon as they landed they ran in ſearch of it. If theſe Indians had been under any kind of military diſcipline, they might have proved a much more formidable enemy; but acting thus, without any plan or regulation, they only expoſed themſelves to the annoyance of fire-arms, whilſt they could not poſſibly ſucceed in any of their deſigns.

The captain, Mr. Banks, and Dr. Solander landed upon the iſland. The gentlemen were now in a ſmall cove, and they were preſently ſurrounded by near four hundred armed Indians; but the captain not ſuſpecting any hoſtile deſign on the part of the natives, remained peaceably diſpoſed. The gentlemen marching towards them, drew a line, intimating that they were not to paſs it; they did not infringe upon this boundary for ſome time, but at length they ſung the ſong of defiance, and began to dance, whilſt a party attempted to draw the Endeavour's boats on ſhore. Theſe ſignals for an attack being immediately followed by the Indians breaking in upon the line, the gentlemen judged it time to defend themſelves, and accordingly the captain fired his muſquet, loaded with ſmall ſhot, which was ſeconded by Mr. Banks diſcharging his piece, and two of the men followed his example. This threw the Indians into great confuſion, and they retreated; but were rallied again by one of their chiefs, who ſhouted and waved his patoo-patoo. The doctor now pointed his muſquet at this hero, and hit him; this ſtopt his career, and he took to flight with the other Indians. They retired to an eminence in a collective body, and ſeemed dubious whether they ſhould return to the charge. They were now at too great a diſtance for ball to reach them; but theſe operations being obſerved from the ſhip, ſhe brought her broad ſide to bear, and by firing over them ſoon diſperſed them. The Indians had in this ſkirmiſh two of their people wounded, but none killed. Peace being thus reſtored, the gentlemen began to gather celery and other herbs; but ſuſpecting ſome of the natives were lurking about with evil deſigns, they repaired to a cave, which was at a ſmall diſtance; here they found the chief, who had that day received a preſent from the captain; he came forth with his wife and brother, and ſolicited their clemency. It appeared that one of the wounded Indians was a brother of this chief, who was under great anxiety leſt the wound ſhould prove mortal; but his grief was in a great degree alleviated, when he was made acquainted with the different effects of ſmall ſhot and ball: he was at the ſame time aſſured, that upon any future hoſtilities being committed, ball would be

uſed. This interview terminated very cordially, after ſome trifling preſents were made to the chief and his companions.

The prudence of the gentlemen upon this occaſion cannot be much commended. Had theſe four hundred Indians boldly ruſhed in upon them at once with their weapons, the muſquetry could have done very little execution; but ſuppoſing twenty or thirty of the Indians had been wounded, for it does not appear their pieces were loaded with ball, but only ſmall ſhot, there would have remained a ſufficient number to have maſſacred them, as it appears they do not give any quarter, and none could have been expected upon this occaſion.—It is true, when the ſhip brought her broad-ſide to bear, ſhe might have made great havock amongſt the Indians; but this would have been too late to ſave the party on ſhore.

Being again in their boats, they rowed to another part of the ſame iſland, when landing and gaining an eminence, they had a very agreeable and romantic view of a great number of iſlands, well inhabited and cultivated. The inhabitants of an adjacent town approached unarmed, and teſtified great humility and ſubmiſſion.—Some of the party on ſhore, who had been very violent for having the Indians puniſhed for their fraudulent conduct, were now guilty of treſpaſſes equally reprehenſible, having forced into ſome of the plantations, and dug up potatoes. The captain upon this occaſion ſhewed ſtrict juſtice, in puniſhing each of the offenders with twelve laſhes; one of them being very refractory upon the occaſion, and complaining of the hardſhip, thinking an Engliſhman had a right to plunder an Indian with impunity, was flogged out of his opinion with ſix additional laſhes. Probably, his adding, "that in this he had only followed the example of his ſuperiors," might have had no little weight in procuring him this laſt ſentence.

On Tueſday the 5th, in the morning, they weighed anchor, but were ſoon becalmed, and a ſtrong current ſetting towards the ſhore, they were driven in with ſuch rapidity, that they expected every moment to run upon the breakers, which appeared above water not more than a cable's length diſtance; they were ſo near the land, that Tupia, who was totally ignorant of the danger, held a converſation with the Indians, who were ſtanding on the beach. They were happily relieved, however, from this alarming ſituation by a freſh breeze ſuddenly ſpringing up from the ſhore.

The bay which they had left was called the Bay of the Iſlands, on account of the numerous iſlands it contains; they catched but a few fiſh while they lay there, but procured great plenty from the natives, who are extremely expert at fiſhing.

December the 7th, ſeveral canoes put off and followed the Endeavour, but a breeze ariſing, Captain Cook did not wait for them. On the 8th, they tacked and ſtood in for the ſhore; and on the 9th, came to a deep bay, which the captain called Doubtleſs Bay. The wind prevented their putting in here. They beat to windward four days, and made but little way. On the 10th, the land appeared low and barren, but was not deſtitute of inhabitants; the next morning they ſtood in with the land, which forms a peninſula, and which the captain named Knuckle Point. Another bay, that lies contiguous, Captain Cook called Sandy Bay; in the middle of it is a high mountain, which was named Mount Camel, on account of its reſembling that animal. On the 16th came off the northern extremity of New Zealand, which the captain called North Cape. Their ſituation varied but little until the 24th, when they diſcovered land, which they judged to be the iſlands of the Three Kings, though they did not reſemble the deſcription of them in Dalrymple's account. Mr. Banks went out in the ſmall boat, and caught ſome birds that greatly reſembled geeſe, and they were very good eating.

January 1, 1770, they tacked and ſtood to eaſtward, and on the 3d they ſaw land again; it was high and flat, and trended away to the ſouth-eaſt, beyond the reach of

the naked eye. It is remarkable, that the Endeavour was three weeks in making ten leagues to the weſtward. On the morning of the 4th they ſtood along the ſhore, the coaſt appearing ſandy and barren. They ſaw a ſun-fiſh, ſhort and thick in figure, with two large fins, but ſcarce any tail, reſembling a ſhark in colour and ſize.

On the 9th they ſaw a point remarkably high to the eaſt-north-eaſt; the captain named it Albetroſs Point, on the north ſide of which a bay is formed that promiſes good anchorage. At about two leagues diſtance from Albetroſs Point, to the north-eaſt, they diſcovered a remarkable high mountain, equal in height to that of Teneriffe, the ſummit of which was covered with ſnow, and it was named Mount Egmont. This day ſome very heavy ſhowers of rain fell, accompanied with thunder and lightning. The captain propoſed careening the ſhip here, and taking in wood and water; and accordingly, on the 15th, ſteered for an inlet. Here they ſaw a ſea-lion; it is a very curious creature, and anſwers the deſcription given of it in Lord Anſon's Voyage. In paſſing the point of the bay, they obſerved an armed ſentinel on duty, who was twice relieved. Four canoes came from ſhore to viſit the ſhip, but none of the Indians would venture on board, except an old man, who ſeemed of elevated rank; he was received with the utmoſt hoſpitality. The captain and the other gentlemen now went on ſhore, where they met with plenty of wood and water, and were very ſucceſsful in fiſhing, catching ſome hundred weight in a ſhort time.

On the 16th, the Endeavour's people were engaged in careening her, when three canoes came off with a great number of Indians, and brought ſeveral of their women with them. This circumſtance was judged a favourable preſage of their peaceable diſpoſition; but they ſoon gave proofs of the contrary, by attempting to ſtop the long-boat that was ſent aſhore for water, when Captain Cook had recourſe to the old expedient of firing ſome ſhot, which intimidated them for the preſent. Tupia, in converſing with them, and making many inquiries concerning the curioſities of New Zealand, aſked them, if they had ever before ſeen a ſhip of the magnitude of the Endeavour; to which they replied, they had never ſeen ſuch a veſſel, nor ever heard that one had been upon the coaſt. There is great plenty of fiſh in all the coves of this bay; among others here are cuttle-fiſh, large breams, ſmall grey breams, ſmall and large baracootas, flying gurnards, horſe-mackerel, dog-fiſh, ſoles, dabs, mullets, drums, ſcorpenas or rock-fiſh, cole-fiſh, ſhags, chimeras, &c. The inhabitants catch their fiſh as follows: their net is cylindrical, extended by ſeveral hoops at the bottom, and contracted at the top; the fiſh going in to feed upon what is put in the net, are caught in great abundance. There are alſo birds of various kinds, and in great numbers, particularly parrots, wood-pigeons, water-hens, hawks, and many different ſinging birds. An herb, a ſpecies of Philadelphus, was uſed here inſtead of tea; and a plant, called teegoome, reſembling rug-cloaks, ſerved the natives for garments. The environs of the cove where the Endeavour lay are covered entirely with wood, and the ſupple-jacks are ſo numerous, that it is with difficulty paſſengers can purſue their way; here is a numerous ſand-fly that is very diſagreeable. The tops of many of the hills are covered with fern. The air of the country is very moiſt, and has ſome qualities that promote putrefaction, as birds that had been ſhot but a few hours were found with maggots in them. They diſpoſe of their dead in a very ſingular manner: they tie a large ſtone to the body, and throw it into the ſea. The gentlemen ſaw the body of a woman which had been diſpoſed of this way, but which by ſome accident had diſengaged itſelf from the ſtone, floating upon the water. The captain, Mr. Banks, and the doctor, viſited a cove, about two miles from the ſhip. There was a family of Indians, who were greatly alarmed at the approach of the gentlemen, all running away except one; but upon Tupia's con-

verſing with him, the others returned. They found, by the proviſions of this family, that they were cannibals, here being ſeveral human bones that had been lately dreſſed and picked; and it appeared, that a ſhort time before, ſix of their enemies having fallen into their hands, they had killed four and eaten them, and that the other two were drowned in endeavouring to make their eſcape. They made no ſecret of this abominable cuſtom, but anſwered Tupia, who was deſirous to aſcertain the fact, with great compoſure, that his conjectures were juſt, that they were the bones of a man, and teſtified by ſigns that they thought human fleſh delicious food. Upon being aſked, why they had not eaten the body of the woman that had been ſeen floating upon the water? They replied, ſhe had died of a diſorder, and that moreover ſhe was related to them, and they never ate any but their enemies. Upon Mr. Banks's ſtill teſtifying ſome doubts concerning the fact, one of the Indians drew the bone of a man's arm through his mouth, and this gentleman had the curioſity to bring it away with him. There was a woman in this family whoſe arms and legs were cut in a ſhocking manner, and it appeared ſhe had thus wounded herſelf, becauſe her huſband had lately been killed and eaten by the enemy.

Some of the Indians brought four ſkulls one day to ſell, which they rated at a very high price. The brains had been taken out, and probably eaten, but the ſcalp and hair remained. They ſeemed to have been dried by fire, in order to preſerve them from putrefaction. The gentlemen likewiſe ſaw the bail of a canoe, which was made of a human ſkull. In a word, their ideas were ſo horrid and brutal, that they ſeemed to pride themſelves upon their cruelty and barbarity, and took a peculiar pleaſure in ſhewing the manner in which they killed their enemies, it being conſidered as very meritorious to be expert at this deſtruction. The method uſed was to knock them down with their patoo-patoos, and then rip up their bellies.

An amazing number of birds uſually began their melody about two o'clock in the morning, and ſerenaded the gentlemen till the time of their riſing. This harmony was very agreeable, as the ſhip lay at a convenient diſtance from the ſhore to hear it. Theſe feathered choriſters, like the Engliſh nightingales, never ſing in the day time.

On the 20th, Mr. Banks purchaſed of the old Indian a man's head, which he ſeemed very unwilling to part with; the ſkull had been fractured by a blow, and the brains were extracted, and like the others, it was preſerved from putrefaction. From the care with which they kept theſe ſkulls, and the reluctance with which they bartered any, it was imagined they were conſidered as trophies of war, and teſtimonials of their valour. Some of the company, in their excurſions, met with fortifications that had not the advantage of an elevated ſituation, but were ſurrounded by two or three wide ditches, with a draw-bridge, which, though ſimple in its ſtructure, is capable of anſwering every purpoſe againſt the arms of the natives. Not only thoſe who are killed, but the priſoners likewiſe are devoured by the victors. From what has been related by ſuch unqueſtionable authority, there can remain no doubt with the unprejudiced reader, that the inhabitants of this part of the globe are cannibals.

The 22d was employed by Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander in collecting of plants. On the 24th they viſited a hippah, which was ſituated on a very high rock, hollow underneath, forming a fine natural arch, one ſide of which joined to the land, and the other roſe out of the ſea. This hippah was partly ſurrounded with a palliſade. Here they met with a croſs reſembling a crucifix, which was ornamented with feathers, and which was erected as a monument for a deceaſed perſon; but they could not learn how his body was diſpoſed of.

A fortified Village, called a Hippah, built on a perforated rock, at Tolaga, in New Zealand.

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On the 25th, the captain, Mr. Banks, and Doctor Solander, went on ſhore to ſhoot, when they met with a numerous family, who were among the creeks catching fiſh. They behaved very civilly, and received ſome trifling preſents.

The ſhip's company were, on the 27th and 28th, engaged in making neceſſary repairs, and getting her ready for ſea. The captain went on ſhore again, and erected another pyramid of ſtones, in which he put ſome bullets, beads, &c. as before, with the addition of a piece of ſilver coin, and placed part of an old pendant on the top, to diſtinguiſh it. Some of the people who had been ſent out to gather celery, met with ſeveral of the natives, among whom were ſome women, whoſe huſbands had lately fallen into the hands of the enemy, and they were cutting many parts of their body in the moſt ſhocking manner with ſharp ſtones, in teſtimony of their exceſſive grief. What made this ceremony appear ridiculous as well as ſhocking, was, that the male Indians, who were with them, paid not the leaſt attention to it, but with the greateſt unconcern imaginable employed themſelves in repairing ſome empty huts upon the ſpot.

On Tueſday the 30th, two poſts were erected, inſcribed with the ſhip's name, &c. as uſual; one was placed at the watering place, with the union flag upon it, and the other in the ſame manner, on the iſland of Motuara; and the inhabitants being informed, that theſe poſts were meant as memorials of the Endeavour having touched at this place, promiſed never to deſtroy them. The captain then named this inlet Queen Charlotte's Sound; and took poſſeſſion of it in the name, and for the uſe of His Majeſty, and a bottle of wine was drank to the Queen's health.

Towards night, on the 31ſt, a briſk gale aroſe, attended with heavy ſhowers, and the next morning became ſo very tempeſtuous, that the Endeavour had her hawſer broke, and ſeveral caſks of water that had been left on ſhore were waſhed away by the rain.

The 2d, 3d, and 4th of February were chiefly ſpent in preparing for their departure, and purchaſing fiſh of the natives.

On the 6th, in the morning, the Endeavour ſailed out of the bay, which the ſhip's company, from an abhorrence of the brutal cuſtom that prevails here of eating men, called Cannibal Bay. The natives about this ſound are not above four hundred in number; they are ſcattered along the coaſt, and live upon fern-root and fiſh; the latter of which was the only commodity they traded in.

The Endeavour having left the ſound, ſteered eaſtward, and about ſix o'clock in the evening they were greatly alarmed at their being carried, by the rapidity of the current, very cloſe to one of the two iſlands which lie off Cape Koamaroo, at the entrance of the ſound. The ſhip was in ſuch imminent danger that they expected every minute ſhe would be daſhed to pieces; but letting go an anchor, and veering one hundred and ſixty fathom of cable, ſhe was brought up, when they were not above two cables length from the rocks: in this ſituation they were obliged to wait for the ebb of the tide, which was not till after midnight. At three o'clock in the morning they weighed anchor, and a fine breeze ſpringing up ſoon after, they were carried through the ſtreight with great velocity. At the entrance of the ſtreight, on the north ſide, there is a ſmall iſland, which was named Entry Iſland.

On the 8th they were off Cape Palliſer, when they diſcovered that the land reached away to the north-eaſt towards Cape Turnagain. Three canoes came off in the afternoon, with ſeveral people in them; they made a good appearance, and their canoes were ornamented like thoſe of the Indians of the northern coaſt. They came on board with great alacrity. One old man was tattaowed in a very remarkable manner; he was likewiſe marked with a ſtreak of red paint acroſs the noſe, and over both cheeks; his hair was quite white as well as his beard. His garment was made of flax,

with a wrought border, under which was a kind of petticoat, made of a cloth called Aooree Waow; his ears were decorated with teeth and pieces of green ſtone.

On the 14th of February, about ſixty Indians in four double canoes, came within a ſtone's caſt of the ſhip, which they beheld with ſurpriſe. Tupia endeavoured to perſuade them to approach nearer, which they refuſed, and made toward the ſhore, but did not reach it till after it was dark. From the behaviour of theſe people, the place from whence they came was called the Iſland of Looker's-on. They had various winds and ſeas till the 4th of March, when they ſaw ſeveral whales and ſeals. On the 9th they ſaw a ledge of rocks, and ſoon afterwards another ledge, three leagues from the ſhore, which they paſſed to the north during the night, and diſcovered the others under their bow at day-break. Thus they had a narrow eſcape from deſtruction; and theſe ledges of rocks were denominated Traps, from their being adapted to entrap the unwary.

In the morning they ſailed northward, and on the day following, diſcovered a barren rock, about a mile in circumference, very high, and five leagues from the main land. This was called Solander's Iſland. On the 13th they diſcovered a bay, which contains ſeveral iſlands, behind which, if there be depth of water, there muſt be ſhelter from all winds. Captain Cook called this Duſky-Bay, and it is remarkable for having five high peaked rocks laying off it, which look like the thumb and four fingers of a man's hand; whence it was denominated Point Five Fingers.

They had now almoſt paſſed the whole of the north-weſt coaſt of Tovy Poenammoo; the face of the country afforded nothing worth notice, but a ridge of rocks of a ſtupendous height, which Dr. Hawkeſworth deſcribes as "totally barren and naked, except where they are covered with ſnow, which is to be ſeen in large patches in many parts of them, and has probably lain there ever ſince the creation of the world; a proſpect more rude, craggy, and deſolate than this country affords from the ſea cannot poſſibly be conceived; for as far inland as the eye can reach, nothing appears but the ſummits of rocks, which ſtand ſo near together, that, inſtead of vallies, there are only fiſſures between them."

By the 27th they had ſailed round the whole country, and determined to depart from the coaſt, as ſoon as they had taken in a ſtock of water. For this purpoſe the captain went aſhore in the long-boat, and found an excellent watering-place, and a proper birth for the ſhip; which being moored, they began filling their caſks, while the carpenter and his crew were employed in cutting wood. A council of the officers was now held, as to the paſſage they ſhould take to England; when it was reſolved to return by the Eaſt Indies, and with that view to ſteer for the eaſt coaſt of New Holland, and then follow the direction of that coaſt to the northward.

This reſolution being taken, they ſailed at day-break, on Saturday, March 31, 1770, and taking their departure from an eaſtern point, which they had ſeen on the 23d, they called it Cape Farewell. The bay from which they ſailed was named Admiralty Bay, and the two capes thereof Cape Stephens, and Cape Jackſon, the names of the then Secretaries to the Board of Admiralty.

Abel Janſen Taſmen, a Dutchman, was the firſt European that made a diſcovery of New Zealand, to which he gave the name of Staaten Land, that is, the land of the States-General. Taſmen never went on ſhore, as the Indians attacked him ſoon after he came to an anchor, in the bay to which he gave the name of Murderers Bay: this was in December 1642.

The ſituation of theſe iſlands is between 34° and 48° of ſouth latitude, and 181° and 194° of weſt longitude. The natives call the northern iſland Eaheinomauwe, and the ſouthernmoſt Tovy Poenammoo.

Eaheinomauwe,

Eaheinomauwe, though hilly, and in ſome places mountainous, is well ſtored with wood, and there is a rivulet in every valley. The ſoil of the valleys is light, but is ſo fertile, as to be well adapted for the plentiful production of all ſorts of the fruits, plants, and corn of Europe. The ſummer is more equally warm, though not hotter than in England; and it is imagined, from the vegetables that were found, that the winter is not ſo ſevere.

Dogs and rats are the only quadrupeds that were ſeen, and of the latter only a very few. The inhabitants breed the dogs for the ſole purpoſe of eating them. There are ſeals and whales on the coaſt; and they once ſaw a ſea-lion. The birds are hawks, owls, quails; and there are ſong-birds, whoſe note is wonderfully melodious. The inſects are fleſh-flies, beetles, butterflies, ſand-flies, and muſquitoes.

Tovy Poenammoo appears to be a barren country, is very mountainous, and almoſt deſtitute of inhabitants.

The ſea which waſhes theſe iſlands abounds with fiſh, which are equally delicate and wholeſome food. They ſeldom came to anchor but they catched enough, with hook and line only, to ſupply the whole ſhip's crew; and, when they fiſhed with nets, every meſs in the ſhip, except thoſe who were too indolent, ſalted as much as ſupplied them when at ſea for ſeveral weeks after.

This country abounds with foreſts, filled with very large, ſtraight and clean timber. Upwards of four hundred ſpecies of plants were found, all of which are unknown in England, except garden night-ſhade, ſow-thiſtle, two or three kinds of fern, and one or two ſorts of graſs. There is only one ſhrub or tree in this country which produces fruit, and that is a kind of berry almoſt taſteleſs; but they have a plant which anſwers all the uſes of hemp and flax. There are two kinds of this plant, the leaves of one of which are yellow, and the other a deep red, and both of them reſemble the leaves of flags. Of theſe leaves they make lines and cordage, and much ſtronger than any thing of the kind in Europe.

The men of this country are as large as the largeſt Europeans. Their complexion is brown, but little more ſo than that of a Spaniard. They are full of fleſh, but not lazy and luxurious; and are ſtout and well-ſhaped. The women poſſeſs not that delicacy which diſtinguiſhes the European ladies; but their voice is ſingularly ſoft, which, as the dreſs of both ſexes is ſimilar, chiefly diſtinguiſhes them from the men. They have neither black cattle, ſheep, hogs, nor goats; ſo that their chief food being fiſh, and that not at all times to be obtained, they are in danger of dying through hunger. They have a few, and but a very few dogs; and when no fiſh is to be got, they have only vegetables, ſuch as yams and potatoes, to feed on; and if by any accident theſe fail them, their ſituation muſt be deplorable. This will account for their ſhocking cuſtom of eating the bodies that are ſlain in battle; for he who fights through mere hunger, will not ſcruple to eat the adverſary he has killed.

The inhabitants of New Zealand are as modeſt and reſerved in their behaviour and converſation as the moſt polite nations of Europe. The women indeed were not dead to the ſofter impreſſions; but their mode of conſent was, in their idea, as harmleſs as the conſent to marriage with us, and equally binding for the ſtipulated time. If any of the Engliſh addreſſed one of their women, he was informed, that the conſent of her friends muſt be obtained, which uſually followed on his making a preſent. This done, he was obliged to treat his temporary wife at leaſt as delicately as we do in England. A gentleman who ſailed in the Endeavour, having addreſſed a family of ſome rank, received an anſwer, of which the following is an exact tranſlation—"Any of theſe young ladies will think themſelves honoured by your addreſſes, but you muſt firſt make

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me a ſuitable preſent, and you muſt then come and ſleep with us on ſhore, for day-light muſt by no means be a witneſs of what paſſes between you."

Theſe Indians anoint their hair with oil melted from the fat of fiſh or birds. Both ſexes, but the men more than the women, mark their bodies with black ſtains, called amoco. Excluſive of the amoco, they mark themſelves with furrows. Theſe furrows make a hideous appearance, the edges being indented, and the whole quite black. The paintings on their bodies reſemble fillagrèe work, and the foliage in old chaſed ornaments; but no two are painted exactly after the ſame model. The people of New Zealand frequently left the breech free from theſe marks, which the inhabitants of Otaheite adorned beyond any other.

Their dreſs is formed of the leaves of the flag ſplit into ſlips, which are interwoven, and made into a kind of matting, the ends, which are ſeven or eight inches in length, hanging out on the upper ſide. One piece of this matting being tied over the ſhoulders reaches to the knees; the other piece being wrapped round the waiſt, falls almoſt to the ground.

The women never tie their hair on the top of their head, nor adorn it with feathers; and are leſs anxious about dreſs than the men. Their lower garment is bound tight round them, except when they go a fiſhing, and then they are careful that the men ſhall not ſee them.

The ears of both ſexes are bored, and the holes ſtretched ſo as to admit a man's finger. The ornaments of their ears are feathers, cloth, bones, and ſometimes bits of wood. They likewiſe hung to their ears, by ſtrings, chiſſels, bodkins, the teeth of dogs, and the teeth and nails of their deceaſed friends. The men wear a piece of green talc, or whalebone, with the reſemblance of a man carved on it, hanging to a ſtring round the neck. They ſaw one man who had the griſtle of his noſe perforated, and a feather being paſſed through it, projected over each cheek.

Theſe people ſhew leſs ingenuity in the ſtructure of their houſes, than in any thing elſe belonging to them; they are from ſixteen to twenty-four feet long, ten or twelve wide, and ſix or eight in height. The frame is of ſlight ſticks of wood, and the walls and roof are made of dry graſs pretty firmly compacted. Some of them are lined with the bark of trees, and the ridge of the houſe is formed by a pole, which runs from one end to the other. The door is only high enough to admit a perſon crawling on hands and knees, and the roof is ſloping. There is a ſquare hole near the door, ſerving both for window and chimney, near which is the fire-place.

Some who can afford it, and whoſe families are large, have three or four houſes incloſed within a court-yard. Their clothes, arms, feathers, ſome ill made tools, and a cheſt, in which all theſe are depoſited, form all the furniture of the inſide of the houſe. Their hammers to beat fern-root, gourds to hold water, and baſkets to contain proviſions, are placed without the houſe.

The canoes of this country are not unlike the whale-boats of New England, being long and narrow. The larger ſort ſeem to be built for war, and will hold from thirty to one hundred men. One of theſe, at Tolaga, meaſured near ſeventy feet in length, ſix in width, and four in depth. It was ſharp at the bottom, and conſiſted of three lengths, about two or three inches thick, and tied firmly together with ſtrong plaiting; each ſide was formed of one entire plank, about twelve inches broad, and about an inch and a half thick, which were fitted to the bottom part with equal ſtrength and ingenuity. Several thwarts were laid from one ſide to the other, to which they were ſecurely faſtened, in order to ſtrengthen the whole.

Theſe veſſels are rowed with a kind of paddles, between five and ſix feet in length, the

Engraved by George Cooke

Interior of a Hippah,
in New Zealand.

LIBRARY OF THE ROYAL BOMBAY BRANCH OF THE ASIATIC

the blade of which is a long oval, gradually decreaſing till it reaches the handle; and the velocity with which they row with theſe paddles is really ſurpriſing. The veſſels are ſteered by two men, having each a paddle, and ſitting in the ſtern; but they can only ſail before the wind, in which direction they move with conſiderable ſwiftneſs.

Theſe Indians uſe axes, adzes and chiſſels, with which laſt they likewiſe bore holes. The chiſſels are made of jaſper, or of the bone of a man's arm; and their axes and adzes of a hard black ſtone. They uſe their ſmall jaſper tools till they are blunted, and then throw them away, having no inſtrument to ſharpen them with.

Their warlike weapons are ſpears, darts, battle-axes, and the patoo-patoo. The ſpear, which is pointed at each end, is about ſixteen feet in length, and they hold it in the middle, ſo that it is difficult to parry a puſh from it. Whether they fight in boats or on ſhore, the battle is hand to hand, ſo that they muſt make bloody work of it.

When they came to attack the Engliſh, there was uſually one or more thus diſtinguiſhed in each canoe. It was their cuſtom to ſtop at about fifty or ſixty yards diſtance from the ſhip, when the commanding officer, ariſing from his ſeat, and putting on a garment of dog's ſkin, uſed to direct them how to proceed. When they were too far from the ſhip to reach it either with ſtone or lance, they cried out, *Haromai, haromai, harre uta a patoo-patoo oge*—"Come to us, come on ſhore, and we will kill you all with our patoo-patoos." During theſe menaces they approached the ſhip, till they came alongſide, talking peaceably at intervals, and anſwering whatever queſtions they were aſked. Then again their threats were renewed, till imagining the ſailors were afraid of them, they began the war-ſong and dance, and threw ſtones on board the ſhip.

In the war-dance their motions are numerous, their limbs are diſtorted, and their faces are agitated. Their tongue hangs out of their mouths to a vaſt length, and their eye-lids are drawn ſo as to form a circle round the eye; they ſhake their darts, brandiſh their ſpears, and wave their patoo-patoos to and fro in the air. They accompany this dance with a ſong, which is ſung in concert; every ſtrain ending with a loud and deep ſigh. There is an activity and vigour in their dancing, which is truly admirable; and their idea of keeping time in muſic is ſuch, that ſixty or eighty paddles will ſtrike at once againſt the ſides of their boats, and make only one report.

With regard to religion, they acknowledge one ſuperior being, and ſeveral ſubordinate. Their mode of worſhip could not be learned, nor was any place proper for that purpoſe ſeen.

A great ſimilitude was obſerved between the dreſs, furniture, boats and nets of the New Zealanders, and thoſe of the inhabitants of the South Sea iſlands, which furniſhed a ſtrong proof, that the common anceſtors of both were natives of the ſame country. Indeed the inhabitants of theſe different places have a tradition that their anceſtors migrated from another country many ages ſince; and they both agree, that this country was called Heawige. But perhaps a yet ſtronger proof that their origin was the ſame, will ariſe from the ſimilitude of their language, of which the following is a ſpecimen:

New Zealand.	Otaheite.	
Whahine,	*Aheine,*	A woman.
Taata,	*Tata,*	People.
Mata,	*Matau,*	The eyes.
Ahewh,	*Eahoo,*	The noſe.
Paparinga,	*Paparea,*	The cheeks.
Ateraboo,	*Eoboo,*	The belly.
Apeto,	*Pito,*	The navel.
Heromai,	*Harre mai,*	Come hither.

They

They ſailed from Cape Farewell on the 31ſt of March, 1770, and had fine weather and a fair wind till the 9th of April, when they ſaw a tropic-bird. On the 15th they ſaw an egg-bird and a gannet; and on the day following a ſmall land-bird perched on the rigging, from which they concluded they were near land; but they found no ground with one hundred and twenty fathom. At ſix o'clock in the morning of the 19th, they diſcovered land four or five leagues diſtant; the ſouthernmoſt part of which was called Point Hicks, in compliment to Mr. Hicks, the firſt lieutenant, who made the diſcovery of it. At noon they diſcovered another point of the ſame land, riſing in a round hillock, extremely like the Ram Head at the entrance of Plymouth Sound, for which reaſon Captain Cook gave it the ſame name. What they had yet ſeen of the land was low and even, and the inland parts were green, and covered with wood. They now ſaw three water-ſpouts at the ſame time, one of which continued a quarter of an hour. On Sunday, the 22d, they were ſo near the ſhore, as to ſee ſeveral of the inhabitants on the coaſt, who were of a very dark complexion, if not perfect negroes.

On the 27th they ſaw ſeveral of the inhabitants walking along the ſhore, four of them carrying a canoe on their ſhoulders; but as they did not attempt coming off to the ſhip, the captain took Meſſrs. Banks and Solander and Tupia in the yawl, and employed four men to row them to that part of the ſhore where the natives appeared, near which four ſmall canoes laid cloſe in-land. The Indians ſat on the rocks till the yawl was within a quarter of a mile of the ſhore, and then ran away into the woods. The ſurf beating violently on the beach, prevented the boat from landing.

At five in the evening they returned to the ſhip, and a light breeze ſpringing up, they ſailed to the northward, where they diſcovered ſeveral people on ſhore. They brandiſhed their weapons, and threw themſelves into threatening attitudes. The bodies, thighs, and legs of two of theſe, were painted with white ſtreaks, and their faces were almoſt covered with a white powder. They talked to each other with great emotion, and each of them held a kind of cimeter in his hand.

They anchored oppoſite a village of about eight houſes, and obſerved an old woman and three children to come out of a wood, laden with fuel for a fire: all of them, as well as the woman, were quite naked. The old woman frequently looked at the ſhip with the utmoſt indifference, and, as ſoon as ſhe had made a fire, they ſet about dreſſing their dinner with as much compoſure as if a ſhip had been no extraordinary ſight.

Having formed a deſign of landing, they manned the boats, and took Tupia with them; and they had no ſooner come near the ſhore, than two men advanced, as if to diſpute their ſetting foot on land. The captain threw them beads, nails, and other trifles, which they took up, and ſeemed to be delighted with. He then made ſigns that he wanted water, and uſed every poſſible means to convince them that no injury was intended. They now made ſigns to the boat's crew to land, on which they put the boat in; but they had no ſooner done ſo, than the two Indians came again to oppoſe them. A muſquet was now fired between them, on the report of which one of them dropt a bundle of lances, which he inſtantly ſnatched up again in great haſte. One of them then threw a ſtone at the boat, on which the captain ordered a muſquet loaded with ſmall ſhot to be fired, which wounding the eldeſt of them on the legs, he retired haſtily to one of their houſes, which ſtood at ſome little diſtance. The people in the boats now landed, imagining that the wound which this man had received would put an end to the conteſt; in this, however, they were miſtaken, for he immediately returned with a kind of ſhield, of an oval figure, painted white in the middle, with two holes

holes cut in it to ſee through. They now advanced with great intrepidity, and both diſcharged their lances at the boat's crew, but did not wound any of them. Another muſquet was now fired at them, on which they threw another lance, and then took to their heels. The crew now went up to the huts, in one of which they found the children, who had ſecreted themſelves behind ſome bark. They looked at them, but left them without their knowing they had been ſeen; and having thrown ſome pieces of cloth, ribbons, beads, and other things into the hut, they took ſeveral of their lances, and reimbarked in the boat.

They now ſailed to the north point of the bay, where they found a plenty of freſh water. On taking a view of the hut where they had ſeen the children, they had the mortification to find that every Indian was fled, and that they had left all the preſents behind them. Some men having been ſent to get wood and water, they no ſooner came on board to dinner, than the natives came down to the place, and examined the caſks with great attention, but did not offer to remove them. In the evening Meſſrs. Banks and Solander went with the captain to a cove north of the bay, where they catched between three and four hundred weight of fiſh in four hauls.

On Tueſday, May the 1ſt, the ſouth point of the bay was named Sutherland Point, one of the ſeamen, of the name of Sutherland, having died that day, and been buried on ſhore. This day Meſſrs. Banks, Solander, the captain, and a few other gentlemen, went on ſhore, and left more preſents in the huts, ſuch as looking-glaſſes, combs, &c. but the former ones had not been taken away. They ſaw the dung of an animal which fed on graſs, and traced the footſteps of another, which had claws like a dog, and was probably about the ſize of a wolf: they diſcovered the track of a ſmall animal, whoſe foot was like that of a pole-cat; and ſaw one animal alive, about the ſize of a rabbit.

The ſecond lieutenant, Mr. Gore, having been with a boat to dredge for oyſters, ſaw ſome Indians, who made ſigns for him to come on ſhore, which he declined. Having finiſhed his buſineſs, he ſent the boat away, and went by land with a midſhipman, to join the party that was getting water. In their way they met with more than twenty of the natives, who followed them ſo cloſe, as to come within a few yards of them. Mr. Gore ſtopped and faced them; on which the Indians ſtopped alſo, and when he proceeded again they followed him; but they did not attack him, though they had each man his lance. The Indians coming in ſight of the waterers, ſtood ſtill at the diſtance of a quarter of a mile, while Mr. Gore and his companions reached their ſhipmates in ſafety.

Tupia having learnt to ſhoot, frequently ſtrayed alone to ſhoot parrots; and the Indians conſtantly fled from him with as much precipitation as from the Engliſh. On the 3d of May, fourteen or fifteen Indians, in the ſame number of canoes, were engaged in ſtriking fiſh within half a mile from the watering-place.

They now returned to their boat, and ſeeing a fire at a diſtance, rowed towards it, but the Indians fled at their approach. Near the beach they found ſeven canoes, and as many fires, from whence they judged that each fiſherman had dreſſed his own dinner. There were oyſters lying on the ſpot, and ſome muſcles roaſting on the fire. They ate of theſe fiſh, and left them ſome beads and other trifles in return. They now returned to the ſhip.

They fiſhed with great ſucceſs this day, and the ſecond lieutenant ſtruck what is called the ſting-ray, which weighed near two hundred and fifty pounds. The next morning a fiſh of the ſame kind was catched, which weighed three hundred and fifty pounds.

While Captain Cook remained in the harbour, the Engliſh colours were diſplayed on ſhore daily, and the name of the ſhip, with the date of the year, was carved on a tree near the place where they took in their water.

They ſailed from Botany Bay on the 6th of May, 1770; at noon were off a harbour which they called Port Jackſon, and in the evening, near a bay, to which they gave the name of Broken Bay.

On Sunday the 13th, they ſaw the ſmoke of many fires on a point of land, which was therefore called Smoky Cape. As they proceeded northward from Botany Bay, the land appeared high and well covered with wood. On Tueſday morning, by the aſſiſtance of their glaſſes, they diſcovered about a ſcore of the Indians, each loaded with a bundle, which they imagined to be palm-leaves to thatch their houſes. At noon the captain diſcovered a high point of land, which he called Cape Byron.

They had, for ſome days paſt, ſeen the ſea-birds, called boobies, none of which they had met with before; and which, from half an hour before ſun-riſing to half an hour after, were continually paſſing the ſhip in large flights; from which it was conjectured, that there was a river or inlet of ſhallow water to the ſouthward, where they went to feed in the day, returning in the evening to ſome iſlands to the northward. In honour of Captain Hervey, this bay was called Hervey's Bay.

The captain and Tupia, with a party, went on ſhore the 23d. They landed a little within the point of a bay, which led into a large lagoon, by the ſides of which grows the true mangrove, as it alſo does on ſome bogs and ſwamps of ſalt water which they diſcovered. There were many neſts of a ſingular kind of ant, as green as graſs, in the branches of theſe mangroves. When the branches were diſturbed, they came forth in great numbers, and bit the diſturber moſt ſeverely. Theſe trees likewiſe afforded ſhelter for immenſe numbers of green caterpillars; their bodies were covered with hairs, which, on the touch, gave a pain ſimilar to the ſting of a nettle, but much more acute. Theſe inſects ranged themſelves ſide by ſide on the leaves, thirty or forty together, in a very regular manner. They ſaw, among the ſand banks, many birds larger than ſwans, which they imagined were pelicans; and they ſhot a kind of buſtard, which weighed ſeventeen pounds. This bird proved very delicate food, and gave name to the place, which was called Buſtard Bay. They likewiſe ſhot a duck of a moſt beautiful plumage, with a white beak. They found vaſt numbers of oyſters of various ſorts, and, among the reſt, ſome hammer oyſters of a curious kind. While the gentlemen were in the woods, ſeveral of the natives came down and took a ſurvey of the ſhip, and then departed. They ſailed the next morning, and on the day following were abreaſt of a point, which lying immediately under the tropic, the captain called Cape Capricorn, on the weſt ſide of which they ſaw an amazing number of large birds reſembling the pelican, ſome of which were near five feet high.

On the 27th, in the morning they ſailed to the northward, and to the northernmoſt point of land the captain gave the name of Cape Manifold, from the number of high hills appearing above it. Between this cape and the ſhore is a bay called Keppel's Bay, and ſome iſlands bearing the name of the ſame gentleman. In this place the captain intended to lay the ſhip aſhore and clean her bottom; and accordingly landed, in ſearch of a proper place for the purpoſe.

In this excurſion Meſſrs. Banks and Solander attended Captain Cook. They found walking extremely incommodious, the ground being covered with graſs, the ſeeds of which were ſharp, and bearded, ſo that they were continually ſticking in their clothes, whence they worked forwards to the fleſh, by means of the beard. They were likewiſe

wiſe tormented with the perpetual ſtinging of muſquitoes. In the interior parts of the country they found gum-trees, on the branches of which were white ants neſts formed of clay, as big as a buſhel. On another tree they found black ants, which formed their lodging in the body of it, after they had eaten away the pith; yet the trees were in a flouriſhing condition. They found butterflies in ſuch incredible numbers, that whatever way they looked, many thouſands were to be ſeen in the air, while every bough and twig was covered with multitudes. They likewiſe diſcovered on dry ground, where it was ſuppoſed to have been left by the tide, a fiſh about the ſize of a minnow, having two ſtrong breaſt fins, with which it leaped away as nimbly as a frog: it did not appear to be weakened by being out of water, nor even to prefer that element to the land; for when ſeen in the water it leaped on ſhore, and purſued its way. It was likewiſe remarked, that where there were ſmall ſtones projecting above the water, it choſe rather to leap from one ſtone to another, than to ſwim. There was no good water to be found here, therefore they did not lay the ſhip aſhore as they intended.

On Tueſday, they ſaw very large columns of ſmoke riſing from the low lands. This day they gave name to Cleveland Bay, the eaſt point of which was called Cape Cleveland, and the weſt Magnetical Iſle, becauſe the compaſs did not traverſe well when they were near it. Hence they ranged northward along the ſhore, towards a cluſter of iſlands, on one of which about forty men, women, and children were ſtanding together, and looking at the ſhip with a curioſity never obſerved among theſe people before. Here Meſſrs. Banks and Solander went on ſhore with the captain, whoſe chief view was to procure water, which not being eaſily to be got, they ſoon returned on board, and the next day arrived near Trinity Bay, which was ſo called, becauſe it was diſcovered on Trinity Sunday.

As no accident remarkably unfortunate had befallen our adventurers, during a navigation of more than thirteen hundred miles, upon a coaſt every where abounding with the moſt dangerous rocks and ſhoals, no name expreſſive of diſtreſs had hitherto been given to any cape or point of land which they had ſeen. But they now gave the name of Cape Tribulation to a point which they had juſt diſcovered, as they here became acquainted with misfortune.

This cape is in 16° 6′ ſouth latitude, and 214° 39′ weſt longitude.

To avoid the danger of ſome rocks they ſhortened ſail and kept ſtanding off from ſix o'clock in the evening till near nine, with a fine breeze and bright moon. They had got from fourteen into twenty-one fathom water; when ſuddenly they fell into twelve, ten, and eight fathom, in a few minutes. Every man was inſtantly ordered to his ſtation, and they were on the point of anchoring, when, on a ſudden, they had again deep water, ſo that they thought all danger was at an end, concluding they had ſailed over the tail of ſome ſhoals which they had ſeen in the evening. They had twenty fathom and upwards before ten o'clock, and this depth continuing ſome time, the gentlemen, who had hitherto been upon deck, retired to reſt; but in leſs than an hour the water ſhallowed at once from twenty to ſeventeen fathom, and before ſoundings could be again taken, the ſhip ſtruck againſt a rock, and remained fixed, but from the motion given her from the beating of the ſurge. Every one was inſtantly on deck, with countenances fully expreſſive of the agitation of their minds. As they knew they were not near the ſhore, they concluded they had ſtruck againſt a rock of coral, the points of which being ſharp, and the ſurface ſo rough, as to grind away whatever is rubbed againſt it, though with a gentle motion, they had reaſon to dread the horror of their ſituation!

The ſails being taken in, and boats hoiſted out to examine the depth of water, they found that the ſhip had been carried over a ledge of the rock, and lay in a hollow within it. Finding that the water was deepeſt aſtern, they carried out the anchor from the ſtarboard quarter, and applied their whole force to the capſtern, in hopes to get the veſſel off, but in vain. She beat ſo violently againſt the rock, that the crew could ſcarcely keep on their legs. The moon now ſhone bright, by the light of which they could ſee the ſheathing boards float from the bottom of the veſſel; till at length the falſe keel followed, ſo that they expected inſtant deſtruction. Their beſt chance of eſcaping ſeemed now to be by lightening her; but as they had ſtruck at high water, they would have been but in their preſent ſituation, after the veſſel ſhould draw as much leſs water as the water had ſunk; but their anxiety abated a little, on finding that the ſhip ſettled to the rocks as the tide ebbed. They, however, flattered themſelves that if the ſhip ſhould keep together till next tide, they might have ſome chance of floating her. They therefore inſtantly ſtarted the water in the hold, and pumped it up. The decayed ſtores, oil-jars, caſks, ballaſt, ſix of their guns, and other things, were thrown over-board, in order to get at the heavier articles; and in this buſineſs they were employed till day-break, during all which time it was obſerved, that not an oath was ſworn; ſo much were the minds of the ſailors impreſſed with a ſenſe of their danger.

At day-light they ſaw land at eight leagues diſtance; but not a ſingle iſland between them and the main, on which part of the crew might have been landed, while the boat went on ſhore with the reſt; ſo that the deſtruction of the greater part of them would have been inevitable, had the ſhip gone to pieces. It happened, however, that the wind died away to a dead calm before noon. As they expected high water at eleven o'clock, every thing was prepared to make another effort to free the ſhip; but the tide fell ſo much ſhort of that in the night, that ſhe did not float by eighteen inches, though they had thrown overboard near fifty tons weight; they now, therefore, renewed their toil, and threw overboard every thing that could be poſſibly ſpared. As the tide fell, the water poured in ſo rapidly, that they could ſcarcely keep her free by the conſtant working of two pumps. Their only hope now depended on the midnight tide, and preparations were accordingly made for another effort to get the ſhip off. The tide began to riſe at five o'clock, when the leak likewiſe increaſed to ſuch a degree, that two more pumps were manned; but only one of them would work; three, therefore, were kept going till nine o'clock, at which time the ſhip righted; but ſo much water had been admitted by the leak, that they expected ſhe would ſink as ſoon as the water ſhould bear her off the rock. Their ſituation was now deplorable beyond deſcription; and the imagination muſt paint what would baffle the powers of language to deſcribe. They knew that when the fatal moment ſhould arrive, all authority would be at an end. The boats were incapable of conveying them all on ſhore; and they dreaded a conteſt for the preference, as more ſhocking than the ſhipwreck itſelf; yet it was conſidered, that thoſe who might be left on board, would eventually meet with a milder fate than thoſe who, by gaining the ſhore, would have no chance but to linger the remains of life among the rudeſt ſavages in the univerſe, and in a country, where fire-arms would barely enable them to ſupport a wretched exiſtence.

At twenty minutes after ten the ſhip floated, and was heaved into deep water; when they were happy to find ſhe did not admit more water than ſhe had done before; yet as the leak had for a conſiderable time gained on the pumps, there was now three feet nine inches water in the hold. By this time the men were ſo worn by fatigue of mind

and

and body, that none of them could pump more than five or ſix minutes at a time, and then threw themſelves, quite ſpent, on the deck, amidſt a ſtream of water which came from the pumps. The ſucceeding man being fatigued in his turn, threw himſelf down in the ſame manner, while the former jumped up and renewed his labour, thus mutually ſtruggling for life, till the following accident had like to have given them up a prey to abſolute deſpair.

Between the inſide lining of the ſhip's bottom, which is called the ceiling, and the outſide planking, there is a ſpace of about ſeventeen or eighteen inches. The man who had hitherto taken the depth of water at the well, had taken it no farther than the ceiling; but being now relieved by another perſon, who took the depth to the outſide planking, it appeared by this miſtake, that the leak had ſuddenly gained upon the pumps, the whole difference between the two plankings. This circumſtance deprived them of all hopes, and ſcarce any one thought it worth while to labour for the longer preſervation of a life which muſt ſo ſoon have a period. But the miſtake was ſoon diſcovered; and the joy ariſing from ſuch unexpected good news inſpired the men with ſo much vigour, that before eight o'clock in the morning they had pumped out conſiderably more water than they had ſhipped. They now talked confidently of getting the ſhip into ſome harbour, and ſet heartily to work to get in their anchors; one of which, and the cable of another, they loſt: but theſe were now conſidered as trifles. Having a good breeze from the ſea, they got under ſail at eleven o'clock, and ſtood for the land.

As they could not diſcover the exact ſituation of the leak, they had no proſpect of ſtopping it within ſide of the veſſel; but the following expedient, which one of the midſhipmen had formerly ſeen tried with ſucceſs, was adopted. They took an old ſtudding-ſail, and having mixed a large quantity of oakum and wool, chopped ſmall, it was ſtitched down in handfuls on the ſail, as lightly as poſſible; the dung of their ſheep and other filth being ſpread over it. Thus prepared, the ſail was hauled under the ſhip by ropes, which kept it extended till it came under the leak, when the ſuction carried in the oakum and wool from the ſurface of the ſail. This experiment ſucceeded ſo well, that inſtead of three pumps, the water was eaſily kept under with one.

They hitherto had no further view than to run the ſhip into an harbour, and build a veſſel from her materials, in which they might reach the Eaſt Indies; but they now began to think of finding a proper place to repair her damage, and then to purſue their voyage on its original plan. At ſix in the evening they anchored ſeven leagues from the ſhore; and found that the ſhip made fifteen inches water an hour during the night; but as the pumps could clear this quantity, they were not uneaſy. At nine in the morning they paſſed two iſlands, which were called Hope Iſlands, becauſe the reaching of them had been the object of their wiſhes at the time of the ſhipwreck. In the afternoon the maſter was ſent out with two boats to ſound, and ſearch for a harbour where the ſhip might be repaired. They anchored at ſun-ſet in four fathom, two miles from the ſhore. One of the mates being out in the pinnace, returned at nine o'clock, reporting, that he had found juſt ſuch a harbour as was wanted, at the diſtance of two leagues.

At ſix o'clock the next morning they ſailed, having previouſly ſent two boats a-head, to lie on the ſhoals that they ſaw in their way. They ſoon anchored about a mile from the ſhore, when the captain went out, and found the channel very narrow, but the harbour was better adapted to their preſent purpoſe than any place they had ſeen in the whole courſe of their voyage. As it blew very freſh this day and the following night,

night, they could not venture to run into the harbour, but remained at anchor during the two ſucceeding days, in the courſe of which they obſerved four Indians on the hills, who ſtopped and made two fires.

The men by this time began to be afflicted with the ſcurvy, and their Indian friend, Tupia, was ſo bad with it, that he had livid ſpots on both his legs. Mr. Green, the aſtronomer, was likewiſe ill of the ſame diſorder; ſo that their being detained from landing was every way diſagreeable. The wind continued freſh till Sunday the 17th, but they then reſolved to puſh in for the harbour, and twice run the ſhip a-ground; the ſecond time of which ſhe ſtuck faſt; on which they took the bottoms, fore-yards, and fore top-maſts down, and made a raft on the ſide of the ſhip; and, as the tide happened to be riſing, ſhe floated at one o'clock. She was now ſoon got into the harbour, where ſhe was moored along the ſide of a beach, and the anchors, cables, &c. immediately taken out of her.

On Monday morning they erected a tent for the ſick, ſeveral of whom were brought on ſhore as ſoon as it was ready for their reception. They likewiſe built a tent to hold the proviſions and ſtores, which were landed the ſame day. The boat was now diſpatched in ſearch of fiſh for the refreſhment of the ſick, but ſhe returned without getting any; but Tupia employed himſelf in angling, and living entirely on the produce of his induſtry, recovered his health very faſt. Mr. Banks, in an excurſion up the country, ſaw the frames of ſeveral Indian houſes, which appeared to have been abandoned ſome time: while the captain, having aſcended one of the higheſt hills, obſerved the high land to be ſtony and barren, and the low land near the river over-run with mangroves, among which the ſalt water flowed every tide.

On Tueſday the captain ordered the ſmith's forge to be ſet up, and directed the armourer to prepare the neceſſary iron work for the repair of the veſſel. He likewiſe ordered out the officers ſtores, water, &c. in order to lighten the ſhip. This day Mr. Banks croſſed the river to view the country, which was little elſe than ſand-hills. He ſaw vaſt flocks of crows and pigeons, of the latter of which he ſhot ſeveral, which were moſt beautiful birds. On the day following, as they were removing the coals, the water ruſhed in, near the foremaſt, about three feet from the keel; ſo that it was reſolved to clear the hold entirely; wherefore they took out all the coals, and the next day warped the ſhip higher up the harbour, to a ſtation proper for laying her a-ſhore in order to ſtop the leak.

Early in the morning of the 22d the tide left the ſhip, and they proceeded to examine the leak, when they found that the rocks had cut through four planks, into the timbers, and that three other planks were damaged. In theſe breaches not a ſplinter was to be ſeen, the whole being ſmooth, as if cut away by an inſtrument; but the preſervation of the veſſel was owing to a very ſingular circumſtance. One of the holes was large enough to have ſunk her, even with eight pumps conſtantly at work; but this hole was in a great meaſure ſtopped up by the fragment of the rock being left ſticking in it. They likewiſe found ſome pieces of oakum, wool, &c. which had got between the timbers, and ſtopped many parts of the leak which had been left open by the ſtone. Excluſive of the leak, great damage was done to various parts of the ſhip's bottom.

While the ſmiths were engaged in making nails and bolts, the carpenters began to work on the veſſel; and ſome of the crew were ſent acroſs the river to ſhoot pigeons for the ſick. Theſe people found a ſtream of freſh water, diſcovered many Indian houſes, and had ſight of a mouſe-coloured animal, extremely ſwift, and about the ſize of a greyhound. On the 23d they ſaw plenty of fiſh, but catched only three. This

day

day many of the crew ſaw the animal above-mentioned; and one of the ſeamen declared he had ſeen the devil, which he deſcribed in the following words: "He was as large," ſays he, "as a one-gallon keg, and very like it; he had horns and wings, yet he crept ſo ſlowly through the graſs, that if I had not been *afeared*, I might have touched him." It appeared afterwards, that this poor fellow had ſeen a bat, which is almoſt black, and as large as a partridge; and his own apprehenſions had furniſhed his devil with horns.

The captain and Mr. Banks ſaw the animal above-mentioned, which had a long tail that it carried like a greyhound: it leaped like a deer, and the print of its foot reſembled that of a goat.

The veſſel was now in a poſition which threw all the water abaft; and Mr. Banks having removed his whole collection of plants into the bread-room, they were this day found under water, by which ſome of them were totally deſtroyed; but, by great care, moſt of them were reſtored to a ſtate of preſervation.

On the 29th, the boat took as many fiſh as allowed a pound and a half to each man. A midſhipman ſaw a wolf exactly reſembling thoſe of America. Mr. Gore alſo ſaw two ſtraw-coloured animals, of the ſize of a hare, but ſhaped like a dog. So much fiſh was taken, that each man had two pounds and a half; and plenty of greens were gathered, which being boiled with the peaſe, their fare was deemed excellent.

Cockles were found by the maſter ſo large, that one of them was more than ſufficient for two men; and likewiſe plenty of other ſhell-fiſh, of which he brought a ſupply to the ſhip. This day they ſucceeded in an attempt to float the ſhip; when they found that, by the poſition ſhe had lain in, ſhe had ſprung a plank, ſo that it was again neceſſary to lay her aſhore. An alligator ſwam by the ſhip ſeveral times this day.

Mr. Banks and a party made an excurſion up a river, and on the 8th they ſaw ſeveral animals, one of which was judged to be a wolf. At night they made a fire, and took up their quarters on the banks of the river; but the night was rendered extremely diſagreeable by the ſtings of the muſquitoes, which purſued them into the ſmoke, and almoſt into the fire. At break of day they ſet out in ſearch of game, and ſaw four animals, two of which were chaced by Mr. Banks's greyhound; but they greatly outſtripped him in ſpeed, by leaping over the long thick graſs, which incommoded the dog in running. It was obſerved of this animal, that he leaped or bounded forward on two legs, inſtead of running on four.

The tide favouring their return, they loſt no time in getting back to the ſhip. The maſter, who had been ſeven leagues at ſea, returned ſoon after Mr. Banks, bringing with him three turtle, which he took with a boat-hook, and which together weighed near eight hundred pounds.

In the morning four Indians, in a ſmall canoe, were within ſight. They ſoon came quite alongſide the ſhip; and having received preſents, landed where Tupia and a few ſailors were on ſhore. They had each two lances, and a ſtick with which they throw them. Advancing towards the Engliſh, Tupia perſuaded them to lay down their arms, and ſit by him, which they readily did. They ſtaid with him till dinner-time, when he made ſigns of invitation for them to go to the ſhip and eat; but this they declined, and retired in their canoe.

Theſe men were of the common ſtature, with very ſmall limbs; their complexion a deep chocolate; their hair black, either lank or curled, but not of the wool kind.

The viſit of three of theſe Indians was renewed the next morning, and they brought with them a fourth, whom they called Yaparico, who appeared to be a perſon of ſome conſequence. The bone of a bird, about ſix inches long, was thruſt through the griſtle of

of his noſe: and indeed all the inhabitants of this place had their noſes bored, for the reception of ſuch an ornament. Theſe people being quite naked, the captain gave one of them an old ſhirt, which he bound round his head like a turban, inſtead of uſing it to cover any part of his body. They ſuddenly leaped into their canoe, and rowed off, from a jealouſy of ſome of the gentlemen who were examining it. The canoe was about ten feet long, and calculated to hold four perſons; and when it was in ſhallow water they moved it by means of poles.

On the 14th, Mr. Gore ſhot one of the mouſe-coloured animals above-mentioned. It chanced to be a young one, weighing no more than thirty-eight pounds; but when full grown they are as large as a ſheep. The ſkin of this beaſt, which is called kanguroo, is covered with ſhort fur, and is of a dark mouſe-colour; the head and ears are ſomewhat like thoſe of a hare: this animal was dreſſed for dinner, and proved fine eating.

The natives being now become familiar with the ſhip's crew, one of them was deſired to throw his lance, which he did with ſuch dexterity and force, that though it was not above four feet from the ground at the higheſt, it penetrated deeply into a tree at the diſtance of fifty yards. The natives now went on board the ſhip, and were well pleaſed with their entertainment. On the 19th they ſaw ſeveral of the women, who, as well as the men, were quite naked. They were this day viſited by ten of the natives, who ſeemed reſolved to have one of the turtle that was on board, which they repeatedly made ſigns for, and being as repeatedly refuſed, they expreſſed the utmoſt rage and reſentment; and one of them, in particular, having received a denial from Mr. Banks, he ſtamped, and puſhed him away in the moſt violent manner. At length they laid hands on two of the turtles, and drew them to the ſide of the ſhip where the canoe lay; but the ſailors took them away. They made ſeveral ſimilar attempts, but being equally unſucceſsful they leaped ſuddenly into their canoe, and rowed off. At this inſtant the captain, with Mr. Banks, and five or ſix ſeamen, went aſhore, where they arrived before the Indians, and where many of the crew were already employed. As ſoon as the Indians landed, one of them ſnatched a fire-brand from under a pitch-kettle, and running to the windward of what effects were on ſhore, ſet fire to the dry graſs, which burnt rapidly, ſcorched a pig to death, burnt part of the ſmith's forge, and would have deſtroyed a tent of Mr. Banks's, but that ſome ſailors came from the ſhip juſt in time to get it out of the way of the flames. In the interim the Indians went to a place where the fiſhing-nets lay, and a quantity of linen was laid out to dry, and there again ſet fire to the graſs, in ſpite of all perſuaſion, and even of threats. A muſket loaded with ſmall ſhot was now fired, and one of them being wounded, they ran off. This ſecond fire was eaſily extinguiſhed, but the other burnt far into the woods.

The natives continuing ſtill in ſight, a muſket charged with ball was fired near them; upon hearing which, they ſoon got out of ſight; but their voices being ſoon heard in the woods, and ſeeming to come nearer, the captain, with a few of the men, went to meet them. When they were in ſight of each other, both parties ſtopped, except an old Indian, who advanced before the reſt a little way, but ſoon halted, and ſpeaking a few words retreated to his brethren, and they all retired together. The Engliſh having ſeized ſome of their darts, followed them about a mile, and then ſat down, the Indians ſitting about an hundred yards from them. The old man again came forward, having in his hand a lance with a point. He ſtopped and ſpoke ſeveral times, on which the captain made ſigns of friendſhip. The old Indian now turned to his companions, and having ſpoken to them, they placed their lances againſt a tree, and came forward as in

friendſhip; whereupon their darts, which had been taken, were returned, and the whole quarrel ſeemed to be at an end. When Captain Cook got on board, he ſaw the woods burning at the diſtance of two miles.

The maſter having been ſent to ſearch for a paſſage to the northward, returned with an account that he could not find any. By the night of the 20th, the fire had extended many miles round them on the hills. On the 22d they killed a turtle, through both ſhoulders of which ſtuck a wooden harpoon, which the Indians had ſtricken it with, and the wound was quite healed. The next day one of the ſeamen, who had ſtrayed from his company, met with four Indians at dinner: he was alarmed at this unexpected meeting, but had prudence enough to conceal his apprehenſions, and ſitting down by them, gave them his knife, which having all looked at, they returned. He would then have left them; but they choſe to detain him, till, by feeling his hands and face, they were convinced he was made of fleſh and blood like themſelves. They then diſmiſſed him, directing him the neareſt way to the ſhip.

On the 26th, Mr. Banks catched a female animal, called the opoſſom, with two young ones.

On the 4th of Auguſt they put to ſea, the pinnace going a-head to keep ſounding, and at noon came to an anchor, when the captain gave the name of Cape Bedford to the northernmoſt point of land in ſight, and that of Endeavour River to the harbour which they had quitted.

The proviſions they obtained while in this harbour conſiſted of turtle, which they went ſome miles to ſea to catch; oyſters of three different ſorts, large cavalhe or ſcomber, large mullets, ſome flat fiſh, a great number of ſmall ſcombri, and ſkate or ray-fiſh; purſlain, wild-beans, the tops of cocoas, and cabbage-palms. Of quadrupeds there are goats, wolves, and pole-cats, and a ſpotted animal of the viverra kind; and ſeveral kinds of ſerpents, only ſome of which are venomous. Dogs are the only tame animals.

On the 4th, ſuch a quantity of fiſh was catched, as allowed a dividend of two pounds to each man. During the ſix following days they ſtruggled inceſſantly to ſail ſafely paſt the ſhoals and breakers, by which they were every way ſurrounded. On the 10th they were between a head-land and three iſlands, which had been diſcovered on the preceding day, and began to conceive hopes that they were out of danger; but this not proving the caſe, the head-land received the name of Cape Flattery.

After a converſation held among the officers, it was their concurrent opinion, that it would be beſt to leave the coaſt, and ſtand out to ſea; and in conſequence of theſe ſentiments, they ſailed on the 13th of Auguſt, 1770, and got in an open ſea, after having been ſurrounded by dreadful ſhoals and rocks for near three months. They had now ſailed above a thouſand miles, during all which run they had been obliged to keep ſounding without the intermiſſion of a ſingle minute; a circumſtance which, it is ſuppoſed, never happened to any ſhip but the Endeavour.

Having anchored on the 14th, they ſteered a weſterly courſe on the following day to get ſight of the land, that a paſſage between that land and New Guinea might not be miſſed, if there was any ſuch paſſage. They ſtood northward till midnight. When day-light came on they ſaw a dreadful ſurf break at a vaſt height, within a mile of the ſhip, towards which the rolling waves carried her with great rapidity. Thus diſtreſſed, the boats were ſent ahead to tow, and the head of the veſſel was brought about, but not till ſhe was within one hundred yards of the rock, between which and her there was nothing left but the chaſm, made by the laſt wave which had waſhed her ſide, and

which had riſen and broke to a wonderful height on the rock; but, in the moment they expected inſtant deſtruction, a breeze, hardly diſcernible, aided the boats in getting the veſſel in an oblique direction from the rock. The hopes, however, afforded by this providential circumſtance, were deſtroyed by a perfect calm, which ſucceeded in a few minutes; yet the breeze once more returned before they had loſt the little ground which had been gained.

At this time a ſmall opening was ſeen in the reef, and a young officer being ſent to examine it, found that its breadth did not much exceed the length of the ſhip, but that there was ſmooth water on the other ſide of the rocks. Animated by the hope of preſerving life, they now attempted to paſs the opening; but this was impoſſible; for it having become high water in the interim, the ebb tide ruſhed through it with amazing impetuoſity, carrying the ſhip about a quarter of a mile from the reef, and ſhe ſoon reached the diſtance of two miles by the help of the boats. When the ebb tide was ſpent, the tide of flood again drove the veſſel very near the rocks; ſo that their proſpect of deſtruction was renewed, when they diſcovered another opening, and a light breeze ſpringing up, they entered it, and were driven through it with a rapidity that prevented the ſhip from ſtriking againſt either ſide of the channel. The ſhip now came to an anchor, and her crew were grateful for having regained a ſtation which they had been very lately moſt anxious to quit.

The name of Providential Channel was given to the opening through which the ſhip had thus eſcaped the moſt imminent dangers. A high promontory on the main land in ſight was denominated Cape Weymouth, and a bay near it Weymouth Bay. This day the boats went out to fiſh, and met with great ſucceſs, particularly in catching cockles; ſome of which were of ſuch an amazing ſize, as to require the ſtrength of two men to move them. Mr. Banks likewiſe ſucceeded in his ſearch for rare ſhells, and different kinds of coral.

On the 21ſt ſeveral iſlands were diſcovered, which were called York Iſles. In the afternoon they anchored between ſome iſlands, and obſerved that the channel now began to grow wider. They obſerved two diſtant points, between which no land could be ſeen; ſo that the hope of having at length explored a paſſage into the Indian Sea began to animate every breaſt.

The captain and his company now aſcended a hill upon one of theſe iſlands, from whence they had a view of near forty miles, in which ſpace there was nothing that threatened to oppoſe their paſſage; ſo that the certainty of a channel ſeemed to be almoſt aſcertained. Previous to their leaving the iſland, Captain Cook diſplayed the Engliſh colours, and took poſſeſſion of all the eaſtern coaſt of the country, from the thirty-eighth degree of ſouth latitude, to the preſent ſpot, by the name of New South Wales, for his Sovereign the King of Great Britain; and the place received the name of Poſſeſſion Iſland.

They were now advanced to the northern extremity of New Holland, and had the ſatisfaction of viewing the open ſea to the weſtward. The north-eaſt entrance of the paſſage is formed by the main land of New Holland, and by a number of iſlands, which took the name of the Prince of Wales's Iſlands, and which Captain Cook imagines may reach to New Guinea. To the paſſage which they had ſailed through, Captain Cook gave the name of Endeavour Streights.

New South Wales is a much larger country than any hitherto known, which is not deemed a continent, being larger than all Europe; which is proved by the Endeavour having coaſted more than two thouſand miles, even if her tract was reduced to a ſtraight line.

line. To the northward the graſs is not ſo rich, nor the trees ſo high as in the ſouthern parts; and almoſt every where, even the largeſt trees grow at a diſtance of not leſs than thirteen yards aſunder.

Beſides the quadrupeds already mentioned, there is one, the belly of which is totally white, and the back brown, with white ſpots; it is much like a polecat, and the Indians call it quoll. There are vaſt numbers of beautiful pigeons, many of which were ſhot by the ſeamen; and the other land-birds are eagles, hawks, cranes, herons, buſtards, crows, quails, doves, parrots, parroquets, cockatoos, and ſome other birds of very elegant plumage.

The inſects are few in number, among which the muſquito and the ant are the chief. The ants are of four kinds. The firſt are perfectly green, and live on trees, in which they build curious neſts, by bending down the leaves, and gluing them together with an animal juice; thouſands of them joined to keep the leaf in its proper poſition, while many others were employed in the gluing them. Being diſturbed in their work, the leaves, which are four or five inches in breadth, flew back with a force which was thought much ſuperior to the united ſtrength of theſe inſects. Thoſe who diſturbed them paid for their curioſity, by being ſtung in a very ſevere manner.

The ſecond kind of ants are quite black, and live in the inſide of the branches of trees, after they have worked out the pith. Some of the branches being gathered, millions of theſe animals iſſued from every broken twig.

The third ſort took up their lodging in the root of a plant that twines round the trunk of other trees. This root, which they hollowed for their purpoſe, was cut into great numbers of paſſages which ran acroſs each other; yet the plant appeared not to have been injured. Theſe were not more than half the ſize of the red ant of this country; but, upon being diſturbed, they crawled over the body in thouſands, and put their diſturbers to the pain ariſing from exquiſite tickling.

The fourth kind were like the white ants of the Eaſt Indies; and had one ſort of neſts as big as a half-peck loaf, hanging from the boughs of the trees, and compoſed of ſeveral minute parts of vegetables, ſtuck together by a glutinous matter, ſuppoſed to have been ſupplied from their own bodies. The cells had a communication with each other, and had openings which led to other neſts on the ſame tree; they had likewiſe a hollow covered paſſage to another neſt on the ground, at the root of a different tree from that on which the former neſt was ſuſpended. The ground neſts are ſix feet in height, and almoſt as much in breadth; the outſide being plaſtered with clay of near two inches in thickneſs. Theſe have a ſubterraneous paſſage to the roots of the trees near which they ſtand; whence the ants aſcend, by covered ways, up the trunk and branches. As theſe ground-built houſes are proof againſt the invaſion of the rain, it is ſuppoſed that the ants retire to them during the wet ſeaſon.

The ſeas abound with delicate green turtle, beſides thoſe enormous cockles which have been already mentioned. Alligators are found in the rivers and ſalt creeks.

The men are well made, of the middle ſize, and active in a high degree; but their voices are ſoft, even to effeminacy. Their colour is the chocolate; but they were ſo covered with dirt, as to look almoſt as black as negroes.

The chief ornament of theſe people is the bone that is thruſt through the noſe, which the ſailors whimſically termed their ſpritſail-yard. Some few of them had an ornament of ſhells hanging acroſs the breaſt. Beſides theſe ornaments, they painted their bodies and limbs white and red, in ſtripes of different dimenſions; and they had a circle of white round each eye, and ſpots of it on the face.

Their huts were built with ſmall rods, the two ends of which were fixed into the ground, ſo as to form the figure of an oven; they are covered with pieces of bark and palm-leaves. The door of this building, which is only high enough to ſit upright in, is oppoſite to the fire-place: they ſleep with their heels turned up towards their heads, and even in this poſture the hut will not hold more than four people.

They were frequently obſerved with the leaves of a tree in their mouths, but whether it had the qualities either of tobacco or betle could not be known; but it was obſerved not to diſcolour the teeth or lips.

They produce fire, and extend the flames in a very ſingular manner; they reduce one end of a ſtick into an obtuſe point, they place this point upon a piece of dry wood, and turning the upright ſtick very faſt backward and forward between their hands, the fire is ſoon produced: nor is it increaſed with leſs celerity:—One of the natives was frequently obſerved to run along the ſea-coaſt, leaving fire in various places. Theſe fires were ſuppoſed to be intended for the taking of the kanguroo, as that animal was ſo very ſhy of fire, that when forced by the dogs, it would not croſs places which had been newly burnt, even when the fire was extinguiſhed.

The points of their lances are ſometimes made of fiſh-bones, and ſometimes of a hard heavy wood; they are barbed with other pieces of wood or bone, ſo that when they have entered any depth into the body, they cannot be drawn out without tearing the fleſh in a ſhocking manner, or leaving ſplinters behind them.

In the northern parts of this coaſt, the canoes are formed by hollowing out the trunk of a tree; and it was conjectured, that this operation muſt have been performed by fire, as the natives did not appear to have any inſtrument proper for the purpoſe. The canoes are in length about fourteen feet, and ſo narrow that they would be frequently overſet, but that they are provided with an outrigger. The natives row them with paddles, uſing both hands in that employment.

That the natives of this country ſometimes wage war with each other is evident from their being poſſeſſed of weapons; yet not a ſingle wound was ſeen on any of their bodies.

We ſhall now proceed to give an account of their paſſage from New South Wales to New Guinea, with a recital of the incidents which happened on their landing on the laſt mentioned country.

Early in the morning of the 24th of Auguſt 1770, the cable broke near the ring, in the attempt to weigh the anchor; on which another anchor was dropped, which prevented the ſhip driving. Determined, however, not to loſe the anchor, they recovered it the next morning.

Soon after the anchor was weighed, the ſhip got under ſail, ſteering north-weſt, and in a few hours one of the boats which was a-head made the ſignal for ſhoal-water. The ſhip inſtantly brought to, with all her ſails ſtanding. It was now found that ſhe had met with another narrow eſcape, as ſhe was almoſt encompaſſed with ſhoals; and was likewiſe ſo ſituated between them, that ſhe muſt have ſtruck before the boat's crew had made the ſignal, if ſhe had been half the length of a cable on either ſide. In the afternoon ſhe made ſail with the ebb tide, and got out of danger before ſun-ſet.

Next morning, the 28th, they purſued their voyage again, ſteering due north.

The ſhip now held this courſe, barely within ſight of land, till the 3d of September; and as the water was but juſt deep enough to navigate the veſſel, many unſucceſsful attempts were made to bring her near enough to get on ſhore: it was therefore determined to land in one of the boats, while the ſhip kept plying off and on.

In conſequence of this reſolution, on the 3d of September, the captain, accompanied by Meſſrs. Banks and Solander, and attended by the boat's crew and Mr. Banks's ſervant, ſet out in the pinnace; but when they came within two hundred yards of the ſhore, the water was ſo ſhallow, that they were obliged to leave the boat to the care of two of the ſailors, and wade to land. They were no ſooner clear of the water, than they ſaw ſeveral prints of human feet on the ſand, below high water mark, whence it was evident that the natives had been very lately there.

Our adventurers were now near a quarter of a mile from the pinnace, when three of the natives ran out of the woods, about one hundred yards beyond them, ſhouting in the moſt violent manner. They inſtantly ran towards our countrymen, the firſt of the three throwing ſomething out of his hand, which flew on one ſide of him, burning in the ſame manner as gunpowder, but making no noiſe, while the other two threw their lances. The Engliſh now fired; when the natives ſtopped, and caſt another lance, on which the muſquets were loaded with ball and again fired. The poor Indians now ran off with expedition, having moſt probably been wounded in the unequal conflict. Captain Cook and his companions, unwilling farther to injure thoſe who could not originally have intended them any harm, retreated haſtily to the boat, which having reached, they rowed abreaſt of the natives, who by this time were aſſembled to the number of about eighty. Their ſtature was nearly the ſame with that of the inhabitants of New South Wales, but their colour not quite ſo dark. During the ſurvey that was taken of them, they continued letting off their fires, a few at a time, in a kind of regular platoons; they were diſcharged by means of a piece of ſtick, almoſt like a hollow cane, which being ſwung ſideways, produced fire and ſmoke exactly like that occaſioned by the firing of ſmall arms. The crew on board the ſhip ſaw this ſtrange phœnomenon, and thought the natives had fire-arms. The gentlemen having ſatisfied their curioſity, by attentively looking at theſe people, fired ſome muſquets above their heads, the balls from which being heard to rattle among the trees, the natives deliberately retired. The lances which had been thrown ſoon after the gentlemen landed, were made of a reed, or bamboo cane, and the points were made of hard wood, barbed in ſeveral places; it is imagined, that theſe lances were diſcharged by means of a throwing-ſtick, as they flew with great ſwiftneſs above ſixty yards.

The whole coaſt of this country is low land, but clothed with a richneſs of trees and herbage which exceeds all deſcription. The cocoa-nut trees were alſo very numerous.

On the evening of the 9th, they ſaw what had the appearance of land. The ſhip ſtood off and on during the night, when a number of fires were ſeen upon the iſland, and the next morning ſmoke was ſeen in ſeveral places, whence it was conjectured that the place was well peopled.

On the 16th, they had ſight of the little iſland called Rotte; and the ſame day ſaw the iſland Semau.

At ten o'clock this night a dull reddiſh light was ſeen in the air. This phœnomenon, which reached about ten degrees above the horizon, bore a conſiderable reſemblance to the Aurora Borealis, only that the rays of light which it emitted had no tremulous motion. It was ſurveyed for two hours, during which time its brightneſs continued undiminiſhed.

As the ſhip was now clear of all the iſlands which had been laid down in ſuch maps as were on board, they made ſail during the night, and were ſurpriſed the next morning at the ſight of an iſland to the weſt-ſouth-weſt, which they flattered themſelves was a new

a new diſcovery. Before noon they had ſight of houſes, groves of cocoa-nut trees, and large flocks of ſheep. This was a welcome ſight to people whoſe health was declining for want of refreſhments. The ſecond lieutenant was immediately diſpatched in the pinnace, in ſearch of a landing-place; and he took with him ſuch things as it was thought might be acceptable to the natives: Dr. Solander went with him.

Two horſemen were ſeen from the ſhip, one of whom had a laced hat on, and was dreſſed in a coat and waiſtcoat of the faſhion of Europe. Theſe men rode about on ſhore, taking little notice of the boat, but regarding the ſhip with the utmoſt attention. As ſoon as the boat reached the ſhore, ſome other perſons on horſeback, and many on foot, haſtened to the ſpot, and it was obſerved that ſome cocoa-nuts were put into the boat, from whence it was concluded that a traffick had commenced with the natives. A ſignal being made from the boat that the ſhip might anchor in a bay at ſome diſtance, ſhe immediately bore away for it.

When the lieutenant came on board, he reported that he could not purchaſe any cocoa-nuts, as the owner of them was abſent, and that what he had brought were given him; in return for which he had preſented the natives with ſome linen. The method by which he learnt that there was a harbour in the neighbourhood, was by the natives drawing a kind of rude map on the ſand, in which the harbour, and a town near it were repreſented; it was likewiſe hinted to him that fruit, fowls, hogs, and ſheep, might be there obtained in great abundance. He ſaw ſeveral of the principal inhabitants of the iſland, who wore chains of gold about their necks, and were dreſſed in fine linen. When the boat's crew were on the point of returning to the ſhip, the gentleman who had been ſeen on horſeback in the dreſs of Europe came down to the beach; but the lieutenant did not think it proper to hold a conference with him, becauſe he had left his commiſſion on board the ſhip.

In the evening, when the ſhip had entered the bay to which they had been recommended, an Indian town was ſeen at a ſmall diſtance, upon which a jack was hoiſted on the fore-top-maſt-head. Preſently afterwards three guns were fired, and Dutch colours were hoiſted in the town. The ſhip, however, held on her way, and came to an anchor at ſeven in the evening.

The colours being ſeen hoiſted on the beach the next morning, the captain concluded that the Dutch had a ſettlement on the iſland; he therefore diſpatched the ſecond lieutenant to mention what neceſſaries they were in want of.

He was conducted to the Raja, or King of the iſland, to whom, by means of a Portugueſe interpreter, he made known his buſineſs. The Raja ſaid, he was ready to ſupply the ſhip with the neceſſary refreſhments; but that he could not trade with any other people but the Dutch, with whom he was in alliance, without having firſt obtained their conſent; but that he would make application to the Dutch agent, who was the only white man among them. This agent, whoſe name was Lange, behaved politely to the lieutenant, and told him he might buy what he thought proper of the inhabitants of the iſland.

Immediately after, the Raja and Mr. Lange intimated their wiſhes to go on board the ſhip, and that two of the boat's crew might be left as hoſtages for their ſafe return; the lieutenant gratified both theſe requeſts, and took them on board juſt before dinner was ſerved. It was thought that they would have ſat down without ceremony; but, after ſome heſitation, the Raja intimated his doubts, whether, being a black, they would permit him to ſit down with them. The politeneſs of the officers ſoon removed his ſcruples, and the greateſt good humour and feſtivity prevailed among them. As Dr. Solander, and another gentleman on board, were tolerable proficients in Dutch,

they acted as interpreters between Mr. Lange and the officers, while ſome of the ſailors, who underſtood Portugueſe, converſed with ſuch of the Raja's attendants as ſpoke that language. The chief part of the dinner was mutton, which the Raja having taſted, he begged an Engliſh ſheep, and the only one which they had left was given him. He then aſked for a dog, and Mr. Banks gave him his greyhound; and a ſpying-glaſs was preſented to him, on Mr. Lange's intimating that it would be acceptable.

The viſitors now told Captain Cook, that there was great plenty of fowls, hogs, ſheep and buffaloes on the iſland, numbers of which ſhould be conveyed to the ſea ſhore on the following day, that he might purchaſe what was neceſſary for the recovery of the ſick, and for ſea-ſtores. This welcome news gave great ſpirits to the company, and the bottle went ſo briſkly round, that Mr. Lange and his companions became almoſt intoxicated. They had, however, the reſolution to expreſs a deſire to depart, before they were quite drunk. Meſſrs. Solander and Banks went aſhore with the viſitors, who were ſaluted at their departure with nine guns, which they returned with three cheers.

On the following day the captain, attended by ſeveral gentlemen, went on ſhore to return the Raja's viſit; but their principal intention was, to buy the refreſhments which had been mentioned the preceding day. When they landed, they were chagrined to find that the cattle had not been driven down to the beach. They went on to the town.

The Raja was at the houſe of aſſembly, ſurrounded by many of his principal ſubjects; and Mr. Lange alſo attended. Captain Cook having informed them that he had loaded his boat with goods, which he wiſhed to exchange for neceſſary refreſhments, permiſſion was given to land his effects. The Captain now endeavoured to make an agreement for the hogs, ſheep, and buffaloes, which were to be paid for in caſh; but this buſineſs was no ſooner hinted at than Mr. Lange took his leave, having firſt told the captain that he muſt make his agreement with the natives; and adding, that he had received a letter from the Governor of Concordia, in Timor, the contents of which ſhould be diſcloſed at his return.

They were invited to dine with the Raja, but he did not partake of the entertainment, as it was not cuſtomary here to ſit down with their gueſts. They began their dinner, which conſiſted of pork and rice, very excellent of their kinds, ſerved up in thirty-ſix diſhes, and three earthen bowls, filled with a kind of broth, in which the pork had been boiled. The ſpoons were formed of leaves, but were ſo ſmall, that the hunger of the gueſts would ſcarcely allow them patience to uſe them.

When dinner was ended, the captain invited the Raja to drink wine with him; but this he declined, ſaying, that the man who entertained company ſhould never get drunk with his gueſts.

When the bottle had circulated ſome time, Captain Cook began to enquire after the cattle that were promiſed to be driven down to the beach; when Mr. Lange informed him, that in the letter which he had received from the Governor of Concordia, inſtructions were given, that if the ſhip ſhould touch at the iſland, and be in want of proviſions, ſhe ſhould be ſupplied; but that he was not to permit her to remain longer than was abſolutely neceſſary. That no preſents were to be made to the natives of low rank, nor even left with their ſuperiors to be divided among them after the ſhip had ſailed; but, he added, that any trifling civilities received from the Indians, might be acknowledged by a preſent of beads, or any other articles of ſmall value. It is a very probable conjecture, that the whole of this ſtory was of Mr. Lange's own manufacture,

facture, and ſolely calculated to draw all the preſents of any value into his own pocket.

Soon after this the captain was informed, that ſome ſheep had been driven down to the beach; but had been conveyed away before the men could get money from the ſhip to pay for them, and that not a ſingle hog or buffaloe had been driven down; but that a ſmall numer of fowls, and a quantity of the palm-ſyrup had been bought.

Heartily vexed to be thus diſappointed of the chief articles which were wanted, the captain remonſtrated with Mr. Lange, who told him, that if he and his officers had gone to the ſpot, they might have purchaſed any thing they pleaſed; but that the Indians imagined the ſeamen would impoſe on them with counterfeit money.

This ſtory was no more credited than the former; but not to loſe more time in a caſe of ſuch urgency, the captain inſtantly repaired to the beach; but there were no cattle to be bought. During his abſence, Lange informed Mr. Banks that the Indians were offended, that the ſeamen had not offered gold for what they had to ſell, and that no other metal would purchaſe their commodities; but Mr. Banks, diſdaining to hold farther converſation with a man who had been guilty of ſuch repeated ſubterfuges, left him abruptly.

On the 20th the captain and Dr. Solander went again on ſhore, and while the latter proceeded to the town in ſearch of Lange, the captain ſtaid on the beach, with a view to buy cattle. At this place was an old man, who had been diſtinguiſhed by the name of prime miniſter, becauſe he appeared to be inveſted with conſiderable authority; and the captain now preſented him with a ſpying-glaſs, in order to make a friend of him. At preſent there was nothing brought for ſale but a ſmall buffaloe, for which five guineas were demanded. Though the captain knew that this was double its value, yet he bid three guineas, as he was willing to begin dealing at any rate. The perſon who had it to ſell ſaid, he could not take the money till the Raja had been informed what was offered; on which a man was ſent to him, who ſoon came back with a meſſage, that five guineas would be the loweſt price: this the captain refuſed to give; on which a ſecond meſſenger was diſpatched, who ſtaying a long time, Captain Cook was anxiouſly expecting his return, when he ſaw Dr. Solander coming towards the beach, eſcorted by more than a hundred perſons, ſome of whom had lances in their hands, and the reſt were armed with muſquets. When the doctor arrived at the marketing place, he informed the captain, that Lange had interpreted to him a meſſage from the Raja, the ſubſtance of which was, that the natives were averſe to all traffick with the Engliſh, becauſe they would not give above half the real worth of the things which were offered for ſale; and that all trading whatever ſhould be prohibited after that day.

A native of Timor, whoſe parents were Portugueſe, came down with this party, and delivered to the captain what was pretended to be the order of the Raja, and which was in ſubſtance the ſame as Lange had told Dr. Solander; but it was afterwards diſcovered, that this man was a confederate of Lange's, in the ſcheme of extortion. The Engliſh gentlemen had at the ſame time no doubt but that the ſuppoſed order of the Raja was a contrivance of theſe men; and while they were debating how they ſhould act in this critical conjuncture, anxious to bring the affair to a ſpeedy iſſue, the Portugueſe began to drive away ſuch of the natives as had brought palm-ſyrup and fowls to ſell, and others who were now bringing ſheep and buffaloes to the market.

Juſt at this juncture Captain Cook happening to look at the old man who had been diſtinguiſhed by the name of prime-miniſter, imagined that he ſaw in his features a diſapprobation of the preſent proceedings; and willing to improve the advantage, he graſped

graſped the Indian's hand, and gave him an old broad ſword. This well-timed preſent produced all the good effects that could be wiſhed; the prime miniſter was enraptured at ſo honourable a mark of diſtinction, and, brandiſhing his ſword over the head of the impertinent Portugueſe, he made both him, and a man who commanded the party, ſit down behind him on the ground. The whole buſineſs was now accompliſhed; the natives, eager to ſupply whatever was wanted, brought their cattle in for ſale, and the market was ſoon ſtocked. For the firſt two buffaloes Captain Cook gave ten guineas; but he afterwards purchaſed them by way of exchange, giving a muſquet for each; and at this rate he might have bought any number he thought proper. There ſeems to be no doubt but that Lange had a profit out of the firſt two that were ſold, and that his reaſon for having ſaid that the natives would take nothing but gold for their cattle, was, that he might the more eaſily ſhare in the produce. Captain Cook purchaſed of the natives of this iſland ſome hundred gallons of palm-ſyrup, a ſmall quantity of garlick, a large number of eggs, ſome limes, and cocoa-nuts, thirty dozen of fowls, three hogs, ſix ſheep, and nine buffaloes.

Having at length obtained theſe neceſſary refreſhments, Captain Cook prepared for ſailing from this place.

This iſland is called Savu; it is ſituated in 10° 35′ ſouth latitude, and 237° 30′ weſt longitude, and has hitherto been very little known, or very imperfectly deſcribed. Its length is between twenty and thirty miles; but its breadth could not be aſcertained. At the time the Endeavour lay there it was near the end of the dry ſeaſon, when it had not rained for almoſt ſeven months, nor was there a running ſtream of freſh water to be ſeen, and the natives were ſupplied only by ſmall ſprings, ſituated at a diſtance up the country. The rains in this country ceaſe in March or April, and fall again in October or November: and theſe rains produce abundance of indico, millet, and maize, which grow beneath the nobleſt trees in the univerſe.

Beſides theſe articles, the iſland produces tobacco, cotton, betle, tamarinds, limes, oranges, mangoes, rice, Guinea-corn, callevances, and water-melons. A trifling quantity of cinnamon was ſeen, and ſome European herbs, ſuch as garlic, fennel, celery and marjoram; beſides which, there are fruits of various kinds, and particularly the *blimbi*, which has a ſharp taſte, and is ſaid to be a fine pickle, but it is not eaten raw.

Several buffaloes were ſeen on this iſland, which were almoſt as large as an ox: and from a pair of enormous horns of this animal which Mr. Banks ſaw, it was conjectured, that ſome of them were much larger; yet they did not weigh more than half as much as an ox of the ſame apparent ſize, having loſt the greater part of their fleſh through the late dry weather; the meat, however, was juicy, and of a delicate flavour. The horns of theſe animals bend backwards, they have no dewlaps, nor ſcarce any hair on their ſkins, and their ears are remarkably large. The other tame animals on the iſland are dogs, cats, pigeons, fowls, hogs, goats, ſheep, aſſes and horſes.

Few of the horſes are above twelve hands high, yet they are full of mettle, and pace naturally in an expeditious manner; the natives ride them with a halter only. The ſheep are not unlike a goat, and are therefore called cabritos. The ſea-coaſt furniſhes the inhabitants with turtle, but not in any great abundance.

The natives of the iſland of Savu are rather below the middle ſtature; their hair is black and ſtraight, and perſons of all ranks, as well thoſe that are expoſed to the weather, as thoſe that are not, have one general complexion, which is dark brown. The men are well formed and ſprightly, and their features differ much from each other: the women, on the contrary, have all one ſet of features, and are very ſhort and broad built.

The men have ſilver pincers hanging by ſtrings round their necks, with which they pluck out the hair of their beards; and both men and women root out the hair that grows under the arms.

The dreſs of the men conſiſts of two pieces of cotton cloth, one of which is bound round the middle, and the lower edge of it being drawn pretty tight between the legs, the upper edge is left looſe, ſo as to form a kind of a pocket, in which they carry their knives and other things: the other piece being paſſed under the former, on the back of the wearer, the ends of it are carried over the ſhoulders, and tucked into the pocket before. The women draw the upper edge of the piece round the waiſt tight, while the lower edge, dropping to the knees makes a kind of a petticoat: the other piece of cloth is faſtened acroſs the breaſt, and under the arms. This cloth, which is manufactured by the natives, is dyed blue while in the yarn; and, as it is of various ſhades, its look when it comes to be worn is very beautiful.

The ornaments of the natives of Savu are very numerous, and conſiſt of rings, beads worn round the neck and on the wriſts, and chains of plaited gold wire, likewiſe hung round the neck: theſe things were worn by both ſexes; but the women had alſo girdles of beads round their waiſt, which helped to keep up the petticoat.

The houſes on the iſland of Savu are of different lengths, from twenty feet to four hundred, according to the rank of the inhabitant, and are fixed on poſts about four or five feet from the ground. The houſes are generally divided into three rooms of equal ſize, the centre room being ſet apart for the uſe of the women; and ſometimes ſmaller rooms are encloſed from the ſides of the building, the whole of which is thatched with the leaves of the palm-tree.

The natives eat of all the tame animals which the iſland produces, but they prefer the hog to all the reſt; next to the hog's fleſh they admire that of the horſe, to which ſucceeds the buffalo, and then the poultry; and they like the fleſh of cats and dogs much better than that of goats and ſheep. They ſeldom eat fiſh.

The fan-palm is the moſt remarkable, and moſt uſeful tree that grows on the iſland, its uſes being equally great and various. Soon after the buds put forth, the natives cut them, and tying under them little baſkets, formed of the leaves of the tree, a liquor drops into them, which has the taſte of a light wine, and is the common liquor of all the inhabitants. The leaves of the tree are applied to the various uſes of making tobacco-pipes, umbrellas, cups, baſkets, and the thatching of houſes. The fruit is nearly the ſize of a full grown turnip; but the natives are not fond of it.

The iſland conſiſts of five diviſions, each of which has a raja, or chief governor of its own. Theſe diviſions are called Timo, Maſſara, Regeeua, Laai and Seba. It was on this laſt diviſion that our Engliſh adventurers went on ſhore; the raja of which was between thirty and forty years of age, and remarkable for his corpulency. He governs his people with the moſt abſolute authority, but takes on him very little of the parade or pomp of royalty.

The natives are ſo expert in the uſe of their lances, that they will throw them with ſuch force and exactneſs, as to pierce a man through the heart at the diſtance of ſixty or ſeventy yards.

The inhabitants of Savu are divided into five ranks; the rajas, the land-owners, manufacturers, labourers, and ſlaves. The land-owners are reſpected in proportion to the extent of their lands, and the number of their ſlaves, which laſt are bought and ſold with the eſtates to which they belong; but when a ſlave is bought ſeparately, a fat hog is the price of the purchaſe. Though a man may ſell his ſlave in this manner,

or convey him with his lands, yet his power over him extends no farther, for he muſt not even ſtrike him without the raja's permiſſion.

The natives in general are robuſt and healthy, and had the appearance of being long-lived. The ſmall-pox has found its way to this iſland, and is as much dreaded as the peſtilence. When this diſorder attacks any perſon, he is carried to ſome ſpot at a great diſtance from any houſe, where his food is conveyed to him by means of a long ſtick, for no one will venture very near the invalid, who is thus left to take his chance of life or death.

The iſland of Savu having been viſited by the Portugueſe almoſt at their firſt ſailing into this part of the world, they eſtabliſhed a ſettlement upon it; but in a little time they were ſucceeded by the Dutch, who, though they did not formally poſſeſs themſelves of the iſland, ſent a number of trading veſſels to eſtabliſh a treaty of commerce with the natives. The principal object of this treaty is, that the rajas ſhould furniſh the Dutch, for the conſumption of their ſpice iſlands, with rice, maize, &c. annually, and they are to return the value in arrack, cutlery wares, linen, and ſilk. In this agreement the rajas ſtipulated, that a Dutch reſident ſhould be conſtantly on the iſland, to obſerve that their part of the contract was fulfilled.

As ſoon as this was accompliſhed, they ſent Mr. Lange to act as their reſident. Once every two months he is attended by fifty ſlaves on horſeback, and in this ſtate viſits each of the rajas. He conſtantly takes with him a quantity of arrack, by the help of which he does not fail of making advantageous bargains with the rajas.

Lange had been on this iſland ten years, during all which time he had not ſeen a white perſon, except thoſe who came annually in the Dutch ſhip to carry off the rice. He is married to an Indian woman, a native of the iſland of Timor, and he lives in the ſame manner as the inhabitants of Savu, whoſe language he ſpeaks better than any other; like them too he ſits on the ground and chews betle, and has ſo perfectly adopted their manners, that he is an abſolute Indian, except in dreſs and complexion.

The morality of theſe people is of the pureſt kind. A robbery is ſcarce ever committed, and a murder is never perpetrated. When any diſputes ariſe between the natives, they inſtantly ſubmit the point in debate to the deciſion of the raja, and reſt perfectly ſatisfied with his determination. No man is permitted to marry more than one wife; yet a violation of the marriage bed, or even the crime of ſimple fornication, is almoſt wholly unknown among them.

Of the iſlands in the neighbourhood of Savu, the principal is Timor, which is annually viſited by the Dutch reſidents on the other iſlands, in order to make up their accounts.

A French ſhip was wrecked on the coaſt of Timor, about two years before the Endeavour was in theſe ſeas. She had been lodged on the rock ſeveral days, when the wind tore her to pieces in an inſtant, and the captain, with the greater number of the ſeamen, were drowned; but a lieutenant, and about eighty men reached the ſhore, where their immediate neceſſities were relieved, after which they returned to the wreck, in company with ſome Dutch and Indians, who aſſiſted them in recovering all their cheſts of bullion, ſome of their guns and other effects, which being done, they returned, where they remained ſeveral weeks; but in this interval, death made ſuch havock among them, that not above half their number remained to be ſent to their native country.

The Endeavour ſailed from the iſland of Savu on the 21ſt of September, 1770, and bent her courſe weſtward.

AN ABSTRACT OF CAPTAIN COOK'S SECOND VOYAGE.

Begun in 1772, and finiſhed in 1775.

VERY ſoon after the captain's return from his enterprize in the Endeavour, (an account of which the reader has, it is ſuppoſed, juſt read) it was determined to ſend two ſhips to complete the diſcovery in the ſouthern hemiſphere; and for this purpoſe two veſſels of a particular conſtruction were purchaſed of Captain Hammond, of Hull: the largeſt was 462 tons, ſhe was named the Reſolution; the other was 336 tons, and named the Adventure. Captain James Cook was appointed to the command of the former, and Captain Tobias Furneaux was promoted from the rank of a lieutenant to the command of the latter.

The Reſolution had 112 perſons on board, officers included, and the Adventure 81. Mr. Forſter and his ſon, and Mr. Wales, now mathematical maſter of Chriſt's Hoſpital, accompanied them.

On the 13th of June, 1772, at ſix o'clock in the morning, both the ſhips ſailed from Plymouth Sound, and on the evening of the 29th anchored in Funchiale Road, in the iſland of Madeira. At the captain's and Mr. Forſter's landing, they were received by a gentleman from the vice-conſul, Mr. Sills, who conducted them to the houſe of Mr. Loughnans, the moſt conſiderable Engliſh merchant in the place. This gentleman not only obtained leave for Mr. Forſter to ſearch the iſland for plants, but procured them every other thing they wanted, and inſiſted on their accommodating themſelves at his houſe during their ſtay.

Having got on board a ſupply of water, wine, and other neceſſaries, they left Madeira on the 1ſt of Auguſt, and ſteered ſouthward.

Captain Cook now made three puncheons of beer, of the inſpiſſated juice of malt. The proportion was about ten of water to one of juice. They ſtopped at St. Jago for a ſupply of water, on the 10th; the captain immediately diſpatched an officer to aſk leave to water, and purchaſe refreſhments, which was granted. The 14th in the evening, having completed their water and got on board a ſupply of refreſhments, ſuch as hogs, goats, fowls, and fruit, they put to ſea, and proceeded on their voyage.

Port Praya, where they anchored, is a ſmall bay, ſituated about the middle of the ſouth ſide of the iſland of St. Jago. The water is tolerable, but ſcarce; and bad getting off, on account of a great ſurf on the beach. The refreſhments to be got here are bullocks, hogs, goats, ſheep, poultry, and fruits. The goats are of the antelope kind, ſo extraordinarily lean, that hardly any thing can equal them; and the bullocks, hogs, and ſheep are not much better. Bullocks muſt be purchaſed with money; the price is twelve Spaniſh dollars a head, weighing between 250 and 300 pounds. Other articles may be got from the natives in exchange for old clothes, &c.

On the 19th, in the afternoon, one of the carpenter's mates fell overboard, and was drowned. He was over the ſide, ſitting on one of the ſcuttles; whence, it was ſuppoſed, he had fallen; for he was not ſeen till the very inſtant he ſunk under the ſhip's ſtern, when all endeavours to ſave him were too late. This loſs was ſenſibly felt during the voyage, as he was a ſober man and a good workman.

On

On the 27th, Captain Furneaux loſt one of his petty officers.

With variable winds they advanced but ſlowly, and without meeting with any thing remarkable till the 23d, when they ſaw a ſeal, or, as ſome thought, a ſea-lion, which probably might be an inhabitant of one of the iſlands of Triſtian de Cunha, being now nearly in their latitude.

At two in the afternoon on the 29th, they made the land of the Cape of Good Hope. The Table Mountain which is over the Cape Town, diſtance 12 or 14 leagues, was a good deal obſcured by clouds, otherwiſe it might, from its height, have been ſeen at a much greater diſtance. Between eight and nine o'clock this evening, the whole ſea, within the compaſs of their ſight became at once, as it were, illuminated, or, what the ſeamen call, all on fire. This appearance of the ſea, in ſome degree, is very common; but the cauſe is not ſo generally known. Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander were of opinion it was occaſioned by ſea inſects; Mr. Foſter, however, ſeemed not to favour this opinion. Some buckets of water, were drawn up from along-ſide the ſhip, which was found full of an innumerable quantity of ſmall globular inſects, about the ſize of a common pin's head, and quite tranſparent.

In the morning they ſtood into Table Bay, and anchored in five fathom water. They had no ſooner anchored than they were viſited by the captain of the port and Mr. Brandt. This laſt gentleman brought off ſuch things as could not fail of being acceptable to perſons coming from ſea. The maſter attendant alſo viſited them, according to cuſtom, to take an account of the ſhips; to enquire into the health of the crews; and, in particular, if the ſmall-pox was on board; a thing they dread above all others at the Cape, and for theſe purpoſes a ſurgeon is always one of the viſitants.

Captain Cook waited upon the governor, accompanied by Captain Furneaux and the two Mr. Forſters. He received them with great politeneſs, and promiſed every aſſiſtance the place could afford.

After having viſited the governor and ſome other principal perſons of the place, they fixed at Mr. Brandt's, the uſual reſidence of moſt officers belonging to Engliſh ſhips. This gentleman ſpares neither trouble nor expence to make his houſe agreeable to thoſe who favour him with their company, and to accommodate them with every thing they want.

Three or four days after them, two Dutch Indiamen arrived here from Holland, after a paſſage of between four and five months, in which one loſt, by the ſcurvy and other putrid diſeaſes, 150 men, and the other 41. They ſent, on their arrival, great numbers to the hoſpital in very dreadful circumſtances.

It was the 18th of November before they had got ready to put to ſea. During this ſtay the crews of both ſhips were ſerved every day with freſh beef or mutton, new baked bread, and as much greens as they could eat. The ſhips were caulked and painted; and, in every reſpect, put in as good a condition as when they left England.

Mr. Forſter, whoſe whole time was taken up in the purſuit of natural hiſtory and botany, met with a Swediſh gentleman, one Mr. Sparrman, who had ſtudied under Dr. Linnæus. He, by Captain Cook's conſent, embarked as an aſſiſtant to Mr. Forſter, who bore his expences on board, and allowed him a yearly ſtipend beſides.

At three o'clock in the afternoon of the 22d they weighed, with the wind at north by weſt. On the 25th they had abundance of albatroſſes about them, ſeveral of which were caught with hook and line; and were very well reliſhed by many of the people, notwithſtanding they were at this time ſerved with freſh mutton. Judging that they

ſhould

ſhould ſoon come into cold weather, the captain ordered ſlops to be ſerved to ſuch as were in want; and gave to each man the fear-nought jacket and trowſers allowed them by the Admiralty.

A violent gale, which was attended with rain and hail, blew at times with ſuch violence, that they could carry no ſails; by which means they were driven far to the eaſtward of their intended courſe, and no hopes were left of reaching Cape Circumciſion. But the greateſt misfortune that attended them, was the loſs of great part of their live ſtock, which they brought from the Cape, and which conſiſted of ſheep, hogs, and geeſe. There was now a ſudden tranſition from warm, mild weather, to extreme cold and wet, which made every man in the ſhip feel its effects; for, by this time, the mercury in the thermometer had fallen to 38, whereas at the Cape it was generally at 67 and upwards. The night proved clear and ſerene, and the only one that was ſo ſince they left the Cape; and the next morning the riſing ſun gave ſuch flattering hopes of a fine day, that they were induced to let all the reefs out of the top-ſails. Their hopes, however, ſoon vaniſhed; for by one o'clock P. M. the wind, which was at ſouth-eaſt blew with ſuch ſtrength as obliged them to take in all their ſails, to ſtrike top-gallant-maſts, and to get the ſpritſail-yard in. The three following days the wind abated.

On the 10th, the weather being hazy, they did not ſee an iſland of ice, which they were ſteering directly for, till they were leſs than a mile from it. It appeared to be about 50 feet high, and half a mile in circuit. It was flat at the top, and its ſides roſe in a perpendicular direction, againſt which the ſea broke exceedingly high. Captain Furneaux at firſt took this ice for land, and hauled off from it, until called back by ſignal. As the weather was foggy, it was neceſſary to proceed with caution.

The hazy weather continued on the 11th and 12th, with ſleet and ſnow; ſo that they were obliged to proceed with great caution on account of the ice iſlands. Six of theſe they paſſed this day; ſome of them near two miles in circuit and ſixty feet high. And yet, ſuch was the force and height of the waves, that the ſea broke quite over them. Captain Cook ſays, "This exhibited a view which for a few moments was pleaſing to the eye; but when we reflected on the danger, the mind was filled with horror. For were a ſhip to get againſt the weather ſide of one of theſe iſlands when the ſea runs high, ſhe would be daſhed to pieces in a moment."

From noon till eight o'clock in the evening, twenty ice iſlands, of various extent, both for height and circuit, came in view. At about nine o'clock they found no ground with one hundred and fifty fathom of line.

At eight o'clock on the 14th, they brought to under a point of the ice, where they had ſmooth water: and the two captains fixed on rendezvouſes in caſe of ſeparation, and ſome other matters, for the better keeping company.

Next day, the 15th, they had the wind at north-weſt a ſmall gale, thick foggy weather, with much ſnow; their ſails and rigging were all hung with icicles. The fog was ſo thick, at times, that they could not ſee the length of the ſhip; and they had much difficulty to avoid the many iſlands of ice that ſurrounded them.

On the 17th, they ſaw many whales, one ſeal, penguins, ſome white birds, another ſort of peterel, which is brown and white, and not much unlike a pintado; and ſome other ſorts. They found the ſkirts of the looſe ice to be more broken than uſual; and it extended ſome diſtance beyond the main field, inſomuch that they ſailed amongſt it the moſt part of the day; and the high ice iſlands without were innumerable. The weather was ſenſibly colder than the thermometer ſeemed to point out, inſomuch that the whole crew complained. In order to enable them to ſupport this the better, the ſleeves of their jackets, (which were ſo ſhort as to expoſe their arms

were

Engraved by George Cooke

Christmas Harbour
in Kerguelens Land

were lengthened with baize; and had a cap made for each man of the ſame ſtuff, together with canvas; which proved of great ſervice to them.

On the 24th, being near an iſland of ice, which was about fifty feet high and four hundred fathoms in circuit, the maſter went in the jolly-boat to ſee if any water ran from it. He ſoon returned with an account that there was not one drop, or any other appearance of thaw. They ſailed this day through ſeveral floats, or fields of looſe ice, lying in the direction of ſouth-eaſt and north-weſt.

On the 29th, they came to a reſolution to run as far weſt as the meridian of Cape Circumciſion, provided they met with no impediment, as the diſtance was not more than eighty leagues, the wind favourable, and the ſea ſeemed to be pretty clear of ice. At one o'clock they ſteered for an iſland of ice, thinking, if there were any looſe ice round it, to take ſome on board, and convert it into freſh water. At four they brought to, cloſe under the lee of the iſland, where they did not find what they wanted, but ſaw upon it eighty-ſix penguins. This piece of ice was about half a mile in circuit, and one hundred feet high and upwards; for they lay for ſome minutes with every ſail becalmed under it. The ſide on which the penguins were, roſe ſloping from the ſea, ſo as to admit them to creep up it.

They continued to the weſtward, with a gentle gale at eaſt-north-eaſt; the weather being ſometimes tolerably clear, and at other times thick and hazy, with ſnow. On the 30th, they ſhot one of the white birds; upon which they lowered a boat into the water to take it up; and by that means killed a penguin which weighed eleven pounds and a half. The white bird was of the peterel tribe; the bill, which is rather ſhort, is of a colour between black and dark-blue; and their legs and feet are blue.

On the 2d of January, 1773, the weather was ſo clear that they might have ſeen land at fourteen or fifteen leagues diſtance.

On the 5th, they had much ſnow and ſleet, which, as uſual, froze on the rigging as it fell; ſo that every rope was covered with the fineſt tranſparent ice. This afforded an agreeable ſight enough to the eye, but conveyed to the mind an idea of coldneſs, much greater than it really was; for the weather was rather milder than it had been for ſome time paſt, and the ſea leſs incumbered with ice.

On the 9th they brought to, and hoiſted out three boats; and in about five or ſix hours, took up as much ice as yielded fifteen tons of good freſh water. The pieces taken up were hard, and ſolid as a rock; ſome of them ſo large, that they were obliged to break them with pick-axes, before they could be taken into the boats.

The ſalt-water which adhered to the ice was ſo trifling as not to be taſted, and after it had lain on the deck a ſhort time, entirely drained off; and the water which the ice yielded, was perfectly ſweet and well taſted. Captain Cook ſays, "This is the moſt expeditious method of watering he ever met with."

On the 17th they ſaw no leſs than thirty-eight ice-iſlands, one was ſixteen or eighteen feet high at leaſt, and of great extent. Here alſo they ſaw many whales playing about the ice; and, for two days before, had ſeen ſeveral flocks of the brown and white pintadoes, which were named antarctic peterels, becauſe they ſeem to be natives of that region.

On the 1ſt of February, at half paſt four o'clock in the afternoon, Captain Furneaux informed Captain Cook that he had juſt ſeen a large float of ſea or rock-weed, and about it ſeveral birds (divers.) Theſe were, certainly, ſigns of the vicinity of land; but whether it lay to the eaſt or weſt, was not poſſible for them to know.

On the 8th of February, having loſt ſight of the Adventure, they ſuſpected a ſeparation had taken place, though they were at a loſs to tell how it had been effected.

Captain

Captain Furneaux had been ordered by Captain Cook, in caſe he was ſeparated, to cruize three days in the place where he laſt ſaw him; he therefore continued making ſhort boards, and firing half-hour guns, till the 9th in the afternoon, when the weather having cleared up, they could ſee ſeveral leagues round them, and found that the Adventure was not within the limits of their horizon. At this time they were about two or three leagues to the eaſtward of the ſituation they were in when they laſt ſaw her. Next day they ſaw nothing of her, notwithſtanding the weather was pretty clear, and Captain Cook had kept firing guns, and burning falſe fires all night. He therefore gave over looking for her, made ſail, and ſteered ſouth-eaſt, with a freſh gale at weſt-by-north, accompanied with a high ſea from the ſame direction.

On the 17th, at nine in the morning, they bore down to an iſland of ice, which they reached by noon. It was full half a mile in circuit, and two hundred feet high at leaſt; though very little looſe ice about it. But while they were conſidering whether or no they ſhould hoiſt out boats to take ſome up, a great quantity broke from the iſland. Of this detached part, they made a ſhift to get on board about nine or ten tons before eight o'clock, when they hoiſted in the boats and made ſail to the eaſt, inclining to the ſouth, with a freſh gale at ſouth: which, ſoon after, veered to ſouth-ſouth-weſt and ſouth-weſt, with fair but cloudy weather.

On the 23d, they tacked, and ſpent the night, which was exceedingly ſtormy, thick, and hazy, with ſleet and ſnow, in making ſhort boards. Surrounded on every ſide with danger, they wiſhed for day-light. This, when it came, ſerved only to increaſe their apprehenſions, by exhibiting to view thoſe huge mountains of ice, which, in the night, they had paſſed without ſeeing.

Theſe dangers were, however, now become ſo familiar, that the apprehenſions they cauſed were never of long duration; and were, in ſome meaſure, compenſated both by the ſeaſonable ſupplies of freſh water theſe ice iſlands afforded, (without which they muſt have been greatly diſtreſſed,) and alſo by their very romantic appearance, greatly heightened by the foaming of the waves into the curious holes and caverns which are formed in many of them; the whole exhibiting a view, which at once filled the mind with admiration and horror, and can only be deſcribed by the hand of an able painter.

The 28th, a ſow having in the morning farrowed nine pigs, every one of them was killed by the cold before four o'clock in the afternoon, notwithſtanding great care was taken of them: chilbains were alſo common. Such is the ſummer weather they enjoyed!

On Sunday, the 7th of March, the weather became fair, the ſky cleared up, and the night was remarkably pleaſant, as well as the morning of the next day; which for the brightneſs of the ſky, and ſerenity and mildneſs of the weather, gave place to none they had ſeen ſince they had left the Cape of Good Hope. It was ſuch as is little known in this ſea; and, to make it ſtill more agreeable, they had not one iſland of ice in ſight.

March 17th, Captain Cook now came to a reſolution to quit the high ſouthern latitudes, and to proceed to New Zealand, to look for the Adventure, and to refreſh his people.

This day they ſaw ſeveral porpoiſes, into one of which Mr. Cooper ſtruck a harpoon; but, as the ſhip was running ſeven knots, it broke its hold, after towing it ſome minutes, and before they could deaden the ſhip's way.

As the wind, which continued between the north and weſt, would not permit them to touch at Van Dieman's Land, they ſhaped their courſe to New Zealand; and being under

under no apprehenſions of meeting with any danger, the captain was not backward in carrying ſail.

For the three days paſt the mercury in the thermometer had riſen to forty-ſix, and the weather was quite mild. Seven or eight degrees of latitude had made a ſurpriſing difference in the temperature of the air, which they felt with an agreeable ſatisfaction.

On the 25th, they were before the entrance of a bay, which they had miſtaken for Duſky Bay, being deceived by ſome iſlands that lay in the mouth of it.

Fearing to run, in thick weather, into a place to which they were ſtrangers, and ſeeing ſome breakers and broken ground a-head, they tacked in twenty-five fathom water, and ſtood out to ſea.

On the 26th, they ſteered and entered Duſky Bay about noon. In this bay they were all ſtrangers; in Captain Cook's former voyage, he only diſcovered and named it.

After running about two leagues up the bay, and paſſing ſeveral of the iſles which lay in it, they brought to, and hoiſted out two boats; one of which was ſent away with an officer round a point on the larboard hand, to look for anchorage. This he found, and ſignified the ſame by ſignal. They then followed with the ſhip, and anchored in fifty fathoms water, ſo near the ſhore as to reach it with an hawſer. This was on Friday the 26th of March, at three in the afternoon, after having been one hundred and ſeventeen days at ſea; in which time they ſailed three thouſand ſix hundred and ſixty leagues, without having once ſight of land.

After ſuch a long continuance at ſea, in a high ſouthern latitude, it is but reaſonable to think that many of the people muſt be ill of the ſcurvy. The contrary, however, happened. Sweet wort had been given to ſuch as were ſcorbutic. This had ſo far the deſired effect, that they had only one man on board that could be called very ill of this diſeaſe; occaſioned chiefly by a bad habit of body, and a complication of other diſorders.

Their firſt care, after the ſhip was moored, was to ſend a boat and people a fiſhing; in the mean time, ſome of the gentlemen killed a ſeal, out of many that were upon a rock, which made them a freſh meal.

The fiſhing-boat was very ſucceſsful, returning with fiſh ſufficient for all hands for ſupper; and in a few hours in the morning caught as many as ſerved for dinner. This gave them certain hopes of being plentifully ſupplied with this article. Nor did the ſhores and woods appear leſs deſtitute of wild fowl; ſo that they hoped to enjoy, with eaſe, what, in their ſituation, might be called the luxuries of life. This determined them to ſtay ſome time in this bay, in order to examine it thoroughly; as no one had ever landed before, on any of the ſouthern parts of this country.

About one hundred yards from the ſtern was a fine ſtream of freſh water. Thus ſituated, they began to clear places in the woods, in order to ſet up the aſtronomer's obſervatory, the forge to repair their iron-work, tents for the ſail-makers and coopers to repair the ſails and caſks in; to land the empty caſks, to fill water, and to cut down wood for fuel; all of which were abſolutely neceſſary occupations. They alſo began to brew beer from the branches or leaves of a tree, which much reſembles the American black ſpruce.

The few ſheep and goats they had left were not likely to fare well, there being no graſs here but what was coarſe and harſh. It was, however, not ſo bad, but it was expected they would devour it with great greedineſs, but they were the more ſurpriſed to find they would not taſte it; nor did they ſeem over fond of the leaves of more

tender plants. Upon examination they found their teeth looſe; and that many of them had every other ſymptom of an inveterate ſea ſcurvy. Out of four ewes and two rams, which Captain Cook brought from the Cape, with an intent to put aſhore in this country, he had only been able to preſerve one of each; and even theſe were in ſo bad a ſtate, that it was doubtful if they could recover, notwithſtanding all the care poſſible had been taken of them.

On the 28th, a canoe appeared, and came within muſquet ſhot of the ſhip. There were in it ſeven or eight people. They remained looking at the ſhip for ſome time, and then returned; ſigns of friendſhip did not prevail on them to come nearer. After dinner the captain took two boats and went in ſearch of them. They found a canoe hauled upon the ſhore near to two ſmall huts, where were ſeveral fire-places, ſome fiſhing-nets, a few fiſh lying on the ſhore, and ſome in the canoe, but ſaw no people; they probably had retired into the woods. After a ſhort ſtay, and leaving in the canoe ſome medals, looking-glaſſes, beads, &c. they embarked and rowed to the head of the cove, where they found nothing remarkable. In returning back they put aſhore at the ſame place as before; but ſtill ſaw no people.

On the 6th, the captain diſcovered a fine capacious cove, in the bottom of which is a freſh water river; on the weſt ſide ſeveral beautiful ſmall caſcades; and the ſhores are ſo ſteep, that a ſhip might lie near enough to convey the water into her by a hoſe. In this cove they ſhot fourteen ducks, beſides other birds, which occaſioned its being called Duck Cove.

As they returned in the evening, they had a ſhort interview with three of the natives, one man and two women. They were the firſt that diſcovered themſelves on the north-eaſt point of Indian Iſland, named ſo on this occaſion; the man hallooed to them. He ſtood with his club in his hand upon the point of a rock, and behind him, at the ſkirts of the wood, ſtood the two women, with each of them a ſpear. The man could not help diſcovering great ſigns of fear when they approached the rock with the boat. He however ſtood firm; nor did he move to take up ſome things that were thrown to him. At length they landed, went up and embraced him; and preſented him with ſuch articles as they had, which at once diſſipated his fears. Preſently after they were joined by the two women, and ſome of the ſeamen. After this, they ſpent about half an hour in chit-chat, little underſtood on either ſide, in which the youngeſt of the two women bore by far the greateſt ſhare. This occaſioned one of the ſeamen to ſay, that women did not want tongue in any part of the world. Night approaching, obliged them to take leave of them; when the youngeſt of the two women, whoſe volubility of tongue exceeded every thing they ever met with, gave them a dance; but the man viewed them with great attention.

Next morning they made the natives another viſit accompanied by Mr. Forſter and Mr. Hodges, carrying with them various articles, which were preſented to them, and which were received with a great deal of indifference, except hatchets and ſpike-nails; theſe they moſt eſteemed. This interview was at the ſame place as laſt night; and now they ſaw the whole family. It conſiſted of the man, his two wives (as we ſuppoſed), the young woman before mentioned, a boy about fourteen years old, and three ſmall children, the youngeſt of which was at the breaſt. They were all well-looking, except one woman, who had a large wen on her upper lip, which made her diſagreeable; and ſhe ſeemed, on that account, to be in a great meaſure neglected by the man. They conducted them to their habitation, which was but a little way within the ſkirts of the wood, and conſiſted of two mean huts made of the bark of trees. Their canoe, which was a ſmall double one, juſt large enough to tranſport

the whole family from place to place, lay in a ſmall creek near the huts. During their ſtay, Mr. Hodges made drawings of moſt of them; this occaſioned them to give him the name of Toe-toe, which word was ſuppoſed to ſignify marking or painting. When they took leave, the chief preſented Captain Cook with a piece of cloth or garment of their own manufacturing, and ſome other trifles. He at firſt thought it was meant as a return for the preſents he had made him; but he was ſoon undeceived, by expreſſing a deſire for one of their boat cloaks. He took the hint, and ordered one to be made for him of red baize as ſoon as he got on board; where rainy weather detained him the following day.

The 9th, being fair weather, they paid the natives another viſit. They found them at their habitations, all dreſſed and dreſſing in their very beſt, with their hair combed and oiled, tied up upon the crowns of their heads, and ſtuck with white feathers. Some wore a fillet of feathers round their heads; and all of them had bunches of white feathers ſtuck in their ears. Thus dreſſed, and all ſtanding, they received them with great courteſy. Captain Cook preſented the chief with the cloak he had got made for him, with which he ſeemed ſo well pleaſed, that he took his patoo-patoo from his girdle, and gave it in return. After a ſhort ſtay, they took leave.

On the 12th, ſeveral of the natives came and ſet down on the ſhore abreaſt of the ſhip. The captain now cauſed the bagpipes and fife to play, and the drum to beat. The two firſt they did not regard, but the latter cauſed ſome little attention in them; nothing, however, could induce them to come on board. But they entered with great familiarity into converſation (little underſtood) with ſuch of the officers and ſeamen as went to them, paying much greater regard to ſome than to others; theſe, it was ſuppoſed, they took for females. To one man, in particular, the young woman ſhewed an extraordinay fondneſs until ſhe diſcovered his ſex, after which ſhe would not ſuffer him to come near her. Whether it was that ſhe before took him for one of her own ſex; or that the man, in order to diſcover himſelf, had taken ſome liberties with her which ſhe thus reſented, is not known.

On the morning of the 15th, after ſeveral days rain, the weather became clear. The captain ſet out with two boats to ſurvey the north-weſt ſide of the bay, accompanied by the two Mr. Forſters and ſeveral of the officers, whom he detached in one boat to Gooſe Cove, where they intended to lodge the night, while he proceeded in the other, examining the harbours and iſles which lay in his way. In the doing of this, he picked up about a ſcore of wild fowl, and caught fiſh ſufficient to ſerve the whole party; and reaching the place of rendezvous a little before dark, he fouud all the gentlemen out duck-ſhooting: they however ſoon returned, not overloaded with game. By this time the cooks had done their parts, in which little art was required, and after a hearty repaſt on what the day had produced, they lay down to reſt; but they took care to riſe early the next morning in order to have the other bout among the ducks before they left the cove.

Accordingly, at day-light they prepared for the attack. Some, who had reconnoitered the place before, choſe their ſtations accordingly; whilſt the captain and another remained in the boat, and rowed to the head of the cove to ſtart the game, which they did ſo effectually, that out of ſome ſcores of ducks, they only detained one to themſelves, ſending all the reſt down to thoſe ſtationed below. About a mile from hence, acroſs an iſthmus, they found an immenſe number of wood-hens, and brought away ten couple of them. After breakfaſt they ſet out to return to the ſhip, which they reached by ſeven o'clock in the evening, with about ſeven dozen of wild fowl, and two ſeals.

On the 17th, two of the natives, the chief and his daughter, ventured on board; the captain took them both down into the cabin, where they were to breakfaſt. They ſet at table, but would not taſte any of the victuals. The chief wanted to know where the captain ſlept, and indeed to pry into every corner of the cabin, all parts of which he viewed with ſome ſurpriſe. But it was not poſſible to fix his attention to any one thing a ſingle moment. The works of art appeared to him in the ſame light as thoſe of nature, and were as far removed beyond his comprehenſion. What ſeemed to ſtrike them moſt was the number and ſtrength of the decks, and other parts of the ſhip. The chief before he came aboard, preſented the captain with a piece of cloth and a green talc hatchet; to Mr. Foſter he alſo gave a piece of cloth; and the girl gave another to Mr. Hodges. This cuſtom of making preſents, before they receive any, is common with the natives of the South Sea iſlands; but they never ſaw it practiſed in New Zealand before. Of all the various articles which were given to the chief, hatchets and ſpike-nails were the moſt valuable in his eyes. Theſe he never would ſuffer to go out of his hands after he had once laid hold of them; whereas many other articles he would lay careleſsly down any where, and at laſt leave them behind him.

On the 20th, they went aſhore to examine the head of the bay, and in their way ſaw ſome ducks, which, by their creeping through the buſhes, they got a ſhot at, and killed one. The moment they had fired, the natives, who were not diſcovered before, ſet up a moſt hideous noiſe in two or three places cloſe by them, and they kept up their clamouring noiſe, but did not follow them. Indeed they found, afterwards, that they could not; becauſe of a branch of the river between them. The falling tide obliged them to retire out of the river to the place where they had ſpent the night. There they breakfaſted, and afterwards embarked. Juſt as the captain was returning on board, he ſaw two men on the oppoſite ſhore, hallooing to him, which induced him to row over to them. He landed, with two others, unarmed; the two natives ſtanding about one hundred yards from the water ſide, with each a ſpear in his hand. When the three advanced, they retired; but ſtood when the captain advanced alone.

It was ſome little time before they could be prevailed upon to lay down their ſpears. This, at laſt, one of them did; and met the captain with a graſs plant in his hand, one end of which he gave him to hold, while he held the other. Standing in this manner, he began a ſpeech, not one word of which was underſtood; and made ſome long pauſes. As ſoon as this ceremony was over, which was not long, they ſaluted each other. He then took his hahow, or coat, from off his own back, and put it upon the captain; after which peace ſeemed firmly eſtabliſhed. More of his people joining did not in the leaſt alarm them; on the contrary, they ſaluted every one as they came up.

Other people were ſeen in the ſkirts of the wood, but none of them joined; probably theſe were their wives and children.

When they took leave, the natives followed them to their boat, and ſeeing the muſquets lying acroſs the ſtern, they made ſigns for them to be taken away, which being done, they came along-ſide, and aſſiſted to launch her. At this time it was neceſſary to look well after them, for they wanted to take away every thing they could lay their hands upon except the muſquets. Theſe they took care not to touch, being taught by the ſlaughter they had ſeen made among the wild fowl, to look upon them as inſtruments of death.

In the afternoon of the 21ſt, they went a ſeal hunting. The ſurf ran ſo high that they could only land in one place, where they killed ten. Theſe animals ſerved three purpoſes; the ſkins were made uſe of for the rigging; the fat gave oil for their lamps; and

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the fleſh they eat. Their haſlets are equal to that of a hog, and the fleſh of ſome of them eats little inferior to beef-ſteaks.

In the morning of the 23d, Mr. Pickerſgill, Mr. Gilbert, and two others, went to a cove called Caſcade Cove, in order to aſcend one of the mountains, the ſummit of which they reached by two o'clock in the afternoon. In the evening they returned on board, and reported that, inland, nothing was to be ſeen but barren mountains with huge craggy precipices, disjoined by valleys, or rather chaſms, frightful to behold.

Having five geeſe left out of thoſe brought from the Cape of Good Hope, the captain went with them next morning to Gooſe Cove (named ſo on this account), where he left them. He choſe this place for two reaſons; firſt, here are no inhabitants to diſturb them; and ſecondly, here being the moſt food, there is no doubt but that they will breed, and may in time ſpread over the whole country, and fully anſwer the intention in leaving them. This day they ſhot a white heron, which agreed exactly with Mr. Pennant's deſcription, in his Britiſh Zoology, of the white herons that either now are or were formerly in England.

On the 27th they had hazy weather. In the morning Captain Cook ſet out, accompanied by Mr. Pickerſgill and the two Mr. Forſters, to explore an inlet ſeen the day before. After rowing about two leagues up it, it was found to communicate with the ſea, and to afford a better outlet for ſhips bound to the north than the one they came in by. After making this diſcovery, and refreſhing themſeves on broiled fiſh and wild fowl, they ſet out for the ſhip, and got on board at eleven o'clock at night. In this expedition they ſhot forty-four birds, ſea-pies, ducks, &c. without going one foot out of their way, or cauſing any other delay than picking them up.

Having got the tents and every other article on board on the 28th, they weighed with a light breeze at ſouth-weſt and ſtood up the bay for the new paſſage.

In the morning of the 11th of May, at nine o'clock, they weighed with a light breeze at ſouth-eaſt and ſtood out to ſea. It was noon before they got clear of the land.

The country is exceedingly mountainous; a proſpect more rude and craggy is rarely to be met with; for inland appears nothing but the ſummits of mountains of a ſtupendous height, and conſiſting of rocks that are totally barren and naked, except where they are covered with ſnow. But the land bordering on the ſea coaſt, and all the iſlands, are thickly clothed with wood, almoſt down to the water's edge. The trees are of various kinds, ſuch as are common to other parts of the country, and are fit for the ſhipwright, houſe-carpenter, cabinet-maker, and many other uſes.

Here are, as well as in all other parts of New Zealand, a great number of aromatic trees and ſhrubs, moſt of the myrtle kind; but amidſt all this variety, there were none which bore fruit fit to eat.

In many parts the woods were ſo over-run with ſupple-jacks, that it is ſcarcely poſſible to force one's way amonſt them. Several were fifty or ſixty fathoms long.

The ſoil is a deep black mould, evidently compoſed of decayed vegetables, and ſo looſe that it ſinks under you at every ſtep. Except the flax or hemp plant, and a few other plants, there is very little herbage of any ſort. What Duſky Bay moſt abounds with is fiſh: a boat with ſix or eight men, with hooks and lines, caught daily ſufficient to ſerve the whole ſhip's company. Of this article the variety is almoſt equal to the plenty, and of ſuch kinds as are common to the more northern coaſts; but ſome are ſuperior, and in particular the cole fiſh, as it was called, which is both larger and finer flavoured than any they had ſeen before, and was, in the opinion of moſt on board the higheſt luxury the ſea afforded. The ſhell fiſh are, muſcles, cockles, ſcallops, cray-fiſh, and

and many other ſorts. Theſe are to be found in great numbers about this bay, on the ſmall rocks and iſles near the ſea-coaſt.

They found here five different kinds of ducks, ſome of which Captain Cook did not recollect to have any where ſeen before. The largeſt are as big as a Muſcovy duck, with a very beautiful variegated plumage, on which account they called it the Painted Duck; both male and female have a large white ſpot on each wing; the head and neck of the latter is white, but all the other feathers, as well as thoſe on the head and neck of the drake, are of a dark variegated colour.

For three or four days after they arrived, and were clearing the woods to ſet up their tents, &c. a four-footed animal was ſeen by three or four of the ſailors, but as no two gave the ſame deſcription of it, it is not eaſy to ſay of what kind it is. All, however, agreed, that it was about the ſize of a cat, with ſhort legs, and of a mouſe colour. One of the ſeamen, and he who had the beſt view of it, ſaid it had a buſhy tail, and was the moſt like a jackall of any animal he knew. The moſt probable conjecture is, that it is of a new ſpecies.

The moſt miſchievous animals here are the ſmall black ſand-flies, which are very numerous, and exceedingly troubleſome. Wherever they bite they cauſe a ſwelling, and ſuch intolerable itching, that it is not poſſible to refrain from ſcratching, which at laſt brings on ulcers like the ſmall-pox.

The inhabitants of this bay are of the ſame race of people with thoſe in the other parts of this country, ſpeak the ſame language, and obſerve nearly the ſame cuſtoms. Theſe indeed ſeem to have a cuſtom of making preſents before they receive any; in which they come nearer the Otaheitans than the reſt of their countrymen. What could induce three or four families (for there does not appear to be more) to ſeparate themſelves ſo far from the ſociety of the reſt of their fellow creatures, is not eaſy to gueſs. Few as they are, they live not in perfect amity one family with another. For if they did, why do they not form themſelves into ſome ſociety? a thing not only natural to man, but obſerved even by the brute creation.

After leaving Duſky Bay, they ſteered for Queen Charlotte's Sound, where they expected to find the Adventure. In this paſſage they met with nothing remarkable or worthy of notice, till the 17th at four o'clock in the afternoon, when the ſky became ſuddenly obſcured by dark denſe clouds, and ſeemed to forbode much wind. Preſently after ſix water-ſpouts were ſeen. Four roſe and ſpent themſelves between them and the land; that is to the ſouth-weſt, the fifth was without them; the ſixth appeared in the ſouth-weſt, at the diſtance of two or three miles from them. Its progreſſive motion was to the north-eaſt, not in a ſtraight but in a crooked line, and paſſed within fifty yards of the ſtern, without their feeling any of its effects. The diameter of the baſe of this ſpout was judged to be about fifty or ſixty feet; that is, the ſea within this ſpace was agitated, and foamed up to a great height. From this a tube or round body was formed, by which the water, or air, or both, was carried in a ſpiral ſtream up to the clouds. Some of the ſailors ſaid, they ſaw a bird in the one near them; which was whirled round like a fly of a jack as it was carried upwards. During the time theſe ſpouts laſted, they had, now and then, light puffs of wind from all points of the compaſs. From the aſcending motion of the bird, and ſeveral other circumſtances, it is very plain, that theſe ſpouts are cauſed by whirlwinds; and that the water in them was violently hurried upwards, and did not deſcend from the clouds as is generally ſuppoſed. The firſt appearance of them is by the violent agitation and riſing up of the water; and preſently after, you ſee a round column or tube forming from the clouds above, which appa-

apparently deſcends till it joins the agitated water below. Captain Cook ſays, apparently, becauſe he believes it not to be ſo in reality, but that the tube is already formed from the agitated water below, and aſcends, though at firſt it is either too ſmall or too thin to be ſeen. When the tube is formed, or becomes viſible, its apparent diameter increaſeth until it is pretty large; after that, it decreaſeth; and at laſt, it breaks or becomes inviſible towards the lower part. Soon after, the ſea below reſumes its natural ſtate, and the tube is drawn by little and little up to the clouds, where it is diſſipated. The moſt rational account of water-ſpouts, Captain Cook ſays, is in Mr. Falconer's Marine Dictionary, which is chiefly collected from the philoſophical writings of the ingenious Dr. Franklin.

At day-light on the 18th of May, they arrived off Queen Charlotte's Sound, where they diſcovered the Adventure, by the ſignals ſhe made; an event which every one felt with an agreeable ſatisfaction. At noon, Lieutenant Kemp, of the Adventure, came on board; from whom they learnt that their ſhip had been there about ſix weeks. In the evening they came to an anchor in Ship Cove, near the Adventure; when Captain Furneaux came on board, and gave Captain Cook an account of his proceedings during their ſeparation.

Subſtance of Captain Furneaux's Narrative.

On the 7th of February 1773, in the morning, the Reſolution being about two miles ahead, the wind ſhifting to the weſtward, brought on a very thick fog, ſo that the Adventure loſt ſight of her. They ſoon after heard a gun, the report of which they imagined to be on the larboard beam; they then hauled up ſouth-eaſt, and kept firing a four-pounder every half-hour; but had no anſwer, nor further ſight of her: then they kept the courſe they ſteered before the fog came on. In the evening it began to blow hard, and was, at intervals, more clear, but could ſee nothing of the Reſolution, which gave them much uneaſineſs. They then tacked and ſtood to the weſtward, to cruize in the place where they laſt ſaw her, according to agreement in caſe of ſeparation; but next day came on a very heavy gale of wind and thick weather, that obliged them to bring to, and thereby prevented their reaching the intended ſpot. They cruized as near the place as they could get for three days, when giving over all hopes of joining company again, they bore away for winter quarters, diſtant fourteen hundred leagues, through a ſea entirely unknown, and reduced the allowance of water to one quart per day. They were daily attended by great numbers of ſea birds, and frequently ſaw porpoiſes curiouſly ſpotted white and black.

On the 1ſt of March, they bore away for the land laid down in the charts by the name of Van Diemen's Land, diſcovered by Taſman in 1642, and ſuppoſed to join to New Holland.

On the 9th of March, they ſaw the land bearing north-north-eaſt, about eight or nine leagues diſtant. It appeared moderately high, and uneven near the ſea. They hauled immediately up for it, and by noon were within three or four leagues of it. Soundings from forty-eight to ſeventy fathoms, ſand and broken ſhells. Here the country is hilly and well clothed with trees; they ſaw no inhabitants.

The morning on the 10th of March being calm, the ſhip, then about four miles from the land, ſent the great cutter on ſhore with the ſecond lieutenant, to find if there was any harbour or good bay. Soon after, it beginning to blow very hard, they made the ſignal for the boat to return ſeveral times, but they did not ſee or hear any thing of it; the ſhip then three or four leagues off, which gave them much uneaſineſs, as there

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was a very great ſea. At half paſt one P. M. to their great ſatisfaction, the boat returned on board ſafe. They landed, but with much difficulty; and ſaw ſeveral places where the Indians had been, and one they lately had left, where they had a fire, with a great number of pearl eſcallop-ſhells round it, which ſhells they brought on board, with ſome burnt ſticks and green boughs. The weather obliged them to return without inveſtigating the place properly: they ſaw no part to anchor at with ſafety.

On the 16th, they paſſed Maria's Iſlands, ſo named by Taſman; they appear to be the ſame as the main land. The land hereabouts is much pleaſanter, low, and even; but no ſigns of a harbour or bay, where a ſhip might anchor with ſafety.

They ſtood to the eaſtward for Charlotte's Sound, with a light breeze at north-weſt, in the morning of the 5th of April, and on the 6th they had the ſound open, but the wind being down, it obliged them to work up under the weſtern ſhore, as the tide ſets up ſtrong there when it runs down in mid-channel. At ten, the tide being at ebb, they were obliged to come to with the beſt bower in thirty-eight fathoms, cloſe to ſome white rocks. As they ſailed up the ſound they ſaw the tops of high mountains covered with ſnow, which remains all the year; about five o'clock on the 7th, anchored in Ship Cove, in ten fathoms water.

The two following days were employed in clearing a place on Mortuara Iſland for erecting tents for the ſick (having then ſeveral on board much afflicted with the ſcurvy), the ſail-makers and coopers.

On the 9th, they were viſited by three canoes with about ſixteen of the natives; and to induce them to bring fiſh and other proviſions, they gave them ſeveral things, with which they ſeemed highly pleaſed. One of their people ſeeing ſomething wrapped up in a better manner than common, had the curioſity to examine what it was; and, to his great ſurprize, found it to be the head of a man lately killed. They were very apprehenſive of its being forced from them; and particularly the man who ſeemed moſt intereſted in it, whoſe very fleſh crept on his bones for fear of being puniſhed by them, as Captain Cook, on a former voyage, had expreſſed his great abhorrence of this unnatural act. They uſed every method to conceal the head, by ſhifting it from one to another; and by ſigns endeavouring to convince them that there was no ſuch thing among them, though they had ſeen it but a few minutes before. They then took their leave, and went on ſhore.

They frequently mentioned Tupia, which was the name of the native of George's Iſland (or Otaheite,) brought here by the Endeavour, and who died at Batavia; and when they told them he was dead, ſome of them ſeemed to be very much concerned, and, as well as they could underſtand them, wanted to know whether he was killed, or if he died a natural death. By theſe queſtions, they are the ſame tribe Captain Cook ſaw. In the afternoon, they returned again with fiſh and fern roots, which they ſold for nails and other trifles; though the nails are what they ſet the moſt value on. The man and woman who had the head did not come off again.

Next morning the natives returned, to the number of fifty or ſixty, with their chief at their head (as was ſuppoſed) in five double canoes. They gave their implements of war, ſtone hatchets, and clothes, &c. for nails and old bottles, which they put a great value on. A number of the head men came on board, and it was with ſome difficulty they got them out of the ſhip by fair means; but on the appearance of a muſquet with a fixed bayonet, they all went into their canoes very quickly.

On the 11th of May, they felt two ſevere ſhocks of an earthquake, but received no kind of damage. On the 17th they had the pleaſure of ſeeing the Reſolution off the mouth of the Sound. They immediately ſent out the boats to her aſſiſtance to tow her in,

in, it being calm. Both ſhips felt uncommon joy at their meeting, after an abſence of fourteen weeks.—*Here the tranſactions of both ſhips commence again.*

Captain Cook knowing that ſcurvy-graſs, celery, and other vegetables were to be found in Queen Charlotte's Sound, went the morning after his arrival, at day-break, to look for ſome, and returned on board at breakfaſt with a boat-load. Being now ſatisfied, that enough was to be got for the crews of both ſhips, he gave orders that they ſhould be boiled, with wheat and portable broth, every morning for breakfaſt; and with peaſe and broth for dinner; knowing from experience, that theſe vegetables, thus dreſſed, are extremely beneficial in removing all manner of ſcorbutic complaints.

In the morning of the 20th, he ſent aſhore, to the watering-place near the Adventure's tent, the only ewe and ram remaining, of thoſe which he had brought from the Cape of Good Hope, with intent to leave in this country. Soon after he viſited the ſeveral gardens Captain Furneaux had cauſed to be made and planted with various articles; all of which were in a flouriſhing ſtate, and, if attended to by the natives, may prove of great utility to them. The next day he ſet ſome men to work to make a garden on Long Iſland, which he planted with garden-ſeeds, roots, &c.

On the 22d in the morning, the ewe and ram he had with ſo much care and trouble brought to this place, were both found dead, occaſioned, as was ſuppoſed, by eating ſome poiſonous plant. Thus his hopes of ſtocking this country with a breed of ſheep, were blaſted in a moment. About noon they were viſited, for the firſt time ſince they arrived, by ſome of the natives, who dined with them; and it was not a little they devoured. In the evening they were diſmiſſed with preſents.

In the morning of the 24th, they met a large canoe in which were fourteen or fifteen people. One of the firſt queſtions they aſked was for Tupia, the perſon brought from Otaheite on the former voyage; and they ſeemed to expreſs ſome concern, when they told them he was dead. Theſe people made the ſame enquiry of Captain Furneaux when he firſt arrived.

Nothing worthy of notice happened till the 29th, when ſeveral of the natives made them a viſit, and brought with them a quantity of fiſh, which they exchanged for nails, &c. One of theſe people Captain Cook took and ſhewed him ſome potatoes, planted there by Mr. Fannen, maſter of the Endeavour. There ſeemed to be no doubt of their ſucceeding; and the man was ſo well pleaſed with them, that he, of his own accord, began to hoe the earth up about the plants. They next took him to the other gardens, and ſhewed him the turnips, carrots, and parſnips, roots which, together with the potatoes, will be of more real uſe to them than any other articles they had planted. It was eaſy to give them an idea of theſe roots, by comparing them with ſuch as they knew.

Two or three families of theſe people now took up their abode near the ſhips, employing themſelves daily in fiſhing, and ſupplying them with the fruits of their labour; the good effects of which were ſoon felt. For they were by no means ſuch expert fiſhers as the natives; nor were any of the Engliſh methods of fiſhing equal to theirs.

On the 2d of June, the ſhips being nearly ready to put to ſea, Captain Cook ſent on ſhore two goats, male and female. The former was ſomething more than a year old; but the latter was much older. She had two fine kids, ſome time before they arrived in Duſky Bay, which were killed by cold. Captain Furneaux alſo put on ſhore, in Cannibal Cove, a boar and two breeding ſows; ſo that there is reaſon to hope this country will, in time, be ſtocked with theſe animals, if they are not deſtroyed by the natives before they become wild; for afterwards they will be in no danger.

In their excurſion to the eaſt, they met with the largeſt ſeal they had ever ſeen. It was ſwimming on the ſurface of the water, and ſuffered them to come near enough to fire at it; but without effect: for, after a chaſe of near an hour, they were obliged to leave it. By the ſize of this animal, it was probably a ſea lioneſs. It certainly bore much reſemblance to the drawing in Lord Anſon's voyage.

Early the next morning, ſome of the natives brought a large ſupply of fiſh. One of them agreed to go away with them; but afterwards, that is, when it came to the point, he changed his mind; as did ſome others who had promiſed to go with the Adventure. One of them deſired Captain Cook to give his ſon a white ſhirt, which he accordingly did. The boy was ſo fond of his new dreſs, that he went all over the ſhip, preſenting himſelf before every one that came in his way. This freedom uſed by him offended Old Will the ram goat, who gave him a butt with his horns, and knocked him backward on the deck. Will would have repeated his blow, had not ſome of the people come to the boy's aſſiſtance. The misfortune, however, ſeemed to him irreparable. The ſhirt was dirtied, and he was afraid to appear in the cabin before his father, until brought in by Mr. Forſter; when he told a very lamentable ſtory againſt Goury the great dog (for ſo they called all the quadrupeds that were on board,) nor could he be reconciled, till the ſhirt was waſhed and dried. This ſtory, though trifling in itſelf, will ſhew how common it is to miſtake theſe people's meaning, and to aſcribe to them cuſtoms they never knew even in thought.

About nine o'clock a large double canoe, in which were twenty or thirty people, appeared in ſight. The natives on board ſeemed much alarmed, ſaying that theſe were their enemies. Two of them, the one with a ſpear, and the other with a ſtone hatchet in his hand, mounted the arm cheſts on the poop, and there, in a kind of bravado, bid thoſe enemies defiance; while the others, who were on board, took to their canoe and went aſhore, probably to ſecure the women and children.

However, they came on board and were very peaceable. A trade ſoon commenced between the ſailors and them. It was not poſſible to hinder the former from ſelling the clothes from off their backs for the mereſt trifles, things that were neither uſeful nor curious. This cauſed Captain Cook to diſmiſs the ſtrangers ſooner than he would have done.

June the 4th they ſpent their Royal Maſter's birth-day in feſtivity, having the company of captain Furneaux and all his officers. Double allowance enabled the ſeamen to ſhare in the general joy.

During their ſtay in the ſound, Captain Cook obſerved that this ſecond viſit made to this country, had not mended the morals of the natives of either ſex. He had always looked upon the females of New Zealand to be more chaſte than the generality of Indian women. Whatever favours a few of them might have granted to the people in the Endeavour, it was generally done in a private manner, and the men did not ſeem to intereſt themſelves much in it. But now, he was told, they were the chief promoters of a ſhameful traffic, and that, for a ſpike-nail, or any other thing they value, they would oblige the women to proſtitute themſelves, whether they would or no; and even without any regard to that privacy which decency required.

On the 7th of June, at four in the morning, the wind being favourable, they unmoored, and at ſeven weighed and put to ſea, with the Adventure in company.

Nothing material occurred till the 29th, when Captain Cook was informed the crew of the Adventure was ſickly; and this he found was but too true. Her cook was dead, and about twenty of her beſt men were down in the ſcurvy and flux. At this

this time, his ſhip had only three men on the ſick liſt, and only one of them attacked with the ſcurvy. Several more, however, began to ſhew ſymptoms of it, and were put upon the wort, marmalade of carrots, rob of lemons and oranges.

To introduce any new article of food among ſeamen, let it be ever ſo much for their good, requires both the example and authority of a commander; without both of which, it will be dropt before the people are ſenſible of the benefits reſulting from it. Many of the people, officers as well as ſeamen, at firſt diſliked celery, ſcurvy-graſs, &c. being boiled in the peas and wheat; and ſome refuſed to eat it. But as this had no effect on Captain Cook's conduct, this obſtinate kind of prejudice by little and little wore off; they began to like it as well as the others.

On the 6th of Auguſt, Captain Cook ſent for Captain Furneaux to dinner; from whom he learnt that his people were much better, the flux having left them; and the ſcurvy was at a ſtand. Some cyder which he happened to have, and which he gave to the ſcorbutic people, contributed not a little to this happy change. The weather to-day was cloudy, and the wind very unſettled. This ſeemed to announce the approach of the ſo much wiſhed for trade-wind; which, at eight o'clock in the evening, after two hours calm, and ſome heavy ſhowers of rain, they actually got at ſouth-eaſt.

The ſickly ſtate of the Adventure's crew made it neceſſary to make their beſt way to Otaheite, where they were ſure of finding refreſhments. Conſequently they continued their courſe to the weſt; and at ſix o'clock in the evening, land was ſeen from the maſt-head, bearing weſt by ſouth. Probably this was one of Bougainville's diſcoveries. Captain Cook called it Doubtful Iſland; the getting to a place where they could procure refreſhments was more an object at this time than diſcovery.

At day-break on the 12th, they diſcovered land right a-head, diſtant about two miles; ſo that day-light adviſed them of their danger but juſt in time. This proved another of theſe low or half-drowned iſlands, or rather a large coral ſhoal, of about twenty leagues in circuit.

The next morning at four they made ſail, and at day-break ſaw another of theſe low iſlands, which obtained the name of Adventure Iſland. M. de Bougainville very properly calls this low cluſter of overflowed iſles the Dangerous Archipelago. The ſmoothneſs of the ſea ſufficiently convinced them that they were ſurrounded by them, and how neceſſary it was to proceed with the utmoſt caution, eſpecially in the night.

On the 15th, at five o'clock in the morning, they ſaw Oſnaburg Iſland, or Maitea, diſcovered by Captain Wallis. Soon after they brought to, and waited for the Adventure to come up with them, to acquaint Captain Furneaux, that it was his intention to put into Oaiti-piha Bay, near the ſouth-eaſt end of Otaheite, in order to get what refreſhments they could from that part of the iſland, before they went down to Matavia. This done, they made ſail, and at ſix in the evening ſaw the iſland bearing weſt. They continued to ſtand on till midnight, when they brought to, till four o'clock in the morning; and then made ſail in for the land with a fine breeze at eaſt.

At day-break, they found themſelves not more than half a league from the reef. This made it neceſſary to hoiſt out their boats to tow the ſhips off; but all their efforts were not ſufficient to keep them from being carried near the reef. A number of the inhabitants came off in canoes from different parts, bringing with them a little fiſh, a few cocoa-nuts, and other fruits, which they exchanged for nails, beads, &c. Moſt of them knew Captain Cook again; and many enquired for Mr. Banks and others, who were with him before; but not one aſked for Tupia.

The calm continuing their ſituation became ſtill more dangerous. They were, however, not without hopes of getting round the weſtern point of the reef and into the bay, till about two o'clock in the afternoon, when they came before an opening or break in the reef, through which they hoped to get with the ſhips. But on ſending to examine it, found there was not a ſufficient depth of water; though it cauſed ſuch an indraught of the tide of flood through it, as was very near proving fatal to the Reſolution; for as ſoon as the ſhips got into this ſtream, they were carried with great impetuoſity towards the reef. The moment Captain Cook perceived this, he ordered one of the warping machines, which they had in readineſs, to be carried out with about four hundred fathoms of rope; but it had not the leaſt effect. The horrors of ſhipwreck now ſtared them in the face. They were not more than two cables length from the breakers; and yet they could find no bottom to anchor, the only probable means they had left to ſave the ſhips. They, however, dropped an anchor; but before it took hold, and brought them up, the ſhip was in leſs than three fathoms water, and ſtruck at every fall of the ſea, which broke cloſe under their ſtern in a dreadful ſurf, and threatened them every moment with ſhipwreck. The Adventure very luckily brought up cloſe upon their bow without ſtriking.

They preſently carried out two kedge anchors, with hawſers to each. Theſe found ground a little without the bower, but in what depth they never knew. By heaving upon them, and cutting away the bower anchor, they got the ſhip afloat, where they lay ſome time in the greateſt anxiety, expecting every minute that either the kedges would come home, or the hawſers be cut in two by the rocks. At length the tide ceaſed to act in the ſame direction. All the boats were ordered to try to tow off the Reſolution; and when they ſaw this was practicable, they hove up the two kedges. At that moment a light air came off from the land, which ſo much aſſiſted the boats, that they ſoon got clear of all danger. Then they ordered all the boats to aſſiſt the Adventure; but before they reached her, ſhe was under ſail with the land breeze, leaving behind her three anchors, her coaſting cable, and two hawſers, which were never recovered. Thus they were once more ſafe at ſea, after narrowly eſcaping being wrecked on the very iſland they but a few days before ſo ardently wiſhed to be at. The calm, after bringing them into this dangerous ſituation, very fortunately continued. For had the ſea-breeze, as is uſual, ſet in, the Reſolution muſt inevitably have been loſt, and probably the Adventure too.

During the time they were in this critical ſituation, numbers of the natives were on board and about the ſhips. They ſeemed to be inſenſible of danger, ſhewed not the leaſt ſurprize, joy, or fear, when the ſhips were ſtriking, and left them a little before ſun-ſet, quite unconcerned.

They ſpent the night, which proved ſqually and rainy, making ſhort boards; and the next morning, being the 17th, they anchored in Oaiti-piha Bay, in twelve fathoms water, about two cables length from the ſhore, both ſhips being by this time crowded with a great number of the natives, who brought with them cocoa-nuts, plantains, bananoes, apples, yams, and other roots, which they exchanged for nails and beads. To ſeveral who called themſelves chiefs, Captain Cook made preſents of ſhirts, axes and ſeveral other articles; and in return, they promiſed to bring hogs and fowls; a promiſe they never did, nor ever intended to perform.

Early in the morning Captain Cook ſent the two launches, and the Reſolution's cutter, under the command of Mr. Gilbert, to endeavour to recover the anchors they had left behind them. They returned about noon with the Reſolution's bower anchor, but could not recover any of the Adventure's. The natives came off again with fruit, as

Engraved by George Dide

The Island of Otaheite, bearing S.E. distant one League.

ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE

as the day before, but in no great quantity. Many, however, who called themſelves earees, or chiefs, came on board, partly with a view of getting preſents, and partly to pilfer whatever came in their way.

One of this ſort of earees the captain had moſt of the day in the cabin, and made preſents to him and all his friends, which were not a few. At length he was caught taking things which did not belong to him, and handing them out at the quarter-gallery. Many complaints of the like nature were made to him againſt thoſe on deck, which occaſioned his turning them all out of the ſhip. The cabin gueſt made good haſte to be gone.—The captain was ſo much exaſperated at his behaviour, that after he had got ſome diſtance from the ſhip, he fired two muſquets over his head, which made him quit the canoe and take to the water. He then ſent a boat to take up the canoe; but as ſhe came nearer the ſhore, the people from thence began to pelt her with ſtones. Being in ſome pain for her ſafety, as ſhe was unarmed, he went himſelf in another boat to protect her, and ordered a great gun, loaded with ball, to be fired along the coaſt, which made them all retire from the ſhore, and he was ſuffered to bring away two canoes without the leaſt ſhew of oppoſition. In one of the canoes was a little boy, who was much frightened; but he ſoon diſſipated his fears, by giving him beads, and putting him on ſhore.—A few hours after, they were all good friends again; and the canoes were returned to the firſt perſon who came for them.

It was not till the evening of this day that any one enquired after Tupia, and then but two or three. As ſoon as they learned the cauſe of his death, they were quite ſatisfied; indeed it did not appear to them that it would have cauſed a moment's uneaſineſs in the breaſt of any one, had his death been occaſioned by any other means than by ſickneſs.

Nothing worthy of note happened on the 20th, till the duſk of the evening, when one of the natives made off with a muſquet belonging to the guard on ſhore. Captain Cook was preſent when this happened, and ſent ſome of his people after him, which would have been to little purpoſe, had not ſome of the natives, of their own accord, purſued the thief. They knocked him down, took from him the muſquet, and brought it back. Fear, on this occaſion, certainly operated more with them than principle. They, however, deſerve to be applauded for this act of juſtice; for if they had not given their immediate aſſiſtance, it would hardly have been in his power to have recovered the muſquet by any gentle means whatever; and by making uſe of any other, he was ſure to loſe more than ten times its value.

In the evening Captain Cook was informed that Waheatoua was come into the neighbourhood, and wanted to ſee him. In conſequence of this information, he determined to wait one day longer in order to have an interview with this Prince. Accordingly, early the next morning, he ſet out in company with Captain Furneaux, Mr. Forſter, and ſeveral of the natives. They found him ſeated on a ſtool, with a circle of people round him; he knew Captain Cook at firſt ſight, he and the Prince having ſeen each other ſeveral times in 1769. At that time he was but a boy, and went by the name of Tearee; but upon the death of his father, Waheatoua, he took upon him that name.

After the firſt ſalutation was over, having ſeated the captain on the ſame ſtool with himſelf, and the other gentlemen on the ground by them, he began to enquire after ſeveral by name who were with him on his former voyage. He next enquired how long they would ſtay; and when he told him no longer than next day, he ſeemed ſorry, aſked the captain to ſtay ſome months, and at laſt came down to five days; promiſing, in that time, he ſhould have hogs in plenty. But as he had been here already a week,

without

without ſo much as getting one, he could not put any faith in this promiſe. The preſent made him conſiſted of a ſhirt, a ſheet, a broad axe, ſpike nails, knives, looking-glaſſes, medals, beads, &c. In return he ordered a pretty good hog to be carried to their boat.

They ſtaid with him all the morning, during which time he never ſuffered Captain Cook to go from his ſide, where he was ſeated; at length they took leave, in order to return on board to dinner. They got, in the whole, to-day, as much freſh pork as gave the crews of both ſhips a meal; and this in conſequence of their having this interview with the chief. The 24th, early in the morning, they put to ſea with a light land breeze.

The fruits they got here greatly contributed towards the recovery of the Adventure's ſick people. Many of them who had been ſo ill as not to be able to move without aſſiſtance, were in this ſhort time ſo far recovered, that they could walk about of themſelves. It was not till the evening of this day that they arrived in Matavia Bay.

Before they got to an anchor, their decks were crowded with the natives; many of whom Captain Cook knew, and almoſt all of them knew him. A great crowd was aſſembled together upon the ſhore, amongſt whom was Otoo their King. The captain was juſt going to pay him a viſit, when he was told he was *mataow'd*, and gone to Oparree.

He ſet out on the 26th for Oparree, accompanied by Captain Furneaux, Mr. Forſter, and others, Maritata and his wife. As ſoon as they landed, they were conducted to Otoo, whom they found ſeated on the ground, under the ſhade of a tree, with an immenſe crowd round him. After the firſt compliments were over, he preſented him with ſuch articles as were ſuppoſed to be moſt valuable in his eyes, well knowing that it was his intereſt to gain the friendſhip of this man. He alſo made preſents to ſeveral of his attendants; and, in return, they offered him cloth, which he refuſed to accept, telling them that what he had given was for *tioy* (friendſhip). The King enquired for Tupia, and all the gentlemen that were with the captain in his former voyage, by name. He promiſed that they ſhould have ſome hogs the next day; but he had much ado to obtain a promiſe from him to viſit him on board. He ſaid he was, *mataou no te paupoue*, that is, afraid of the guns. Indeed all his actions ſhewed him a timorous Prince. He was about thirty years of age, ſix feet high, and a fine, perſonable, well-made man as one can ſee. All his ſubjects appeared uncovered before him, his father not excepted. What is meant by uncovering, is the making bare the head and ſhoulders, or wearing no ſort of cloathing above the breaſt.

On the 27th, early in the morning, Otoo, attended by a numerous train, paid them a viſit. He firſt ſent into the ſhip a large quantity of cloth, fruits, a hog, and two large fiſh; and, after ſome perſuaſion, came aboard himſelf, with his ſiſter, a younger brother, and ſeveral more attendants. To all of them they made preſents. Captain Furneaux preſented the King with two fine goats, male and female, which, if taken care of, or rather, if no care at all is taken of them, will no doubt multiply.

Very early in the morning on the 28th, they had another viſit from Otoo, who brought more cloth, a pig, and ſome fruit. His ſiſter, who was with him, and ſome of his attendants, came on board; but he and others went to the Adventure, with the like preſents to Captain Furneaux. It was not long before he returned with Captain Furneaux on board the Reſolution, when Captain Cook made him a handſome return for the preſent he had brought him, and dreſſed his ſiſter out in the beſt manner he could. She, the King's brother, and one or two more were covered before him to-day. When Otoo came into the cabin, Ereti and ſome of his friends were ſitting there.

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The moment they ſaw the King enter, they ſtripped themſelves in great haſte, being covered before. Seeing Captain Cook took notice of it, they ſaid earee, earee; giving him to underſtand that it was on account of Otoo being preſent. This was all the reſpect they paid him; for they never roſe from their ſeats, nor made any other obeiſance. When the King thought proper to depart, he was carried to Oparree in a boat; where Captain Cook entertained him, and his people, with the bagpipes (of which muſic they are very fond), and dancing by the ſeamen. He, in return, ordered ſome of his people to dance alſo, which conſiſted chiefly of contortions. There were, however, ſome who could imitate the ſeamen tolerably well, both in country dances and hornpipes.

Next morning after breakfaſt they took a trip to Oparree, again to viſit Otoo. They made him up a preſent of ſuch things as he had not ſeen before. One article was a broad-ſword; at the ſight of which he was ſo intimidated, that Captain Cook had much ado to perſuade him to accept of it, and to have it buckled upon him; where it remained but a ſhort time, before he deſired leave to take it off and ſend it out of his ſight.

Soon after they were conducted to the theatre; where they were entertained with a dramatic heava, or play, in which were both dancing and comedy. The performers were five men, and one woman, who was no leſs a perſon than the King's ſiſter. The muſic conſiſted of three drums only; it laſted about an hour and an half, or two hours, and upon the whole, was well conducted. It was not poſſible for them to find out the meaning of the play. Some part ſeemed adapted to the preſent time, as Captain Cook's name was frequently mentioned. Other parts were certainly wholly unconnected with them. The dancing-dreſs of the lady was very handſome, being decorated with taſſels, made of feathers, hanging from the waiſt downward. As ſoon as all was over, the King himſelf deſired Captain Cook to depart; and ſent into the boat different kinds of fruit, and fiſh ready dreſſed. With this they returned on board; and the next morning the King ſent them more fruit, and ſeveral ſmall parcels of fiſh.

Nothing farther remarkable happened till ten o'clock in the evening, when they were alarmed with the cry of murder, and a great noiſe, on ſhore, near the bottom of the bay, at ſome diſtance from the encampment. Captain Cook ſuſpected that it was occaſioned by ſome of his own people, and immediately armed a boat, and ſent on ſhore, to know the occaſion of this diſturbance, and to bring off ſuch of their people as ſhould be found there. The boat ſoon returned with three marines, and a ſeaman. Some others belonging to the Adventure, were alſo taken, and being all put under confinement, the next morning the Captain ordered them to be puniſhed according to their deſerts. He did not find that any miſchief was done, and the people would confeſs nothing. This diſturbance was ſuppoſed to be occaſioned by their making too free with the women. Be this as it will, the natives were ſo much alarmed, that they fled from their habitations in the dead of the night, and the alarm ſpread many miles along the coaſt. For when Captain Cook went to viſit Otoo, in the morning, by appointment, he found him removed, or rather fled, many miles from the place of his abode. Even there he was obliged to wait ſome hours, before he could ſee him at all; and when he did, he complained of the laſt night's riot.

As this was intended to be the laſt viſit, Captain Cook had taken with him a preſent ſuitable to the occaſion. Among other things were three Cape ſheep, which he had ſeen before and aſked for; for theſe people never loſe a thing by not aſking for it. He was much pleaſed with them; though he could be but little benefited, as they were

all wethers; a thing he was made acquainted with. The preſents he got at this interview entirely removed his fears, and opened his heart ſo much, that he ſent for three hogs, which he preſented to them; one of them was very ſmall.

They now took leave, and informed him they ſhould quit the iſland the next day; at which he ſeemed much moved, and embraced the captain ſeveral times.

On the 1ſt of September, the ſhips unmoored. Our old friend Pottatou, his wife, or miſtreſs, and ſome more of his friends, came in order to viſit the captain. They brought him a preſent of two hogs, and ſome fiſh; and Mr. Pickerſgill got two more hogs, by exchange, from Oamo: for he went in the boat as far as Paparra, where he ſaw old Oberea. She ſeemed much altered for the worſe, poor, and of little conſequence. The wind, which had blown weſterly all day, having ſhifted at once to the eaſt, they put to ſea; and diſmiſſed their friends ſooner than they wiſhed to go; but well ſatisfied with the reception they had met with.

Some hours before they got under ſail, a young man, whoſe name was Poreo, came and deſired the captain would take him with him; he conſented, thinking he might be of ſervice on ſome occaſions. Many more offered themſelves, but he refuſed to take them. This youth aſked for an axe and a ſpike-nail for his father, who was then on board. He had them accordingly, and they parted juſt as they were getting under ſail, more like two ſtrangers than father and ſon. This raiſed a doubt whether it was ſo; which was farther confirmed by a canoe, conducted by two men, coming alongſide, as they were ſtanding out of the bay, and demanding the young man in the name of Otoo. He now ſaw that the whole was a trick to get ſomething from him; well knowing that Otoo was not in the neighbourhood, and could know nothing of the matter. Poreo ſeemed, however, at firſt undetermined whether he ſhould go or ſtay; but he ſoon inclined to the former. The captain then told them to return the axe and nails, and then he ſhould go (and ſo he really ſhould); but they ſaid they were aſhore, and ſo departed. Though the youth ſeemed pretty well ſatisfied, he could not refrain from weeping when he viewed the land aſtern.

As ſoon as they were clear of the bay, and their boats in, they directed their courſe for the iſland of Huaheine, where they intended to touch. They made it the next day, and ſpent the night making ſhort boards under the north end of the iſland. At day-light in the morning of the 3d, they made ſail for the harbour of Owharre; in which the Reſolution anchored, about nine o'clock, in twenty-four fathoms water. Several of the natives by this time had come off, bringing with them ſome of the productions of the iſland; and as ſoon as the ſhips were in ſafety, Captain Cook landed with Captain Furneaux, and was received by the natives with the utmoſt cordiality. Some preſents were diſtributed among them; and, preſently after, they brought down hogs, fowls, dogs, and fruits, which they willingly exchanged for hatchets, nails, beads, &c. The like trade was ſoon opened on board the ſhip; ſo that they had a fair proſpect of being plentifully ſupplied with freſh pork and fowls; and, to people in their ſituation, this was no unwelcome thing.

Early the next morning, Lieutenant Pickerſgill ſailed with the cutter on a trading party, towards the ſouth end of the iſle. Captain Cook alſo ſent another trading party on ſhore near the ſhips, with which he went himſelf, to ſee that it was properly conducted at the firſt ſetting out, a very neceſſary point to be attended to.

On the 4th, Captain Cook wanted to go to Oree, the King; but was told he would come to him; which he accordingly did, fell upon his neck, and embraced him. This was by no means ceremonious; the tears, which trickled plentifully down his venerable old cheeks, ſufficiently beſpoke the language of his heart. His friends were

alſo

alſo introduced to them, to whom they made preſents. In return he gave them a hog and a quantity of cloth, promiſing that all their wants ſhould be ſupplied; and it will ſoon appear how well he kept his word. At length they took leave, and returned on board; and ſome time after Mr. Pickerſgill returned alſo with fourteen hogs. Many more were got by exchanges on ſhore and alongſide the ſhips, beſides fowls and fruits in abundance.

This good old chief paid them a viſit early in the morning on the 5th, together with ſome of his friends, bringing a hog and ſome fruit. He carried his kindneſs ſo far as not to fail to ſend every day, for Captain Cook's table, the very beſt of ready dreſſed fruit and roots, and in great plenty. Lieutenant Pickerſgill being again ſent with the two boats in ſearch of hogs, returned in the evening with twenty-eight; and about four times that number were purchaſed on ſhore and alongſide the ſhips.

Next day the people crowded in from every part with hogs, fowls, and fruit, ſo that they preſently filled two boats. Oree himſelf preſented a large hog and a quantity of fruit. Oree and Captain Cook were profeſſed friends in all the forms cuſtomary among them; and he ſeemed to think that this could not be broken by the act of any other perſons.

On the 7th, early in the morning, while the ſhips were unmooring, Captain Cook went to pay his farewell viſit to Oree, accompanied by Captain Furneaux and Mr. Forſter. They took with them, for a preſent, ſuch things as were not only valuable, but uſeful. He alſo left with him the inſcription plate he had before in keeping, and another ſmall copper-plate, on which were engraved theſe words: "Anchored here, His Britannic Majeſty's ſhips Reſolution and Adventure, September 1773;" together with ſome medals, all put up in a bag; of which the chief promiſed to take care, and to produce to the firſt ſhip or ſhips that ſhould arrive at the iſland. He then gave a hog; and after trading for ſix or eight more, and loading the boat with fruit, they took leave, when the good old chief embraced the Captain with tears in his eyes. When they returned to the ſhips, they found them crowded round with canoes full of hogs, fowls, and fruit, as at their firſt arrival. Oree came on board and ſtaid till they were a full half league out at ſea; then took a moſt affectionate leave, and went away in a canoe, conducted by one man and himſelf, all the others having gone long before.

During their ſhort ſtay at the ſmall but fertile iſle of Huaheine, they procured to both ſhips not leſs than three hundred hogs, beſides fowls and fruits; and had they ſtaid longer, might have got many more; for none of theſe articles of refreſhment were ſeemingly diminiſhed, but appeared every where in as great abundance as ever.

Before they quitted this iſland, Captain Furneaux agreed to receive on board his ſhip a young man named Omai, a native of Ulietea, where he had had ſome property, of which he had been diſpoſſeſſed by the people of Bolabola. Captain Cook wondered that Captain Furneaux would encumber himſelf with this man, who in his opinion was not a proper ſample of the inhabitants of theſe happy iſlands, not having any advantage of birth or acquired rank, nor being eminent in ſhape, figure, or complexion; for their people of the firſt rank are much fairer, and uſually better behaved, and more intelligent, than the middling claſs of people, among whom Omai is to be ranked. The Captain, however, ſince his arrival in England, has been convinced of his error; for excepting his complexion, (which is undoubtedly of a deeper hue than that of the earees, or gentry, who, as in other countries, live a more luxurious life, and are leſs expoſed to the heat of the ſun,) he doubts whether any other of the

natives would have given him more general ſatisfaction by his behaviour among them. —" Omai has certainly a very good underſtanding, quick parts, and honeſt principles; he is of good natural behaviour, which rendered him acceptable to the beſt company, and a proper degree of pride, which taught him to avoid the ſociety of perſons of inferior rank. He has paſſions of the ſame kind as other young men, but has judgment enough not to indulge them in any improper degree. I do not imagine that he has any diſlike to liquor, and if he had fallen into company where the perſon who drank the moſt met with the moſt approbation, I have no doubt, but that he would have endeavoured to gain the applauſe of thoſe with whom he aſſociated; but, fortunately for him, he perceived that drinking was very little in uſe but among inferior people, and as he was very watchful into the manners and conduct of the perſons of rank who honoured him with their protection, he was ſober and modeſt, and I never heard that, during the whole time of his ſtay in England, which was two years, he ever once was diſguiſed with wine, or ever ſhewed an inclination to go beyond the ſtricteſt rules of moderation.

" Soon after his arrival in London, the Earl of Sandwich, the firſt lord of the Admiralty, introduced him to His Majeſty at Kew, when he met with a moſt gracious reception, and imbibed the ſtrongeſt impreſſion of duty and gratitude to that great and amiable Prince, which I am perſuaded he will preſerve to the lateſt moment of his life. During his ſtay among us, he was careſſed by many of the principal nobility, and did nothing to forfeit the eſteem of any one of them; but his principal patrons were the Earl of Sandwich, Mr. Banks, and Dr. Solander; the former probably thought it a duty of his office to protect and countenance an inhabitant of that hoſpitable country, where the wants and diſtreſſes of thoſe in his department had been alleviated and ſupplied in the moſt ample manner; the others, as a teſtimony of their gratitude for the generous reception they had met with during their reſidence in his country. It is to be obſerved, that though Omai lived in the midſt of amuſements during his reſidence in England, his return to his native country was always in his thoughts, and though he was not impatient to go, he expreſſed a ſatisfaction as the time of his return approached. He embarked with me in the Reſolution, when ſhe was fitted out for another voyage, loaded with preſents from his ſeveral friends, and full of gratitude for the kind reception and treatment he had experienced among us."

The chief was no ſooner gone, than they made ſail for Ulietea, where they intended to ſtop a few days. The next morning, September 8th, after making a few trips, they gained the harbour, and in the afternoon came to anchor; the natives crowded round them in their canoes, with hogs and fruit. The latter they exchanged for nails and beads; the former they refuſed as yet, having already as many on board as they could manage. Several they were, however, obliged to take; as many of the principal people brought off little pigs, pepper, or eavoa-root, and the young plantain trees, and handed them into the ſhip. In this manner did theſe good people welcome them to their country.

Next morning they paid a formal viſit to Oreo, the chief of this part of the iſle, carrying with them the neceſſary preſents. He was ſeated in his own houſe, which ſtood near the water-ſide, where he and his friends received them with great cordiality. He expreſſed much ſatisfaction at ſeeing Captain Cook again, and deſired that they might exchange names, which he accordingly agreed to: this is the ſtrongeſt mark of friendſhip they can ſhew to a ſtranger. He inquired after Tupia, and all the gentlemen, by name, who were with him when he firſt viſited the iſland. After they had

made the chief and his friends the neceſſary p
and ſome fruit, received from him in return;
another hog, ſtill larger, without aſking for the

After breakfaſt, on the 10th, Captain Furnea
viſit; and they were entertained by him with ſu
generally acted in theſe iſles. The muſic cont
ſeven men, and one woman, the chief's daught
drama, was a theft committed by a man and his
as ſufficiently diſplayed the genius of the peopl
before the thief has time to carry off his pri
to guard it, who, though four to two, are beat
accomplice bear away their plunder in triumph
attentive to the whole of this part, being in full
very differently. For I had before been inform
be acted, and had underſtood that the thief was
tiparrahying (or beating), a puniſhment, we are
of this crime. Be this as it may, ſtrangers are
of this law; them they rob with impunity, on

After dinner, on the 11th, Captain Cook h
chief of the iſle. He was introduced by Oreo,
a large hog, for which he had a handſome retu
hogs, and he made good bargains.

On the 16th, Captain Cook was told that
taken a reſolution to leave him, and was actually
for whom he had contracted a friendſhip, he w
more.

Having now got on board a large ſupply of r
put to ſea the next morning, and made the ſam
ſee him again before he departed. At four o'
ſoon as it was light, Oreo, his ſon, and ſome of hi
alſo came off with fruit and hogs; the latter t
them, calling out *Tiyo boa atoi*. — "I am your
axe." But the decks were already ſo full of
having on board both ſhips between three and f
ſtock, together with what they had ſalted and
this iſland four hundred, or upwards. Many in
weighed one hundred pounds, or upwards; bu
ſixty. It is not eaſy to ſay how many they
room for all that were offered them.

The chief and his friends did not leave the
he went away, preſſed them much to know if
Queſtions which were daily put by many of th
leaving Captain Cook proved of no conſequen
voluntarily offered to come away with them:
who was about ſeventeen or eighteen years o
bola, and a near relation of the great Opoony,

Soon after their arrival at Otaheite, they were
the Reſolution, had been in at Owhairurua harbo
where ſhe remained about three weeks; and ha

were gone away in her, whoſe names were De-
d Opahiah.—At this time, they conjectured this
at the Cape of Good Hope, they learned that
ent out from America. The Otaheiteans com-
hem by the people in this ſhip, which they ſaid
, and at length killed them. They ſeemed to
enquiring if they had it.—This ſhip they diſtin-
pe, (ſhip of Peppe) and called the diſeaſe *Apa no*
iſeaſe *Apa no Pretane*, (Engliſh diſeaſe), though
he iſle by M. de Bougainville; but they thought
as well as every other ſhip which has touched at

e year 1767 and 1768, as it were, ſwarmed with
with theſe animals, that hardly any thing could

as any under heaven; and well they may, for they
ny of the luxuries of life in the greateſt profuſion.
to believe, that amongſt their religious cuſtoms,
dered as neceſſary, he went one day to a Marai
urneaux; having with them, as they had upon
en who ſpoke their language tolerably well, and
eared to be an intelligent ſenſible man. In the
dead corpſe and ſome viands. He began with
objects before him; if the plantains, &c. were
e Eatua, hogs, dogs, fowls, &c. To all of which

quiries, as well as ſome others, took ſome pains
ey were not maſters enough of their language to
from Omai, that they offer human ſacrifices to
is account, what men ſhall be ſo ſacrificed, de-
t, who, when they are aſſembled on any ſolemn
f God, and ſtays there ſome time. When he
as ſeen and converſed with their great God, (the
) and that he has aſked for a human ſacrifice, and
rſon, naming a man preſent, whom moſt probably
He is immediately killed, and ſo falls a victim to
(if neceſſary) has addreſs enough to perſuade the

e women of Otaheite and the Society Iſles, by
ut exception, as ready to grant the laſt favour
price. But this is by no means the caſe; the
unmarried of the better ſort, are as difficult to
y whatever. Neither can the charge be under-
f the lower claſs, for many of theſe admit of
ſtitutes here as well as in other countries, is
, and ſuch were thoſe who came on board the
ple had on ſhore. By ſeeing theſe mix indiſcri-
even of the firſt rank, one is, at firſt, inclined to
way, and that the only difference is in the price.

But

But the truth is, the woman who becomes a pro
to have committed a crime of ſo deep a dye as to
of the community in general. On the whole,
with equal juſtice, draw the characters of the w
meet with on board the ſhips in one of the nav
Garden and Drury-Lane. It muſt, however,
verſed in the art of coquetry, and that very few
ſation. It is, therefore, no wonder that they ha

After leaving Ulietea on the 17th of S
weſt, and at two o'clock P. M. on the 1ſt of O
burg, bearing weſt-ſouth-weſt. As they approa
ducted by two or three men, came boldly alo
ſhip without heſitation. This mark of confide
of theſe iſlanders, and determined him to viſit t
chorage, and came to in twenty-five fathoms
anchor, before they were ſurrounded by a grea
had brought with them cloth and other curioſitie
Among them was one, whom, by the authority
found to be a chief; and accordingly the captain
nails, and ſeveral other articles, with which he
the friendſhip of this chief, whoſe name was Tio

Soon after, a party of them embarked in two
conducted them to a little creek formed by the
landing was extremely eaſy, and the boats ſecure
immenſe crowd of people, who welcomed them
one of them had ſo much as a ſtick, or any othe
ſign of their pacific intentions. They thronged ſo
ting, &c. to exchange for nails, that it was ſom
land. They ſeemed to be more deſirous to give th
near the boats, threw into them, over the others
retired without either aſking or waiting to get an
us to his houſe, about three hundred yards fro
and under the ſhade of ſome ſhaddock trees.
front was the ſea, and the ſhips at anchor; behi
in which were ſome of the richeſt productions of
on which they were placed, and the people ſeate
the outſide: Having the bagpipes with them, Ca
and, in return, the chief directed three young wo
a very good grace; and having made each of the
women in the circle a ſinging. Their ſongs w
ſitting here ſome time, they were conducted into
the chief had another houſe, into which they w
nuts were ſet before them to eat, and a bowl of
juice of eava for them to drink. But Captain
the manner of brewing it having quenched the t
however, ſoon emptied of its contents, of whic

Before they had well viewed the plantation i
to dinner, with the chief in their company. He
they had freſh pork roaſted, was a little extraord

itions, were running about ſome hogs and very
ſtic animals they ſaw; and theſe they did not ſeem
them to leave this place.
board, highly delighted with the country, and the
ants, who ſeemed to vie with each other in doing
e. After making the chief a preſent, conſiſting
f garden-ſeeds, Captain Cook gave him to under-
hich he ſeemed not at all moved. While he was
d to change fiſh-hooks for nails, and engroſſed the
out when on ſhore, he did not offer to make the

d, they made ſail down to Amſterdam. Three
by ſome means or other, had been left on board
d ſwam to the ſhore; not knowing that they
no inclination, as may be ſuppoſed, to go away

of the iſle, they were met by ſeveral canoes, each
hey came boldly alongſide, preſented them with
ard, without further ceremony, inviting them by
to go to their iſland, and pointing to the place
y ſo underſtood them. After a few boards they
more than a cable's length from the breakers

, accompanied by Captain Furneaux, Mr. Forſter,
ng with them a chief, or perſon of ſome note,
hed himſelf to the captain from the firſt moment
ore they anchored.
e gentlemen ſet out into the country, accompa-
moſt of them remained with Captain Furneaux
elves ſome time in diſtributing preſents amongſt

country they returned to the landing-place, and
e though diſtreſſed ſituation. The boats which
to get near the landing-place, for want of a ſuf-
hoes and ſtockings to walk through; and as ſoon
wn between his legs to put on again, but they
n behind him, who immediately mixed with the
ollow the man bare-footed over the ſharp coral
ut having his feet cut to pieces. The boat was
d each made his way through the crowd, and he
ſoon found out the thief, and recovered his ſhoes
y thinking they might want water on board, he
, and ſhewed them a pool of freſh water, though
r any.
wn to the ſhore of Maria Bay, or north-eaſt ſide
ſhewn a fine large double canoe not yet launched.
nſible it belonged to himſelf.
day in the country botaniſing, and ſeveral of the
em were very civilly treated by the natives. A

boat

boat from each ſhip was employed trading on ſhore, and bringing off their cargoes as ſoon as they were laden, which was generally in a ſhort time. By this method they got cheaper, and with leſs trouble, a good quantity of fruit, as well as other refreſhments, from people who had no canoes to carry them off to the ſhips.

Pretty early in the morning, the 5th of October, the pinnace was ſent aſhore to trade as uſual; but ſoon returned. The officer informed the captain that the natives were for taking every thing out of the boat, and, in other reſpects, were very troubleſome. The day before, they ſtole the grappling at the time the boat was riding by it, and carried it off undiſcovered. It was now judged neceſſary to have a guard on ſhore, to protect the boats and people whoſe buſineſs required their being there; accordingly, they ſent a few of the marines, under the command of Lieutenant Edgecumbe.

The different trading parties were ſo ſucceſsful as to procure for both ſhips a tolerable good ſupply of refreſhments; in conſequence of which, Captain Cook, the next morning, gave every one leave to purchaſe what curioſities they pleaſed. After this, it was aſtoniſhing to ſee with what eagerneſs every one caught at every thing he ſaw. It even went ſo far as to become the ridicule of the natives, who offered pieces of ſticks and ſtones to exchange. One waggiſh boy took a piece of human excrement on the end of a ſtick, and held it out to every one he met with.

A man got into the maſter's cabin, through the outſide ſcuttle, and took out ſome books and other things. He was diſcovered juſt as he was getting out into his canoe, and purſued by one of the boats, which obliged him to quit the canoe and take to the water. The people in the boat made ſeveral attempts to lay hold on him; but he as often dived under the boat, and at laſt unſhipped the rudder, which rendered her ungovernable; by this means he got clear off. Some other very daring thefts were committed at the landing-place. One fellow took a ſeaman's jacket out of the boat, and carried it off, in ſpite of all that the people in her could do. Till he was purſued and fired at by them, he would not part with it: nor would he have done it then, had not his landing been intercepted by ſome of the crew who were on ſhore. The reſt of the natives, who were very numerous, took very little notice of the whole tranſaction; nor were they the leaſt alarmed when the man was fired at.

Attago viſited Captain Cook again the next morning, the 7th, and brought with him a hog, and aſſiſted him in purchaſing ſeveral more. This day the captain was told by the officers who were on ſhore, that a far greater man than any they had yet ſeen was come to pay them a viſit. Mr. Pickerſgill informed them that he had ſeen him in the country, and found that he was a man of ſome conſequence, by the extraordinary reſpect paid to him by the people. Some, when they approached him, fell on their faces, and put their head between their feet; and no one durſt paſs him without permiſſion. Mr. Pickerſgill, and another of the gentlemen, took hold of his arms, and conducted him down to the landing-place, where the captain found him ſeated with ſo much ſullen and ſtupid gravity, that notwithſtanding what had been told him, he really took him for an ideot, whom the people, from ſome ſuperſtitious notions, were ready to worſhip. He ſaluted and ſpoke to him; but he neither anſwered, nor took the leaſt notice of him or any one; nor did he alter a ſingle feature in his countenance. This confirmed him in his opinion, and he was juſt going to leave him, when one of the natives undertook to undeceive him; which he did in ſuch a manner as left no room to doubt that he was the king, or principal man on the iſland. Accordingly he made him a preſent, which conſiſted of a ſhirt, an axe, a piece of red cloth,

cloth, a looking-glaſs, ſome nails, medals, and beads. He received theſe things, or rather ſuffered them to be put upon him, and laid by him, without loſing a bit of his gravity, ſpeaking one word, or turning his head either to the right or left; ſitting the whole time like a ſtatue; in which ſituation he left him, to return on board, and he ſoon after retired. The captain had not been long on board before word was brought that a quantity of proviſions had come from this chief. A boat was ſent to bring it from the ſhore; and it conſiſted of about twenty baſkets of roaſted bananoes, four bread and yams, and a roaſted pig of about twenty pounds weight. Mr. Edgecumbe and his party were juſt re-imbarking when theſe were brought to the water-ſide, and the bearers ſaid it was a preſent from the Areeke, that is, the king of the iſland, to the Areeke of the ſhip. After this they were no longer to doubt the dignity of this ſullen chief, whoſe name was Kohagee-too-Fallangou.

The captain went on ſhore, and made this great man a ſuitable return, and immediately prepared for quitting the place. In heaving in the coaſting cable, it parted in the middle of its length, being chafed by the rocks. By this accident they loſt the other half, together with the anchor, which lay in forty fathoms water, without any buoy to it. The beſt bower cable ſuffered alſo by the rocks; by which a judgment may be formed of this anchorage. At ten o'clock they got under ſail. The ſupplies they got at this iſle were about one hundred and fifty pigs, twice that number of fowls, as many bananoes and cocoa-nuts as they could find room for, with a few yams; and had their ſtay been longer, they, no doubt, might have got a great deal more.

Theſe iſlands were firſt diſcovered by Captain Taſman in January 1642-3; and, by him called Amſterdam and Middleburg. But the former is called by the natives Ton-ga-ta-bu, the latter Ea-oo-wee.

The produce and cultivation of Middleburgh and Amſterdam are the ſame; with this difference, that a part only of the former, whereas the whole of the latter, is cultivated. The lanes or roads neceſſary for travelling are laid out in ſo judicious a manner as to open a free and eaſy communication from one part of the iſland to the other. Here are no towns or villages, moſt of the houſes are built in the plantations, with no other order than what convenience requires; they are neatly conſtructed, but do not exceed thoſe in the other iſles. The materials of which they are built are the ſame; and ſome little variation in the diſpoſition of the framing is all the difference in their conſtruction. The floor is a little raiſed, and covered with thick ſtrong mats; the ſame ſort of matting ſerves to incloſe them on the windward ſide, the other being open. They have little areas before the moſt of them, which are generally planted round with trees, or ſhrubs of ornament, whoſe fragrancy perfumes the very air in which they breathe. Their houſehold furniture conſiſts of a few wooden platters, cocoa-nut-ſhells, and ſome wooden pillows ſhaped like four-footed ſtools or forms. Their common clothing, with the addition of a mat, ſerves them for bedding.

They ſaw no other domeſtic animals amongſt them but hogs and fowls. The former are of the ſame ſort as at the other iſles in this ſea; but the latter are far ſuperior, being as large as any we have in Europe, and their fleſh equally good, if not better. They ſaw no rats in theſe iſles, nor any other wild quadrupeds except ſmall lizards. The land birds are pigeons, turtle-doves, parrots, paroquets, owls, bald coots with a blue plumage, a variety of ſmall birds, and large bats in abundance. The produce of the ſea they knew but little of: it is reaſonable to ſuppoſe that the ſame ſorts of fiſh are found here as at the other iſles. Their fiſhing inſtruments are the ſame; that is, hooks made of mother-of-pearl, gigs with two, three, or more prongs, and nets made

of

of a very fine thread, with the meſhes wrought exactly like thoſe of Europe. But nothing can be a more demonſtrative evidence of their ingenuity than the conſtruction and make of their canoes, which, in point of neatneſs and workmanſhip, exceed every thing of the kind they ſaw in this ſea. They are built of ſeveral pieces, ſewed together with bandage, in ſo neat a manner, that on the outſide it is difficult to ſee the joints. All the faſtenings are on the inſide, and paſs through kants or ridges, which are wrought on the edges and ends of the ſeveral boards which compoſe the veſſel, for that purpoſe. At each end is a kind of deck one third part of the whole length, and open in the middle. In ſome, the middle of the deck is decorated with a row of white ſhells, ſtuck on little pegs wrought out of the ſame piece which compoſes it. Theſe ſingle canoes have all out-riggers, and are ſometimes navigated with ſails, but more generally with paddles, the blades of which are ſhort, and broadeſt in the middle. The two veſſels which compoſe the double canoe are each about ſixty or ſeventy feet long, and four or five broad in the middle; and each end terminates nearly in a point; ſo that the body or hull differs a little in conſtruction from the ſingle canoe, but is put together exactly in the ſame manner; theſe having a riſing in the middle round the open part, in the form of a long trough, which is made of boards cloſely fitted together, and well ſecured to the body of the veſſel. Two ſuch veſſels are faſtened together parallel to each other, about ſix feet aſunder, by ſtrong croſs beams, ſecured by bandages, to ſupport the upper part of the riſings above mentioned. Over theſe beams and others, which are ſupported by ſtantions fixed on the bodies of the canoes, is laid a boarded platform. All the parts which compoſe the double canoe, are made as ſtrong and light as the nature of the work will admit, and may be immerged in water to the very platform, without being in danger of filling. Nor is it poſſible, under any circumſtance whatever, for them to ſink, ſo long as they hold together. Thus they are not only made veſſels of burden, but fit for diſtant navigation. They are rigged with one maſt, which ſteps upon the platform, and can eaſily be raiſed or taken down; and are ſailed with a latteen ſail, or triangular one, extended by a long yard, which is a little bent or crooked.

The ſail is made of mats; the rope they made uſe of is laid exactly like thoſe of Europe, and ſome of it is four or five-inch. On the platform is built a little ſhed or hut, which ſcreens the crew from the ſun and weather, and ſerves for other purpoſes. They alſo carry a moveable fire-hearth, which is a ſquare but ſhallow trough of wood, filled with ſtones. The way into the hold of the canoe is from off the platform, down a ſort of uncovered hatchway, in which they ſtand to bail out the water. Theſe veſſels are navigated either end foremoſt, and that, in changing tacks, they have only occaſion to ſhift or jib round the ſail; but of this Captain Cook ſays he was not certain, as he had not then ſeen any under ſail, or with the maſt and ſail an end, but what were a conſiderable diſtance from him.

Their working tools are made of ſtone, bones, ſhells, &c. as at the other iſlands. When they viewed the work which is performed with theſe tools, they were ſtruck with admiration at the ingenuity and patience of the workman. Their knowledge of the utility of iron was no more than ſufficient to teach them to prefer nails to beads, and ſuch trifles; ſome, but a very few, would exchange a pig for a large nail, or a hatchet. Old jackets, ſhirts, cloth, and even rags, were in more eſteem than the beſt edge-tool they could give them; conſequently they got but few axes but what were preſents. The nails which were given by the officers and crews of both ſhips for curioſities, &c. with thoſe given for refreſhments, amount to no leſs than five hundred

weight, great and ſmall. The only piece of iron they ſaw among them was a ſmall broad awl, which had been made of a nail.

Both men and women are of a common ſize with Europeans; and their colour is that of a lightiſh copper, and more uniformly ſo than amongſt the inhabitants of Otaheite and the Society iſles. The women are the merrieſt creatures they ever met with, and will keep chattering by one's ſide, without the leaſt invitation, or conſidering whether they are underſtood, provided one does but ſeem pleaſed with them. In general they appeared to be modeſt, although there was no want of thoſe of a different ſtamp; and as they had yet ſome venereal complaints on board, Captain Cook took all poſſible care to prevent the diſorder being communicated to them. Upon moſt occaſions they ſhewed a ſtrong propenſity to pilfering; in which they were full as expert as the Otaheiteans.

They have fine eyes, and in general good teeth, even to an advanced age. The cuſtom of tattowing, or puncturing the ſkin, prevails. The men are tattowed from the middle of the thigh to above the hips. The women have it only on their arms and fingers; and there but very ſlightly.

The dreſs of both ſexes conſiſts of a piece of cloth, or matting, wrapped round the waiſt, and hanging down below the knees. From the waiſt, upwards, they are generally naked; and it ſeemed to be a cuſtom to anoint theſe parts every morning. My friend Attago never failed to do it; but whether out of reſpect to me, or from cuſtom, I will not pretend to ſay; though I rather think from the latter, as he was not ſingular in the practice.

Their ornaments are amulets, necklaces, and bracelets of bones, ſhells, and beads of mother of pearl, tortoiſe-ſhell, &c. which are worn by both ſexes. They make various ſorts of matting; ſome of a very fine texture, which is generally uſed for clothing; and the thick and ſtronger ſort ſerves to ſleep on, and to make ſails for their canoes, &c. Among other uſeful utenſils, they have various ſorts of baſkets; ſome made of the ſame materials as their mats; and others of the twiſted fibres of cocoa-nuts. Theſe are not only durable but beautiful, being generally compoſed of different colours, and ſtudded with beads made of ſhells or bones. They have many little nick-nacks amongſt them; which ſhew that they neither want taſte to deſign, nor ſkill to execute, whatever they take in hand.

The women frequently entertained them with ſongs, in a manner which was agreeable enough. They accompany the muſic by ſnapping their fingers, ſo as to keep time to it. Not only their voices, but their muſic was very harmonious, and they have a conſiderable compaſs in their notes. Their only inſtruments are a flute and a drum.

The common method of ſaluting one another is by touching or meeting noſes, as is done in New Zealand; and their ſign of peace to ſtrangers, is the diſplaying a white flag or flags; at leaſt ſuch were diſplayed to them when they firſt drew near the ſhore. From their unſuſpicious manner of coming on board, and of receiving them at firſt on ſhore, it appears they are ſeldom diſturbed by either foreign or domeſtic troubles. They are, however, not unprovided with very formidable weapons; ſuch as clubs and ſpears, made of hard wood; alſo bows and arrows. The clubs are from three to five feet in length, and of various ſhapes. Some of their ſpears have many barbs, and muſt be very dangerous weapons where they take effect.

They have a ſingular cuſtom of putting every thing you give them to their heads, by way of thanks. Very often the women would take hold of Captain Cook's hand, kiſs it, and lift it to their heads.

A very

Drawn by W. Alexander from a Sketch by F. H. Locker Esq. F. S. Arsaken Oct. 11. 1804.

Engraved by George Cooke

Crater on the Island of Amsterdam

in the Indian Ocean

LIBRARY OF THE BOMBAY BRANCH OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY

A very peculiar barbariſm prevails in theſe iſles. They obſerved that the greater part of the people, both men and women, had loſt one, or both their little fingers.* They endeavoured, but in vain, to find out the reaſon of this mutilation; for no one would take any pains to inform them. It was neither peculiar to rank, age, or ſex: nor is it done at any certain age, as they ſaw thoſe of all ages on whom the amputation had been juſt made; and, except ſome young children, they found few who had both hands perfect. As it was more common among the aged than the young, ſome were of opinion that it was occaſioned by the death of their parents or ſome other near relation. But Mr. Wales one day met with a man, whoſe hands were both perfect, of ſuch an advanced age, that it was hardly poſſible his parents could be living. They alſo burn or make inciſions in their cheeks, near the cheek-bone. The reaſon of this was equally unknown. In ſome, the wounds were quite freſh; in others, they could only be known by the ſcars, or colour of the ſkin. They all appeared healthy, ſtrong, and vigorous; a proof of the goodneſs of the climate in which they live.

They made ſail to the ſouthward, having a gentle gale at ſouth-eaſt-by-eaſt, it being Captain Cook's intention to proceed directly to Queen Charlotte's Sound in New Zealand, there to take in wood and water, and then to go on farther diſcoveries to the ſouth and eaſt. He was very deſirous of having ſome intercourſe with the natives of this country, as far to the north as poſſible; that is about Poverty or Tolaga Bays, where he apprehended they were more civilized than at Queen Charlotte's Sound, in order to give them ſome hogs, fowls, ſeeds, roots, &c. which he had provided for the purpoſe. They arrived on the 21ſt, and ſtood as near the ſhore as they could with ſafety. They obſerved ſeveral people upon it, but none attempted to come off to them. As ſoon as the Adventure was up with them, they made ſail for Cape Kidnappers, which they paſſed at five o'clock in the morning, and continued their courſe along-ſhore till nine, when, being about three leagues ſhort of Black-head, they ſaw ſome canoes put off from the ſhore. Upon this they brought to, in order to give them time to come on board.

Thoſe in the firſt canoe, which came along-ſide, were fiſhers, and exchanged ſome fiſh for pieces of cloth and nails. In the next were two men who, by their dreſs and behaviour, ſeemed to be chiefs. Theſe two were eaſily prevailed on to come on board, when they were preſented with nails and other articles. They were ſo fond of nails, as to ſeize on all they could find, and with ſuch eagerneſs as plainly ſhewed they were the moſt valuable things they could give them. To the principal of theſe two men Captain Cook gave the pigs, fowls, ſeeds, and roots. At firſt, he did not think it was meant to give them to him; for he took but little notice of them, till he was ſatisfied they were for himſelf; nor was he then in ſuch rapture as when he gave him a ſpike-nail half the length of his arm. However, at his going away, the captain took notice that he very well remembered how many pigs and fowls had been given him, as he took care to have them all collected together, and kept a watchful eye over them, leſt any ſhould be taken away. He made a promiſe not to kill any; and if he keeps his word, and proper care is taken of them, there were enough to ſtock the whole iſland in due time, being two boars, two ſows, four hens, two cocks. The ſeeds were ſuch as are moſt uſeful, viz. wheat, French and kidney beans, peaſe, cabbage, turnips, onions, carrots, parſnips, yams, &c. With theſe articles they were diſmiſſed. It was evident theſe people had not forgot the Endeavour being on their coaſt; for the firſt words they ſpoke were, "Mataou no te pow pow," (We are afraid of the guns.) As they

* This cuſtom is not peculiar to the inhabitants of the Friendly Iſles. See Recherches Philoſophiques ſur les Americains, tom. ii. p. 253, &c.

could be no ſtrangers to the affair which happened off Cape Kidnapper in the former voyage, experience had taught them to have ſome regard to theſe inſtruments of death.

They now ſtretched to the ſouthward; preſently after violent weather came on, and for two days they were beating up againſt a hard gale. When they arrived juſt in ſight of port, they had the mortification to be driven off from the land by a furious ſtorm. Two favourable circumſtances attended it, which gave them ſome conſolation; it was fair over-head, and they were not apprehenſive of a lee-ſhore.

They continued to combat tempeſtuous weather till the 30th, when they loſt ſight of the Adventure. In the afternoon the gale abated. Captain Cook now regretted the loſs of her; for had ſhe been with him, he ſhould have given up all thoughts of going to Queen Charlotte's Sound to wood and water, and have ſought for a place to get theſe articles farther ſouth, as the wind was now favourable for ranging along the coaſt. But their ſeparation made it neceſſary for him to repair to the Sound, that being the place of rendezvous.

As they approached the land they ſaw ſmoke in ſeveral places along the ſhore; a ſure ſign that the coaſt was inhabited. They continued to ſtand to the eaſtward all night, in hopes of meeting with the Adventure in the morning, the 31ſt of October.

Seeing nothing of her then, they wore and brought-to under the fore ſail and mizen-ſtay-ſail, the wind having increaſed to a perfect ſtorm. At ſix o'clock in the evening the wind quite ceaſed; but this only proved a momentary repoſe; for, preſently after, it began to blow with redoubled fury, and obliged them to lie to under the mizen-ſtay-ſail, in which ſituation they continued till midnight, when the ſtorm leſſened; and two hours after it fell calm.

On the 1ſt of November, at four o'clock in the morning, the calm was ſucceeded by a breeze from the ſouth. Soon after it increaſed to a freſh gale, attended with hazy rainy weather, which gave them hopes that the north-weſt winds were done; for it muſt be obſerved, they were not wanting in taking immediate advantage of this favourable wind, by ſetting all their ſails, and ſteering for Cape Campbell, which at noon bore north, diſtant three or four leagues. At two o'clock they paſſed the Cape, and entered the Strait with a briſk gale a-ſtern, and ſo likely to continue, that they thought of nothing leſs than reaching their port the next morning. Once more they were deceived; at ſix o'clock, being off Cloudy Bay, the favourable wind was ſucceeded by one from the north, which ſoon after veered to north-weſt, and increaſed to a freſh gale. Next morning they ſtretched over for the ſhore of Eaheinomawe. At ſun-riſe the horizon being extraordinary clear to leeward, they looked well out for the Adventure; but as they ſaw nothing of her, judged ſhe had got into the Sound. As they approached the above-mentioned ſhore, they diſcovered on the eaſt ſide of Cape Teerawhitte, a new inlet they had never obſerved before, into which they entered and caſt anchor.

Soon after they had anchored, ſeveral of the natives came off in their canoes; two from one ſhore, and one from the other. It required but little addreſs to get three or four of them on board. Theſe people were extravagantly fond of nails above every other thing. To one man the captain gave two cocks and two hens, which he received with ſo much indifference, as gave little hopes he would take proper care of them.

They had not been at anchor here above two hours, before the wind veered to north-eaſt, with which they weighed, and ſteered to the Sound, where they arrived juſt at dark, with moſt of their ſails ſplit, and anchored in eight fathoms water.

The next morning, the 3d of November, the gale abated, and was ſucceeded by a few hours calm; after that a breeze ſprung up at north-weſt, with which they weighed and ran up into Ship Cove, where they did not find the Adventure, as was expected.

The firſt thing they did, after mooring the ſhip, was to unbend all the ſails; there not being one but what wanted repair. In the afternoon they gave orders for all the empty water-caſks to be landed, in order to be repaired, cleaned and filled; tents to be ſet up for the ſail-makers, coopers, and others, whoſe buſineſs made it neceſſary for them to be on ſhore. The next day they began to caulk the ſhip's ſides and decks, to overhaul her rigging, repair the ſails, cut wood for fuel, and ſet up the ſmith's forge to repair the iron-work; all of which were abſolutely neceſſary.

On the 5th, (the moſt part of their bread being in caſks), they ordered ſome to be opened, when, to their mortification, they found a good deal of it damaged. To repair this loſs in the beſt manner they could, all the caſks were opened, the bread was picked, and the copper oven ſet up, to bake ſuch parcels of it, as, by that means, could be recovered. Some time this morning the natives ſtole, out of one of the tents, a bag of clothes belonging to one of the ſeamen. As ſoon as the captain was informed of it, he went to them in an adjoining cove, demanded the clothes again, and after ſome time ſpent in friendly application, recovered them.

With theſe people they ſaw the youngeſt of the two ſows Captain Furneaux had put on ſhore in Cannibal Cove, when they were laſt here; it was lame of one of its hind legs, otherwiſe in good caſe, and very tame. If they underſtood theſe people right, the boar and other ſow were alſo taken away and ſeparated, but not killed. They were likewiſe told, that the two goats they had put on ſhore up the Sound, had been killed by that old raſcal Goubiah. Thus all their endeavours to ſtock this country with uſeful animals were likely to be fruſtrated, by the very people they meant to ſerve. The gardens had fared ſomewhat better. Every thing in them, except the potatoes, they had left entirely to Nature, who had acted her part [illegible] they found moſt articles in a flouriſhing ſtate; a proof that the winter
had moſt of them been dug up; ſome, however
though, it is probable, they will never h

Next morning the captain went
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take proper care of them.
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were the leaſt loſs felt by theſe people leaving them; while they remained they were generally well ſupplied with fiſh, at a ſmall expence.

In unpacking the bread, four thouſand two hundred and ninety-two pounds they found totally unfit to eat, and about three thouſand pounds more could only be eaten by people in their ſituation.

The 15th being a pleaſant morning, a party went over to the Eaſt Bay, and climbed one of the hills which overlooked the eaſtern part of the ſtrait, in order to look for the Adventure. They had a fatiguing walk to little purpoſe; for when they came to the ſummit, they found the eaſtern horizon ſo foggy that they could not ſee above two miles. Mr. Forſter, who was one of the party, profited by this excurſion, in collecting ſome new plants. They now began to deſpair of ſeeing the Adventure any more, and was totally at a loſs to conceive what was beome of her.

From this day to the 22d nothing remarkable happened, and they were occupied in getting every thing in readineſs to put to ſea, being reſolved to wait no longer than the aſſigned time for the Adventure.

Very early in the morning they were viſited by a number of the natives, in four or five canoes, very few of whom they had ſeen before. They brought with them various articles (curioſities) which they exchanged for Otaheitean cloth, &c. At firſt the exchanges were very much in the ſailors' favour, till an old man, who was no ſtranger, came and aſſiſted his countrymen with his advice; which, in a moment, turned the trade above a thouſand per cent. againſt them.

After theſe people were gone, the captain took four hogs, (that is, three ſows and one boar) two cocks and two hens, which he landed in the bottom of the Weſt Bay, carrying them a little way into the woods, where he left them as much food as would [illegible] the ſouth. Soo[illegible] This was done with a view of keeping them in the [illegible] weather, which gave them [illegible] the ſhore in ſearch of food, and be diſcovered by [illegible] he obſerved, they were not wanti[illegible] favourable wind, by ſetting all their ſails, and ſteering and to encounter the ſouthern lati- [illegible] north, diſtant three or four leagues. At two [illegible] and entered the Strait with a brisk gale a-ſtern, and ſo lik cutting broom, ſome of them thought of nothing leſs than reaching their port the next morn[illegible] of the treaſure they had were deceived; at ſix o'clock, being off Cloudy Bay, the favourable. It is very probable ceeded by one from the north, which ſoon after veered to north-weſt they came, and took a freſh gale. Next morning they ſtretched over for the ſhore of Eaſt [illegible] had ſtolen them; ſun-riſe the horizon being extraordinary clear to leeward, they looked [illegible] pitching upon Adventure; but as they ſaw nothing of her, judged ſhe had got into the [illegible] rdered this man they approached the above-mentioned ſhore, they diſcovered on the eaſt [illegible] they did not Teamwhitte, a new inlet they had never obſerved before, into which they [illegible] what had caſt anchor.

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The next morning, the 24th of November, the gale abated, and was ſucceeded by [illegible] xed a [illegible] after that a breeze ſprung up at north-weſt, with which they weighed and [illegible] into Ship Cove, where they did not find the Adventure, as was expected. [illegible] ught

brought it on board, where a piece of the fleſh was broiled and eaten by one of the natives, before all the officers and moſt of the men. Captain Cook was on ſhore at this time, but ſoon after returning on board, was informed of the above circumſtance; and found the quarter-deck crowded with the natives, and the mangled head, or rather part of it, (for the under jaw and lip were wanting) lying on the tafferal. The ſkull had been broken on the left ſide, juſt above the temples; and the remains of the face had all the appearance of a youth under twenty.

The ſight of the head, and the relation of the above circumſtances, ſtruck him with horror, and filled his mind with indignation againſt theſe cannibals. Curioſity, however, got the better of his indignation, eſpecially when he conſidered that it would avail but little; and being deſirous of becoming an eye-witneſs of a fact which many doubted, he ordered a piece of the fleſh to be broiled and brought to the quarter-deck, where one of theſe cannibals eat it with ſurpriſing avidity. This had ſo great an effect on ſome of the ſailors as to make them ſick. This youth had been killed in a ſkirmiſh between two parties.

That the New Zealanders are cannibals, can now no longer be doubted. The account given of this in Captain Cook's former voyage being partly founded on circumſtances, was, as he afterwards underſtood, diſcredited by many perſons. Few conſider what a ſavage man is in his natural ſtate, and even after he is in ſome degree civilized.

On the 25th, they weighed, with a ſmall breeze, out of the cove. The morning before they ſailed, Captain Cook wrote a memorandum, ſetting forth the time he arrived, the day he ſailed, the route he intended to take, and ſuch other information as he thought neceſſary for Captain Furneaux, in caſe he ſhould put into the Sound; and buried it in a bottle under the root of a tree in the garden, which is at the bottom of the cove, in ſuch a manner as muſt be found by him or any European who might put into the cove.

At day-light in the morning on the 26th, they made ſail round Cape Palliſer, firing guns as uſual, as they ran along the ſhore. In this manner they proceeded till they were three or four leagues to the north-eaſt of the Cape.

Every one being unanimouſly of opinion that the Adventure could neither be ſtranded on the coaſt, nor be in any of the harbours thereof, they gave up looking for her, and all thoughts of ſeeing her any more during the voyage, as no rendezvous was abſolutely fixed upon after leaving New Zealand.

On quitting the coaſt, and conſequently all hopes of their being joined by their conſort, not a man was dejected, or thought the dangers they had yet to go through, were in the leaſt increaſed by being alone.

On the 14th of December they fell in with ſeveral large iſlands of ice, and, about noon, with a quantity of looſe ice through which they ſailed. Grey albatroſſes, blue peterels, pintadoes, and fulmers, were ſeen. As they advanced to the ſouth-eaſt-by-eaſt, with a freſh gale at weſt, they found the number of ice-iſlands increaſe faſt, alſo a conſiderable quantity of looſe ice. They tacked, ſtretched to the north, and ſoon got clear of it, but not before they had received ſeveral hard knocks from the larger pieces, which, with all their care, they could not avoid. After clearing one danger they ſtill had another to encounter; the weather remained foggy, and many large iſlands lay in their way; ſo that they had to luff for one, and bear up for another. One they were very near falling aboard of; and if it had happened, this circumſtance would never have been related. Theſe difficulties determined them to get more to the north.

On the 17th they took ſome ice out of the ſea into their boats, for the uſe of the ſhip, but it proved to be none of the beſt, being chiefly compoſed of frozen ſnow; on which

account it was porus, and imbibed a good deal of ſalt water: but this drained off, after lying awhile on the deck, and the water then yielded was freſh. They continued to ſtretch to the eaſt, with a cold northerly wind, attended with a thick fog, ſnow, and ſleet, that decorated all their rigging with icicles.

On the 21ſt, they very ſuddenly got in amongſt a cluſter of very large ice iſlands, and a vaſt quantity of looſe pieces; and as the fog was exceedingly thick, it was with the utmoſt difficulty they wore clear of them.

On the 23d, the wind being pretty moderate, and the ſea ſmooth, they brought-to, at the outer edge of the ice, hoiſted out two boats, and ſent to take ſome up. The ſnow froze to the rigging as it fell, making the ropes like wires, and the ſails like boards or plates of metal.

While they were taking up ice, they got two of the antarctic peterels. They are about the ſize of a large pigeon; the feathers of the head, back, and part of the upper ſide of the wings, are of a light brown; the belly and under ſide of the wings white; the tail feathers are alſo white, but tipped with brown. Theſe birds are fuller of feathers than any they had hitherto ſeen; ſuch care has nature taken to clothe them, ſuitable to the climate in which they live. They alſo ſaw a very large ſeal, which kept playing about for ſome time. One of their people who had been at Greenland, called it a ſea-horſe; but every one elſe who ſaw it, took it for what it really was.

In the morning of the 26th, the whole ſea was in a manner covered with ice, 200 large iſlands and upwards being ſeen within the compaſs of four or five miles.

On the 30th, ſeveral whales where ſeen playing about the ſhip, but very few birds; iſlands of ice in plenty.

On the 30th of January, 1774, at four o'clock in the morning, they perceived the clouds, over the horizon to the ſouth, to be of an unuſual ſnow-white brightneſs, which they knew denounced their approach to field-ice. Soon after, it was ſeen from the top-maſt-head; and at eight o'clock, they were cloſe to its edge.

It extended eaſt and weſt, far beyond the reach of their ſight. In the ſituation they were in, juſt the ſouthern half of the horizon was illuminated by the rays of light reflected from the ice, to a conſiderable height. Ninety-ſeven ice-hills were diſtinctly ſeen within the field, beſide thoſe on the outſide; many of them very large, and looking like a ridge of mountains, riſing one above another till they were loſt in the clouds. The outer or northern edge of this immenſe field was compoſed of looſe or broken ice cloſe packed together, ſo that it was not poſſible for any thing to enter it. This was about a mile broad; within which was ſolid ice in one continued compact body. It was rather low and flat (except the hills), but ſeemed to increaſe in height to the ſouth; in which direction it extended beyond their ſight. Such mountains of ice as theſe, were, Captain Cook believes, never ſeen in the Greenland ſeas; at leaſt, not that he ever heard or read of; ſo that he cannot draw a compariſon between the ice here and there.

The captain ſays, "I will not ſay it was impoſſible any where to get farther to the ſouth; but the attempting it would have been a dangerous and raſh enterprize, and what, I believe no man in my ſituation would have thought of. I, who had ambition not only to go farther than any one had been before, but as far as it was poſſible for man to go, was not ſorry at meeting with this interruption; as it in ſome meaſure relieved us; at leaſt, ſhortened the dangers and hardſhips inſeparable from the navigation of the ſouthern polar regions. Since therefore we could not proceed one inch farther to the ſouth, no other reaſon need be aſſigned for my tacking and ſtanding back to the north."

The captain now came to a reſolution to proceed to the north, and to ſpend the enſuing winter within the tropic, if he met with no employment before he came there, as he

he was now well ſatisfied no continent was to be found in this ocean, but what muſt lie ſo far to the ſouth as to be totally inacceſſible on account of ice; and that if one ſhould be found in the Southern Atlantic Ocean, it would be neceſſary to have the whole ſummer before them to explore it.

They now ſteered north, inclining to the eaſt, and in the evening they were overtaken by a furious ſtorm at weſt-ſouth-weſt attended with ſnow and ſleet. It came ſo ſuddenly upon them, that before they could take in their ſails, two old top-ſails, which they had bent to the yards, were blown to pieces, and the other ſails much damaged.

On the 20th of February, as they advanced to the north, they felt a moſt ſenſible change in the weather. They ſteered weſt-ſouth-weſt, which they thought the moſt probable direction to find land.

On the 25th, Captain Cook was taken ill of the bilious cholic, which was ſo violent as to confine him to his bed; ſo that the management of the ſhip was left to Mr. Cooper, the firſt officer, who conducted her much to his ſatisfaction. It was ſeveral days before the moſt dangerous ſymptoms of his diſorder were removed; during which time Mr. Patten, the ſurgeon, was to him not only a ſkilful phyſician, but an affectionate nurſe. When he began to recover, a favourite dog belonging to Mr. Forſter fell a ſacrifice to his tender ſtomach. They had no other freſh meat whatever on board; and the captain could eat of this fleſh, as well as broth made of it, when he could taſte nothing elſe. Thus he received nouriſhment and ſtrength from food which would have made moſt people in Europe ſick; ſo true it is, that neceſſity is governed by no law.

At eight o'clock in the morning, on the 11th of March, land was ſeen from the maſt-head, bearing weſt, about twelve leagues diſtant. They now tacked and endeavoured to get into what appeared to be a bay, on the weſt ſide of the point, or ſouth-eaſt ſide of the iſland; but before this could be accompliſhed, night came upon them, and they ſtood on and off, under the land, till the next morning. This is called Eaſter Iſland, or Davis's Land.

When getting round the point, and coming before a ſandy beach, they found ſoundings thirty and forty fathoms, ſandy ground, and about one mile from the ſhore. Here a canoe, conducted by two men, came off. They brought with them a bunch of plantains, which they ſent into the ſhip by a rope, and then they returned aſhore. This gave the captain a good opinion of theſe iſlanders, and inſpired them with hopes of getting ſome refreſhments, of which they were in great want.

They continued to range along the coaſt, till they opened the northern point of the iſle. While the ſhip was plying in, a native came on board. The firſt thing he did was to meaſure the length of the ſhip, by fathoming her from the taffarel to the ſtem; and as he counted the fathoms, they obſerved that he called the numbers by the ſame names that they do at Otaheite; nevertheleſs his language was nearly unintelligible to all of them.

Having anchored too near the edge of the bank, a freſh breeze from the land, about three o'clock the next morning, drove them off it; on which the captain went aſhore, accompanied by ſome of the gentlemen, to ſee what the iſland was likely to afford. They landed at a ſandy beach, where ſome hundreds of the natives were aſſembled, and who were ſo impatient to ſee them, that many of them ſwam off to meet the boats. Not one of them had ſo much as a ſtick or weapon of any ſort in his hand. After diſtributing a few trinkets amongſt them, they made ſigns for ſomething to eat; on which they brought down a few potatoes, plantains, and ſugar-canes, and exchanged them for nails, looking-glaſſes, and pieces of cloth.

They preſently diſcovered that they were as expert thieves, and as tricking in their exchanges, as any people they had yet met with. It was with ſome difficulty they could keep the hats on their heads; but hardly poſſible to keep any thing in their pockets, not even what themſelves had ſold; for they would watch every opportunity to ſnatch it from them, ſo that they ſometimes bought the ſame thing two or three times over, and after all did not get it.

Before they ſailed from England, Captain Cook was informed that a Spaniſh ſhip had viſited this iſle in 1769. Some ſigns of it were ſeen among the natives; one man had a pretty good broad-brimmed European hat on; another had a jacket; and another a red ſilk handkerchief.

Near the place where they landed were ſome tall ſtatues, which ſhall be deſcribed hereafter. The country appeared quite barren, and without wood; there were nevertheleſs ſeveral plantations of potatoes, plaintains, and ſugar-canes; they alſo ſaw ſome fowls, and found a well of brackiſh water. The ſhip was brought to an anchor in thirty-two fathoms water, about a mile from the neareſt ſhore.

The captain was obliged to content himſelf with remaining at the landing-place among the natives, as he was not yet quite recovered. They had a pretty briſk trade with them for potatoes, which they obſerved they dug out of an adjoining plantation; but this traffic, which was very advantageous to them, was ſoon put a ſtop to, by the owner (as they ſuppoſed) of the plantation coming down and driving all the people out of it. By this they concluded, that he had been robbed of his property, and that they were not leſs ſcrupulous of ſtealing from one another than from them, on whom they practiſed every little fraud they could think on; and generally with ſucceſs; for they had no ſooner detected them in one, than they found out another. A party who had been ſent out in the morning to view the country, now returned. They had not proceeded far, before a middle-aged man, punctured from head to foot, and his face painted with a ſort of white pigment, appeared with a ſpear in his hand, and walked alongſide of them, making ſigns to his countrymen to keep at a diſtance, and not to moleſt them. When he had pretty well effected this, he hoiſted a piece of white cloth on his ſpear, placed himſelf in the front, and led the way, with this enſign of peace. For the greateſt part of the diſtance acroſs, the ground had but a barren appearance.

On the eaſt ſide, near the ſea, they met with three platforms of ſtone-work, or rather the ruins of them. — On each had ſtood four of thoſe large ſtatues, but they were all fallen down from two of them, and alſo one from the third; all except one were broken by the fall, or in ſome meaſure defaced. Mr. Wales meaſured this one and found it to be fifteen feet in length, and ſix feet broad over the ſhoulders. Each ſtatue had on its head a large cylindric ſtone of a red colour, wrought perfectly round. The one they meaſured, which was not by far the largeſt, was fifty-two inches high, and ſixty-ſix in diameter. In ſome the upper corner of the cylinder was taken off in a ſort of concave quarter round; but in others the cylinder was entire.

Beyond this they came to the moſt fertile part of the iſland they ſaw, it being interſperſed with plantations of potatoes, ſugar-canes, and plantain-trees, and theſe not ſo much incumbered with ſtones as thoſe they had ſeen before; but they could find no water except what the natives twice or thrice brought them, which, though brackiſh and ſtinking, was rendered acceptable by the extremity of their thirſt. They alſo paſſed ſome huts, the owners of which met them with roaſted potatoes and ſugar-canes, and placing themſelves a-head of the party (for they marched in a line in order to have the benefit of the path), gave one to each man as he paſſed by. But at the very

time ſome were relieving the thirſty and hungry, there were others who endeavoured to ſteal from them the very things which had been given them. At laſt, to prevent worſe conſequences, they were obliged to fire a load of ſmall ſhot at one who was ſo audacious as to ſnatch the bag which contained every thing they carried with them. The ſhot hit him on the back, on which he dropped the bag, ran a little way and then fell; but he afterwards got up and walked, and what became of him they knew not, nor whether he was much wounded. This affair occaſioned ſome delay, and drew the natives together: they preſently ſaw the man who had hitherto led the way, and one or two more, coming running towards them; but inſtead of ſtopping when they came up, they continued to run round them, repeating in a kind manner a few words, until they ſet forwards again. Then their old guide hoiſted his flag, leading the way as before, and none ever attempted to ſteal from them the whole day afterwards.

Towards the eaſtern end of the iſland they met with a well whoſe water was perfectly freſh, being conſiderably above the level of the ſea; but it was dirty, owing to the filthineſs or cleanlineſs (call it which you will) of the natives, who never go to drink without waſhing themſelves all over as ſoon as they have done; and if ever ſo many of them are together, the firſt leaps right into the middle of the hole, drinks, and waſhes himſelf without the leaſt ceremony; after which another takes his place and does the ſame.

They obſerved that this ſide of the iſland was full of thoſe gigantic ſtatues before mentioned; ſome placed in groupes on platforms of maſonry; others ſingle, fixed only in the earth, and that not deep; and theſe latter are, in general, much larger than the others. Having meaſured one which had fallen down, they found it very near twenty-ſeven feet long, and upwards of eight feet over the breaſt or ſhoulders; and yet this appeared conſiderably ſhort of the ſize of one they ſaw ſtanding: its ſhade, a little paſt two o'clock, being ſufficient to ſhelter all the party, conſiſting of near thirty perſons, from the rays of the ſun. Mr. Wales, from whom Captain Cook had this information, is of opinion that there had been a quarry here, whence theſe ſtones had formerly been dug; and that it would have been no difficult matter to roll them down the hill after they were formed.

They ſaw not an animal of any ſort, and but very few birds; nor indeed any thing which can induce ſhips that are not in the utmoſt diſtreſs to touch at this iſland.

The Captain determined to leave the iſland the next morning, ſince nothing was to be obtained that could make it worth his while to ſtay longer. They had a calm till ten o'clock in the morning of the 16th, when a breeze ſprung up at weſt, accompanied with heavy ſhowers of rain, which laſted about an hour. The weather then clearing up, on the 16th of March, they got under ſail, and ſtood to ſea.

The produce of this iſland is ſweet potatoes, yams, tara or eddy root, plantains, and ſugar-canes, all pretty good, the potatoes eſpecially, which are the beſt of the kind they ever taſted. Gourds they have alſo, but ſo very few, that a cocoa-nut ſhell was the moſt valuable thing they could give them. They have a few tame fowls, ſuch as cocks and hens, ſmall but well taſted. They have alſo rats, which, it ſeems, they eat; for they ſaw a man with ſome dead ones in his hand; and he ſeemed unwilling to part with them, giving them to underſtand they were for food. The coaſt ſeemed not to abound with fiſh; at leaſt they could catch none with hook and line, and it was but very little they ſaw amongſt the natives.

The inhabitants of this iſland do not ſeem to exceed ſix or ſeven hundred ſouls, and above two-thirds of thoſe they ſaw were males. They either have but few females among them, or elſe many were reſtrained from making their appearance.

In general, the people of this iſle are a ſlender race. They did not ſee a man that would meaſure ſix feet; ſo far are they from being giants, as one of the authors of Roggewein's voyage aſſerts. They are briſk and active, have good features, and not diſagreeable countenances, are friendly and hoſpitable to ſtrangers, but as much addicted to pilfering as any of their neighbours.

The women's clothing is a piece or two of quilted cloth about ſix feet by four, or a mat. One piece wrapped round their loins, another over their ſhoulders, make a complete dreſs. But the men, for the moſt part, are in a manner naked, wearing nothing but a ſlip of cloth betwixt their legs, each end of which is faſtened to a cord or belt they wear round the waiſt. The Otaheitean cloth, or indeed any ſort, was much valued by them.

As harmleſs and friendly as theſe people ſeem to be, they are not without offenſive weapons, ſuch as ſhort wooden clubs and ſpears.

Their houſes are low miſerable huts, conſtructed by ſetting ſticks upright in the ground, at ſix or eight feet diſtance, then bending them towards each other, and tying them together at the top, forming thereby a kind of Gothic arch. The longeſt ſticks are placed in the middle, and ſhorter ones each way, and at leſs diſtance aſunder; by which means the building is higheſt and broadeſt in the middle, and lower and narrower towards each end. To theſe are tied others horizontally, and the whole is thatched over with leaves of ſugar-cane. The door-way is in the middle of one ſide, formed like a porch, and ſo low and narrow, as juſt to admit a man to enter upon all fours.

The gigantic ſtatues are not, in Captain Cook's opinion, looked upon as idols by the preſent inhabitants, whatever they might have been in the days of the Dutch; at leaſt, he ſaw nothing that could induce him to think ſo. On the contrary, he rather ſuppoſes that they are burying-places for certain tribes or families.

The workmanſhip is rude, but not bad; nor are the features of the face ill formed, the noſe and chin in particular; but the ears are long beyond proportion; and as to the bodies, there is hardly any thing like a human figure about them.

The working-tools of theſe people are but very mean, and like thoſe of all the other iſlanders they had viſited in this ocean, made of ſtone, bone, ſhells, &c.

After leaving Eaſter Iſland, they ſteered north-weſt-by-north and north-north-weſt, with a fine eaſterly gale.

Having now a ſteady ſettled trade-wind, and pleaſant weather, the forge was ordered to be ſet up, to repair and make various neceſſary articles in the iron way; and the caulkers had already been ſome time at work, caulking the decks, weather-works, &c.

On the 7th of April they ſaw an iſle, which, as it was a new diſcovery, they named Hood's Iſland, after the young gentleman who firſt ſaw it; the ſecond was that of St. Pedro; the third, La Dominica; and the fourth, St. Chriſtina. They ranged the ſouth-eaſt coaſt of La Dominica, without ſeeing the leaſt ſigns of anchorage. Some canoes put off from theſe places, and followed them down the coaſt.

At length having come before the port they were in ſearch of, they anchored in thirty-four fathoms water, and a fine ſandy bottom. This was no ſooner done, than about thirty or forty of the natives came off in ten or twelve canoes: but it required ſome addreſs to get them alongſide. At laſt, a hatchet and ſome ſpike-nails induced the people in one canoe to come under the quarter-gallery; after which all the others put alongſide, and having exchanged ſome bread-fruit and fiſh for ſmall nails, &c. retired on ſhore, the ſun being already ſet. They obſerved a heap of ſtones on the bow of each canoe, and every man to have a ſling tied round his hand.

Very

Very early next morning, the natives viſited them again in much greater numbers than before; bringing with them bread-fruit, plantains, and one pig, all of which they exchanged for nails, &c. But in this traffic they would frequently keep their goods and make no return, till at laſt the captain was obliged to fire a muſquet-ball over one man who had ſeveral times ſerved them in this manner; after which they dealt more fairly and ſoon after ſeveral of them came on board. As the captain was going in a boat to look for a more convenient place to moor the ſhip in, he obſerved too many of the natives on board, and ſaid to the officers, "You muſt look well after theſe people, or they will certainly carry off ſomething or other." He had hardly got into the boat, before he was told they had ſtolen one of the iron ſtaunchions from the oppoſite gangway, and were making off with it He ordered them to fire over the canoe till he could get round in the boat, but not to kill any one. But the natives made too much noiſe for him to be heard, and the unhappy thief was killed at the third ſhot. Two others in the ſame canoe leaped overboard, but got in again juſt as he came to them. The ſtaunchion they had thrown overboard. One of them, a man grown, ſat bailing the blood and water out of the canoe, in a kind of hyſteric laugh. The other, a youth about fourteen or fifteen years of age, looked on the deceaſed with a ſerious and dejected countenance. They had afterwards reaſon to believe he was his ſon.

At this unhappy accident all the natives retired with precipitation. The captain followed them into the bay, and prevailed upon the people in one canoe to come alongſide the boat, and receive ſome nails and other things which he gave them. One would have thought that the natives, by this time, would have been ſo ſenſible of the effect of fire arms, as not to have provoked them to fire upon them any more; but the event proved otherwiſe. For the boat had no ſooner left the kedge anchor, than two men in the canoe put off from the ſhore, took hold of the buoy-rope, and attempted to drag it aſhore, little conſidering what was faſt to it. Leſt, after diſcovering their miſtake, they ſhould take away the buoy, the captain ordered a muſquet to be fired at them. The ball fell ſhort, and they took not the leaſt notice of it; but a ſecond having paſſed over them, they let go the buoy, and made for the ſhore. This was the laſt ſhot they had occaſion to fire at any of them, while they lay at this place. It probably had more effect than killing the man, by ſhewing them that they were not ſafe at any diſtance; nevertheleſs, they would very often be exerciſing their talent of thieving, which they thought proper to put up with, as their ſtay was not likely to be long amongſt them.

On the 10th, early in the morning, ſome people from more diſtant parts came in canoes alongſide, and ſold them ſome pigs; ſo that they had now ſufficient to give the crew a freſh meal. They were, in general, ſo ſmall, that forty or fifty were hardly ſufficient for this purpoſe. After dinner, the captain went on ſhore and collected eighteen pigs.

Next morning he went down to the ſame place where he had been the preceding evening; but inſtead of getting pigs, as he expected, found the ſcene quite changed. The nails, and other things, they were mad after but the evening before, they now deſpiſed; and inſtead of them wanted they did not know what; ſo that he was obliged to return with three or four little pigs, which coſt more than a dozen did the day before. The reason was, ſeveral of the young gentlemen having landed the preceding day, had given away in exchange various articles which the people had not ſeen before, and which took with them more than nails, or more uſeful iron tools. But what ruined their market the moſt was one of them giving for a pig a very large quantity of red feathers he

had got at Amſterdam. Trade being thus ſtopped, the captain prepared to leave this place, and go where their wants might be effectually relieved; for after having been nineteen weeks at ſea, and living all the time on ſalt diet, they could not but want ſome refreſhments; yet they had not one ſick man on board, owing to the many anti-ſcorbutic articles they had, and to the great attention of the ſurgeon, who was remarkably careful to apply them in time.

April the 11th, at three o'clock in the afternoon, they weighed. They had now but little wind, and that very variable, with ſhowers of rain.

The Marqueſa, which they had juſt left, were diſcovered by Mendana, a Spaniard, and from him obtained the general name they now bear. They are five in number, viz. La Magdalena, St. Pedro, La Dominica, Santa Chriſtina, and Hood's Iſland, which is the northernmoſt; La Dominica is the largeſt. It hath an unequal breadth, and is about fifteen or ſixteen leagues in circuit. It is full of rugged hills, riſing in ridges directly from the ſea; theſe ridges are disjoined by deep valleys, which are clothed with wood, as are the ſides of ſome of the hills; the aſpect is however barren.

The inhabitants of theſe iſlands, collectively, are without exception the fineſt race of people in this ſea. For fine ſhape and regular features, they perhaps ſurpaſs all other nations. Nevertheleſs, the affinity of their language to that ſpoke in Otaheite and the Society Iſles, ſhew that they are of the ſame nation. Oedidee could converſe with them tolerably well; and it was eaſy to ſee that their language was nearly the ſame.

Their clothing is the ſame as at Otaheite, and made of the ſame materials; but they have it not in ſuch plenty; nor is it ſo good. The men, for the moſt part, have nothing to cover their nakedneſs, except the marra, as it is called at Otaheite; which is a ſlip of cloth paſſed round the waiſt and betwixt the legs. This ſimple dreſs is quite ſufficient for the climate, and anſwers every purpoſe modeſty requires. The dreſs of the women is a piece of cloth, wrapped round the loins like a petticoat, which reaches down below the middle of the leg, and a looſe mantle over their ſhoulders.

In the article of eating, theſe people are, by no means, ſo cleanly as the Otaheitans. They are likewiſe dirty in their cookery. Pork and fowls are dreſſed in an oven of hot ſtones, as at Otaheite; but fruits and roots they roaſt on the fire, and after taking off the rind, or ſkin, put them into a platter or trough with water, out of which both men and hogs eat at the ſame time. The captain ſays, he ſaw them make a batter of fruit and roots, diluted with water, in a veſſel that was loaded with dirt, and out of which the hogs had been but that moment eating, without giving it the leaſt waſhing, or even waſhing their hands, which were equally dirty; and when he expreſſed diſlike, was laughed at.

Hogs are the only quadrupeds they ſaw; and cocks and hens the only tame fowls. However, the woods ſeemed to abound with ſmall birds of a very beautiful plumage, and fine notes; but the fear of alarming the natives, hindered them from ſhooting ſo many of them as might otherwiſe have been done.

With a fine eaſterly wind they ſteered ſouth-weſt, ſouth-weſt-by-weſt, and weſt-by-ſouth, till the 17th, at ten o'clock in the morning, when land was ſeen bearing weſt-half-north, which upon a nearer approach, they found to be a ſtring of low iſlets, connected together by a reef of coral rocks.

As they ſteered along the coaſt, the natives appeared in ſeveral places, armed with long ſpears and clubs, and ſome were got together on one ſide of the creek. The captain ſent two boats well armed aſhore under the command of Lieutenant Cooper, with a view of having ſome intercourſe with them, and to give Mr. Forſter an opportunity

tunity of collecting ſomething in his way. They ſaw them land without the leaſt oppoſition. Some little time after, obſerving forty or fifty natives, all armed, coming towards the boats, they ſtood cloſe in ſhore, in order to be ready to ſupport their people in caſe of an attack. But nothing of this kind happened; and ſoon after the boats returned aboard, when Mr. Cooper informed the captain that, on his landing, only a few of the natives met him on the beach, but there were many in the ſkirts of the woods, with ſpears in their hands. The preſents he made them were received with great coolneſs, which plainly ſhewed they were unwelcome viſitors. They brought aboard five dogs, which ſeemed to be in plenty there. They ſaw no fruit but cocoa-nuts, of which they got, by exchange, two dozen. One of the ſailors got a dog for a ſingle plantain, which led them to conjecture they had none of this his fruit.

This iſland, which is called by the inhabitants Tiokea, was diſcovered and viſited by Commodore Byron. It has ſomething of an oval ſhape, and is about ten leagues in circuit.

On the 18th, at day-break, after having ſpent the night making ſhort boards, they wore down to another iſle they had in ſight to the weſtward, which they reached by eight o'clock, and ranged the ſouth-eaſt ſide at one mile from ſhore. Theſe muſt be the ſame iſlands to which Commodore Byron gave the name of George's Iſlands.

It cannot be determined with any degree of certainty whether this groupe of iſles be any of thoſe diſcovered by the Dutch navigators or no; this part of the ocean is ſo ſtrewed with theſe low iſles, that a navigator cannot proceed with too much caution.

They made the high land of Otaheite on the 21ſt of April, and at eight o'clock the next morning anchored in Matavia Bay in ſeven fathoms water. This was no ſooner known to the natives than many of them paid them a viſit, and expreſſed not a little joy at ſeeing them again.

On the 24th, Otoo the King, and ſeveral other chiefs, with a train of attendants, paid them a viſit, and brought them as preſents ten or a dozen large hogs, beſides fruits, which made them exceedingly welcome. The captain was advertiſed of the King's coming, and looked upon it as a good omen. Knowing how much it was his intereſt to make this man his friend, he met him at the tents, and conducted him and his friends on board, where they ſtaid dinner, after which they were diſmiſſed with ſuitable preſents, and highly pleaſed with the reception they had met with.

They now found theſe people were building a great number of large canoes and houſes of every kind; people living in ſpacious habitations, who had not a place to ſhelter themſelves in eight months before; ſeveral large hogs about every hou[illegible]; and every other ſign of a riſing ſtate.

Judging from theſe favourable circumſtances that they ſhould not mend th[illegible]ves by removing to another iſland, the captain reſolved to make a longer ſtay, an[illegible] begin with the repairs of the ſhip and ſtores, &c.

In the morning of the 26th, the captain went down to Oparree, accompanied by ſome of the officers and gentlemen, to pay Otoo a viſit. As they drew near they obſerved a number of large canoes in motion; but were ſurpriſed, when they arrived, to ſee upwards of three hundred ranged in order, for ſome diſtance, along the ſhore, all completely equipped and manned, beſides a vaſt number of armed men upon the ſhore. So unexpected an armament collected together in their neighbourhood, in the ſpace of one night, gave riſe to various conjectures.

The

The veſſels of war conſiſted of 160 large double canoes, very well equipped, manned, and armed. The chiefs, and all thoſe on the fighting ſtages, were dreſſed in their war-habits; that is, in a vaſt quantity of cloth, turbans, breaſt-plates, and helmets. Some of the latter were of ſuch a length as greatly to encumber the wearer. Indeed, their whole dreſs ſeemed to be ill calculated for the day of battle, and to be deſigned more for ſhew than uſe. Be this as it may, it certainly added grandeur to the proſpect, as they were ſo complaiſant as to ſhew themſelves to the beſt advantage. The veſſels were decorated with flags, ſtreamers, &c. ſo that the whole made a grand and noble appearance, ſuch as they had never ſeen before in this ſea, and what no one would have expected. Their inſtruments of war were clubs, ſpears, and ſtones. The veſſels were ranged cloſe along-ſide of each other with their heads aſhore, and their ſtern to the ſea; the admiral's veſſel being nearly in the centre. Beſides the veſſels of war, there were an hundred and ſeventy ſail of ſmaller double canoes, all with a little houſe upon them, and rigged with a maſt and ſail, which the war canoes had not. Theſe were deſigned for tranſports, victuallers, &c. for in the war canoes was no ſort of proviſions whatever. In theſe three hundred and thirty veſſels there were no leſs than ſeven thouſand ſeven hundred and ſixty men.

Tupia informed them, when they were firſt here, that the whole iſland raiſed only between ſix and ſeven thouſand men; but they now ſaw two diſtricts only raiſe that number; ſo that he muſt have taken his account from ſome old eſtabliſhment; elſe he only meant tatatous, that is warriors, or men trained from their infancy to arms, and did not include the rowers, and thoſe neceſſary to navigate the other veſſels.

While they were viewing this fleet, Tee came and whiſpered them in the ear, that Otoo was gone to Matavia, adviſing them to return thither. They accordingly proceeded for the ſhip.

They had not been long gone from Oparee, before the whole fleet was in motion to the weſtward, whence it came. When they got to Matavia, they were told that this fleet was part of the armament intended to go againſt Eimea, whoſe chief had thrown off the yoke of Otaheite, and aſſumed an independency. They were likewiſe informed that Otoo neither was nor had been at Matavia; ſo that they were ſtill at a loſs to know why he fled from Oparee. This occaſioned another trip thither in the afternoon, where they found him, and now underſtood that the reaſon of his not ſeeing them in the morning, was that ſome of his people having ſtolen a quantity of their clothes, which were on ſhore waſhing, he was afraid the captain ſhould demand reſtitution. He repeatedly aſked him if he was not angry; and when he aſſured him that he was not, and that they might keep what they had got, he was ſatisfied.

In the morning of the 27th of April, the captain received a preſent from Towha, conſiſting of two large hogs and ſome fruit, ſent by two of his ſervants, who had orders not to receive any thing in return; nor would they when offered them. Soon after, he went down to Oparree in his boat, where having found both this chief and the King, after a ſhort ſtay, he brought them both on board to dinner, together with Tarevatoo, the King's younger brother, and Tee. As ſoon as they drew near the ſhip, the admiral, who had never ſeen one before, began to expreſs much ſurprize at ſo new a ſight. He was conducted all over the ſhip, every part of which he viewed with great attention. On this occaſion Otoo was the principal ſhew-man; for, by this time, he was well acquainted with the different parts of the ſhip. After dinner Towha put a hog on board, and retired, without the captain's knowing any thing of the matter, or having made him any return either for this, or the preſent he had in the morning.

Soon

Soon after the King and his attendants went away alſo. Both theſe board, ſolicited him to aſſiſt them againſt Tiarabou, but to their ſolicita encouragement.

On the 28th, one of the natives attempting to ſteal a water-caſk fro place, he was caught in the act, ſent on board, and put in irons; in Otoo and the other chiefs ſaw him. Having made known his crime begged he might be ſet at liberty. This the captain refuſed, telling hi puniſhed his people, when they committed the leaſt offence againſt th but juſt this man ſhould be puniſhed alſo; and as he knew he would r reſolved to do it himſelf. Accordingly, he ordered the man to be ca the tents, and having followed, with Otoo, Towha, and others, he or out, under arms, and the man to be tied up to a poſt. Otoo, his ſiſter, begged hard for him; Towha ſaid not one word, but was very attentiv going forward. The captain expoſtulated with Otoo on the conduct of his people in general; telling him, that neither he, nor any of his people from them, without firſt paying for it; enumerating the articles they g for ſuch and ſuch things, and urging that it was wrong in them to ſteal were their friends. He moreover told him, that the puniſhing this ma means of ſaving the lives of others of his people, by deterring them fr crimes of this nature. With theſe and other arguments, which he pr ſtood, he ſeemed ſatisfied, and only deſired the man might not be matte The captain then ordered the crowd, which was very great, to be k diſtance, and in the preſence of them all, ordered the fellow two dozen cat-o'-nine-tails, which he bore with great firmneſs, and was then After this the natives were going away; but Towha ſtepped forth, cal and harangued them for near half an hour. His ſpeech conſiſted of which were not well underſtood; but from what they could gather, h part of what he had ſaid to Otoo, named ſeveral advantages they had the captain, contemned their preſent conduct, and recommended a differ future. The gracefulneſs of his action, and the attention with which beſpoke him a great orator.

Otoo ſaid not one word. As ſoon as Towha had ended his ſpeec ordered the marines to go through their exerciſes, and to load and fire ball: and as they were very quick in their manœuvres, it is eaſier to c deſcribe the amazement the natives were under the whole time, eſpeci had not ſeen any thing of the kind before.

This being over, the chiefs took leave and retired with all their atten more pleaſed than frightened at what they had ſeen.

They had a very great ſupply of proviſions, ſent and brought by d on the 1ſt of May; and the next day received a preſent from Towh ſervants, conſiſting of a hog, and a boat-load of various ſorts of fru The like preſent they alſo had from Otoo, brought by Tarevatoo, who ſ

On going aſhore in the morning of the 7th, they found Otoo at the t the opportunity to aſk his leave to cut down ſome trees for fuel, wh granted. The captain told him he ſhould cut down no trees that b He was pleaſed with this declaration, and told it aloud ſeveral times about them.

During the night, between the 7th and 8th, ſome time in the middle friendly connections received an interruption, through the negligence

. He having either ſlept or quitted his poſt, gave one or the natives
o carry off his muſquet. The firſt news the captain heard of it was
Otoo had ſent on board for that purpoſe, and to deſire that he would
hat he was mataoued. They were not well enough acquainted with
o underſtand all Tee's ſtory; but they underſtood enough to know
ad happened which had alarmed the King. In order, therefore, to
d, the captain went aſhore with Tee and Tarevatoo, who had ſlept
As ſoon as they landed, he was informed of the whole by the ſerjeant
the party. The natives were all alarmed, and the moſt of them fled.
ain went to look for Otoo; and as they advanced, he endeavoured to
f the people, but at the ſame time inſiſted on the muſquet being
travelling ſome diſtance into the country, enquiring of every one they
ee ſtopped all at once, and adviſed the captain to return, ſaying, that
to the mountains, and he would proceed and tell him that he (the
his friend. Tee alſo promiſed that he would uſe his endeavours to
quet.

returned to the ſhip, and ſoon after he obſerved ſix large canoes
oint Venus. Some people whom he had ſent out to watch the conduct
ring inhabitants, informed him, they were laden with baggage, fruit,
re being room for ſuſpecting that ſome perſon belonging to theſe
nmitted the theft, he came to a reſolution to intercept them; and
n a boat for that purpoſe, gave orders for another to follow. One of
ch was ſome diſtance ahead of the reſt, came directly for the ſhip. He
this, and found two or three women in her whom he knew. They
ere going on board the ſhip with ſomething for him; and on inquiring
too, was told he was then at the tents. Pleaſed with this news, he
e orders he had given for intercepting the other canoes, thinking they
g on board alſo as well as this one, which he left within a few yards
rowed aſhore to ſpeak with Otoo. But when he landed he was told
t been there, nor knew they any thing of him. On looking behind
the canoes making off in the greateſt haſte; even the one he had left
hip had evaded going on board, and was making her eſcape. Vexed
utwitted, he reſolved to purſue them; and as he paſſed the ſhip, gave
another boat for the ſame purpoſe. Five out of ſix they took, and
ſide; but the firſt, which acted the fineſſe ſo well, got clear off. When
ard with their prizes, he learnt that the people, who had deceived him,
ours to lay hold of the ſhip on the ſide they were upon, but let their
t, as if they meant to come under the ſtern, or on the other ſide; and
nt they were paſt, they paddled off with all ſpeed. Thus the canoe,
only a few women, was to have amuſed them with falſe ſtories, as they
hile the others, in which were moſt of the effects, got off.

he canoes they had taken, was a chief, a friend of Mr. Forſter's, who
alled himſelf an earee, and would have been much offended if any one
title in queſtion; alſo three women, his wife and daughter, and the
late Toutaha. Theſe, together with the canoes, the captain reſolved
d to ſend the chief to Otoo, thinking he would have weight
him to obtain the return of the muſquet, as his own property was

In the duſk of the evening it wa
s brought to the tents, together
things they had loſt, which they kn
ew nothing of, by three men who
thief, and taken them from him.
The captain knew not if they too
their own accord, or by order of O
too. He rewarded them, and
inquiry about it.

When the muſquet and other thi
ngs were brought in, every one
who came after, pretended to have
had ſome hand in recovering the
reward accordingly. But there was
no one acted this farce ſo well as
ſome note, and well known to the c
aptain when he was here in 1769.
with all the ſavage fury imaginable i
n his countenance, and a large cl
with which he beat about him, in o
rder to ſhew how he alone had
when, at the ſame time, they all kne
w he had not been out of his houſe
Things were now once more re
tored to their former ſtate; and
on his part, that, the next day, they
ſhould be ſupplied with fruit, &c.
They then returned with him to
his proper reſidence at Oparree, an
view of ſome of his dock-yards (fo
r ſuch they well deſerved to be c
canoes; ſome lately built and others
building; two of which were the l
ever ſeen in this ſea; or indeed any
where elſe, under that name. The
to the ſhip.

Otoo deſiring to ſee ſome of the
great guns fire from the ſhip, the
twelve to be ſhotted and fired towa
rd the ſea. As he had never ſeen
before, the fight gave him as much
pain as pleaſure. In the evening, t
him with fire-works, which gave
him great ſatisfaction. Thus e
differences.

As the moſt eſſential repairs of the ſhip were nearly finiſhed, it was re
Otaheite in a few days; the captain
accordingly ordered every thing to b
the ſhore, that the natives might ſee t
hey were about to depart.

On the 12th, old Oberea, the w
oman who, when the Dolphin was
was thought to be Queen of the iſla
nd, and whom they had not ſeen ſin
them a viſit, and brought a preſent of
hogs and fruit. Soon after, came O
retinue, and a large quantity of pr
oviſions. The captain was pretty
returns, thinking it might be the la
t time he ſhould ſee theſe good peop
ſo liberally relieved their wants; a
nd, in the evening, entertained the
works.

On the 14th they ſaw a number o
f war canoes coming round the point
Being deſirous of having a nearer
view of them, accompanied by many
gentlemen, they haſtened down to O
parree, which they reached before a
were landed, and had an opportun
ty of ſeeing in what manner they ap
ſhore. When they got before the
place where they intended to land, t
themſelves into diviſions, conſiſting
of three or four, or perhaps more, la
and cloſe along-ſide of each other;
nd then each diviſion, one after the oth
in for the ſhore with all their might,
and conducted in ſo judicious a manne
formed, and cloſed a line, along the
ſhore, to an inch. The rowers were
to exert their ſtrength by their leade
rs on the ſtages, and directed by a ma
with a wand in his hand in the fore
-part of the middlemoſt veſſel. Thi
words and actions, directed the pad
llers when all ſhould paddle, when eit
ſide or the other ſhould ceaſe, &c. fo
r the ſteering paddles alone were not
direct them. All theſe motions wer
e obſerved with ſuch quickneſs as clea
them to be expert in their buſineſs.
Otoo, who was preſent, cauſed ſom

ugh their exercife on fhore. Two parties firft began with clubs, but
noft as foon as begun; fo that they had no time to make obfervations.
to fingle combat, and exhibited the various methods of fighting with
parrying off the blows and puſhes, which each combatant aimed at
reat dexterity. Their arms were clubs and fpears; the latter they alſo
n fighting with the club, all blows intended to be given the legs, were
g over it; and thoſe intended for the head, by couching a little, and
ide; thus the blow would fall to the ground.

ent at this iſle was ſuch as had induced one of the gunner's mates to
remain at it. He knew he could not execute it with ſucceſs while they
therefore took the opportunity, as ſoon as they were out, the boats in,
ſlip overboard, being a good ſwimmer. But he was diſcovered before
the ſhip; and they preſently hoiſted a boat out, and took him up. A
rved, about half-way between the boat and the ſhore, ſeemingly coming
he was intended to take him up; but as ſoon as the people in her ſaw
kept at a diſtance. This was a pre-concerted plan between the man and
Otoo was acquainted with, and had encouraged. He was an Iriſhman by
l failed in the Dutch ſervice. The captain picked him up at Batavia on
n his former voyage, and he had been with him ever ſince. He never
had either friends or connexions, to confine him to any particular part of
All nations were alike to him. Where then could ſuch a man be more
one of theſe iſles? Where, in one of the fineſt climates in the world,
y not only the neceſſaries, but the luxuries of life, in eaſe and plenty.
oats which Captain Furneaux gave to Otoo when they were laſt here,
miſe fair for anſwering the end for which they were put on ſhore. The
r had two female kids, which were now ſo far grown as to be nearly ready
and the old ewe was again with kid. The people ſeemed to be very fond
they to like their ſituation as well; for they were in excellent condition.
cumſtance it may be hoped that, in a few years, they will have ſome to
neighbours; and, by that means, they may in time ſpread over all the
cean. The ſheep which they left, died ſoon after, excepting one, which
od was yet alive. They have alſo furniſhed them with a ſtock of cats;
wenty having been given away at this iſle.

clock in the afternoon on the 15th of May, they anchored in the north
O'Wharre Harbour, in the iſland of Huaheine; hoiſted out the boats,
a proper birth, and moored.

chief, brought a hog and other articles to the captain, who, in return, in-
id his friends to dinner. Next day Mr. Foſter and his party being out in
botanizing, his ſervant, a feeble man, was beſet by five or ſix fellows, who
ſtripped him, if, that moment, one of the party had not come to his aſſiſt-
which they made of with a hatchet they had got from him.

7th, the Captain went aſhore to look for the chief, in order to complain of
committed as above; but he was not in the neighbourhood. Being aſhore
noon, a perſon came and told him Orée wanted to ſee him. He went with
id was conducted to a large houſe, where the chief and ſeveral other per-
e were aſſembled in council, as well as he could underſtand. After he was
chief began to aſſure him, that neither he, nor any one preſent, (which
rincipal chiefs in the neighbourhood) had any hand in it; and deſired him
the guns, all thoſe who had. The captain knew fair means would never

make them deliver them up; and he had no intention to try others dropped, and the council broke up.

In the evening, ſome of the gentlemen went to a dramatic entertainr repreſented a girl as running away with them from Otaheite; which w gree true; as a young woman had taken a paſſage with them down happened now to be preſent at the repreſentation of her own adventu ſuch an effect upon her, that it was with great difficulty the gentleme upon her to ſee the play out, or to refrain from tears while it was actin

Some of the petty officers, who had leave to go into the country ment, took two of the natives with them to be their guides, and to c containing nails, hatchets, &c. the current caſh they traded with h fellows made off with in the following artful manner. The gentlemen two muſquets for ſhooting birds. After a ſhower of rain, their guid ſome for them to ſhoot. One of the muſquets having miſſed fire feve the other having gone off, the inſtant the fellows ſaw themſelves ſecu they ran away, leaving the gentlemen gazing after them with ſo much no one had preſence of mind to purſue them.

The 23d, wind eaſterly, as it had been ever ſince they left Otaheite. morning they unmoored, and at eight weighed and put to ſea. Oree, the laſt man who went out of the ſhip. At parting, the captain told hin ſee each other no more, at which he wept, and ſaid, "Let ur ſons treat them well.". Oree is a good man in the utmoſt ſenſe of the wor of the people are far from being of that diſpoſition, and ſeem to take adv old age.

During their ſtay here they got bread-fruit and cocoa-nuts in abunda hogs enough; and yet it did not appear that they were ſcarce in the il however, be allowed, that the number they took away, when laſt there thinned them greatly, and at the ſame time, ſtocked the iſle with our artic they now wanted a proper aſſortment of trade, what they had being nearl and the few remaining red feathers being here but of little value, when the eſtimation they ſtand in at Otaheite. This obliged the captain to ſet t work to make different ſorts of iron tools, nails, &c. in order to enable t cure refreſhments at the other iſles, and to ſupport their credit and influe the natives.

As ſoon as they were clear of the harbour, they made ſail, and ſtood ſouth end of Ulieta, where they dropped anchor the next day.

On the 25th, a party went on ſhore to pay the chief a viſit, and make the preſent. At their firſt entering his houſe, they were met by four or five o weeping and lamenting, as it were, moſt bitterly, and at the ſame time c heads with inſtruments made of ſharks teeth, till the blood ran plentifully faces and on their ſhoulders. What was ſtill worſe, they were obliged to the embraces of theſe old hags, and by that means were all beſmeared w This ceremony (for it was merely ſuch) being over, they went out, waſhed t and immediately after appeared as cheerful as any of the company. The ca his preſents, and after ſome little ſtay, returned on board.

On the 27th they were entertained with a play, called *Mididij Harran* ſignifies, "the child is coming." It concluded with the repreſentation o labour, acted by a ſet of great brawny fellows, one of whom at laſt ſtrapping boy, about ſix feet high, who ran about the ſtage, dragging

hich hung by a ſtring from his middle. They had an opportunity of another time, when it was obſerved, that the moment they had got hold o repreſented the child, they flatted or preſſed his noſe. From this at they do ſo by their children when born, which may be the reaſon al have flat noſes. This part of the play, from its newneſs, and the r in which it was performed, gave them, the firſt time time they ſaw inment, and cauſed a loud laugh, which might be the reaſon why they afterwards. But this, like all their other pieces, could entertain them nce.

9th, they found ſeveral articles had been ſtolen out of the boats which hip; and the chief not only knew they were ſtolen, but by whom, were; and he went immediately with the captain in his boat, in purſuit er proceeding a good way along ſhore, the chief ordered them to land es, where they did not wait long before all the articles were brought to he pinnace's iron tiller, which he was told was ſtill farther off; this was d.

, one of the chiefs made the captain a preſent of two pigs; he invited inner, and ordered one of the pigs to be killed and dreſſed, and attended e firſt part of the operation, which was as follows: They ſtrangled the as done by three men; the hog being placed on his back, two of them trong ſtick acroſs his throat, and preſſed with all their weight on each d man held his hind legs, kept him on his back, and plugged up his th graſs, to prevent any air from paſſing or repaſſing that way. In this held him for about ten minntes before he was quite dead. The hog t fifty pounds. It was baked in their uſual manner. Some parts about thought overdone, but the more fleſhy parts were excellent; and the y the European way of dreſſing can hardly be eaten, had, by this method, flavour.

e knowing that they ſhould ſail ſoon, began on the 31ſt to bring on board an uſual. Amongſt thoſe who came was a young man who meaſured ſix hes and ſix-tenths; and his ſiſter, younger than him, meaſured five feet nd a half. A briſk trade for hogs and fruit continued till the 3d of June. ain fixed on the next day, June 4th, for ſailing, when Oreo, the chief, and mily, came on board, to take their laſt farewel, accompanied by Oo-oo-rou, Hi, and Boba the earee of Otaha, and ſeveral of their friends. None ; but Oo-oo-rou brought a pretty large preſent, this being his firſt and The captain diſtributed amongſt them almoſt every thing he had left. The able manner in which he had ever been received by theſe people, had hem to him, and given them a juſt title to every thing in his power to

eſſed him to return; when the captain declined making any promiſes on he aſked the name of his morai (burying-place). As ſtrange a queſtion as e heſitated not a moment to tell him Stepney: the pariſh in which he lived when . He was requeſted to repeat it ſeveral times over till they could pronounce "Stepney marai no toote" was echoed through an hundred mouths at once. ater proof could they have of theſe people eſteeming them as friends, than to remember them even beyond the period of their lives? They had told that they ſhould ſee them no more; they then wanted to know to mingle with their parent duſt.

As

As they could not promiſe, or even ſuppoſe, that more Engliſh ſh
to thoſe iſles, their faithful companion Oedidee choſe to remain in
But he left the ſhip with a regret fully demonſtrative of the eſteem
Indeed, he would have been a better ſpecimen of the nation, in ev
Omai. Juſt as Oedidee was going out of the ſhip, he aſked the cap
parou for him, in order to ſhew the commanders of other ſhips which
He complied with his requeſt, gave him a certificate of the time he ha
and recommended him to the notice of thoſe who might touch a
them.

They did not get clear of their friends till eleven o'clock, when t
put to ſea; but Oedidee did not leave them till they were almoſt out
He ſtaid, in order to fire ſome guns; for it being His Majeſty's birth-da
ſalute at going away.

Nature is exceedingly kind to theſe iſlands. The natives, copying
nature, are equally liberal, contributing plentifully and cheerfully t
navigators. During their ſtay they had plenty of pork and variety of f
articles were got in exchange for axes, hatchets, nails, chiſſels, cloth
beads, knives, ſciſſars, looking-glaſſes, &c. articles which will ever be
Shirts are a very capital article in making preſents, eſpecially with thoſe
connection with the fair ſex. A ſhirt here is full as neceſſary as a pi
England. The ladies at Otaheite, after they had pretty well ſtripped
ſhirts, found a method of clothing themſelves with their own cloth.
cuſtom to go on ſhore every morning, and to return on board in the even
clad in rags. This furniſhed a pretence to importune the lover for bette
when he had no more of his own, he was to dreſs them in new cloth of
which they always left aſhore; and appearing again in rags, they muſt aga
So that the ſame ſuit might paſs through twenty different hands, and be
bought, and given away.

On the 6th, being the day after leaving Ulietea, they ſaw Howe Iſland,
Captain Wallis. The inhabitants of Ulietea ſpeak of an uninhabited iſlan
ſituation, called by them Mopeha, to which they go at certain ſeaſons
perhaps this may be the ſame.

On the 16th, juſt after ſun-riſe, land was ſeen from the top-maſt he
north-north-eaſt. They immediately altered their courſe, and ſteering for
to be another iſland, compoſed of five or ſix woody iſlets, connected toget
banks and breakers, incloſing a lake, into which they could ſee no entr
captain looked upon it as a new diſcovery, and named it Palmerſton Iſland,
of Lord Palmerſton, one of the lords of the Admiralty.

At four o'clock in the afternoon they left this iſle, and reſumed their co
weſt by ſouth with a fine ſteady gale eaſterly.

On the 20th, they ſaw land; and as they drew nearer, found it to be a
conſiderable extent. Perceiving ſome people on the ſhore, and landing ſee
eaſy, they brought to, and hoiſted out two boats, with which they put off t
accompanied by ſome of the officers and gentlemen.

Friendly ſigns were made to them, which they anſwered by menaces. All e
to bring them to a parley, were to no purpoſe; for they came with the feroc
boars, and threw their darts. Two or three muſquets, diſcharged in the a
hinder one of them from advancing ſtill farther, and throwing another
a ſpear, which paſſed cloſe over the captain's ſhoulder. His courage

not the captain's muſquet miſſed fire; for he was not five paces from w his ſpear, and had reſolved to ſhoot him to ſave himſelf. He was at it happened as it did.

d aſpect of theſe iſlanders, occaſioned the captain naming it Savages' ned to be ſtout well-made men, were naked, except round the waiſts, had their faces, breaſt, and thighs, painted black.

June, they arrived off the coaſt of Rotterdam. Before they had well e natives came off from all parts in canoes, bringing with them yams hich they exchanged for ſmall nails and old rags. One man taking a ir lead and line, got hold of it, and, in ſpite of all the threats they could the line with a ſtone; but a diſcharge of ſmall ſhot made him return it. ning, the captain went aſhore, with Mr. Gilbert, to look for freſh water, d with great courteſy by the natives. After they had diſtributed ſome them, he aſked for water; and was conducted to a pond of it that was three-fourths of a mile from the landing-place; which he ſuppoſed to Taſman watered at. In the mean time, the people in the boat had fruit and roots, which the natives had brought down, and exchanged eads. In the afternoon ſome of the officers landed, where they found no had been robbed of his gun, by a fellow who had ran off with it, and e ſtripped him, as he imagined, had he not preſented a tooth-pick caſe, doubt, thought was a little gun. As ſoon as the captain heard of this, place where the robbery was committed, but took no ſteps to recover it; owledges he was wrong. The eaſy manner of obtaining this gun, which , thought ſecure in their poſſeſſion, encouraged them to proceed in theſe

e morning of the 28th, Lieutenant Clerke, with the maſter, and fourteen n, went on ſhore in the launch for water. The captain did intend to in another boat himſelf, but rather unluckily deferred it till after breakfaſt. as no ſooner landed than the natives gathered about her, behaving in nner, that the officers were in ſome doubt if they ſhould land the caſks; ured, and, with difficulty, got them filled, and into the boat again. In this, Mr. Clerke's gun was ſnatched from him, and carried off; as were the cooper's tools, and ſeveral of the people were ſtripped of one thing or ll this was done, as it were, by ſtealth; for they laid hold of nothing by The captain landed juſt as the launch was ready to put off, and the were pretty numerous on the beach, as ſoon as they ſaw him, fled; ſo ected ſomething had happened. However, he prevailed on many to ſtay, lerke came, and informed him of all the preceding circumſtances. He he to a reſolution to oblige them to make reſtitution; and for this purpoſe, the marines to be armed, and ſent on ſhore. Mr. Forſter and his party into the country botaniſing, he ordered two or three guns to be fired from order to alarm him, not knowing how the natives might act on this occaſion. ent all the boats off but one, with which he ſtaid, having a good many of the out him, who behaved with their uſual courteſy. He made them ſo ſenſible ntion, that long before the marines came, Mr. Clerke's muſquet was brought; uſed many excuſes to divert him from inſiſting on the other. At length mb arriving, with the marines, this alarmed them ſo much, that ſome fled. e captain took was to ſeize on two large double ſailing canoes which One fellow making reſiſtance, he fired ſome ſmall ſhot at him, and

ſent

ſent him limping off. The natives being now convinced that he wa
fled; but on calling to them, many returned; and preſently after, th
was brought, and laid down at his feet. That moment he ordered
reſtored, to ſhew them on what account they were detained.

On returning to go on board, he found a good many people col
from whom they underſtood that the man he had fired at was de
he treated as improbable, and addreſſed a man, who ſeemed of ſome c
the reſtitution of a cooper's adze they had loſt in the morning. He i
away two men, as he thought, for it; but he ſoon found they had g
each other; for inſtead of the adze, they brought the wounded man, f
a board, and laid him down by him, to all appearance dead. He was muc
fight; but ſoon ſaw his miſtake, and that he was only wounded in the h
He therefore deſired he might be carried out of the ſun, and ſent for
dreſs his wounds. In the mean time, he addreſſed ſeveral people for th
was determined to have it. The one he applied moſt to, was an elderly
had always a great deal to ſay to him from his firſt landing; but on th
gave her tongue full ſcope. The captain underſtood but little of her
he could gather from her arguments was, that it was mean in him to inſiſt
of ſo trifling a thing. But when ſhe found he was determined, ſhe and
more women went away; and ſoon after the adze was brought to him, b
no more. This he was ſorry for, as he wiſhed to make her a preſent, in
part ſhe had taken in all their tranſactions, private as well as public; for
returned from the pond, the firſt time he landed, than this old lady preſe
girl, giving him to underſtand ſhe was at his ſervice. Miſs, who probably
her inſtructions, waited, as a preliminary article, a ſpike-nail, or a ſhir
which he had to give her, and ſoon made them ſenſible of his poverty. He
that means, to have come off with flying colours; but he was miſtake
gave him to underſtand he might retire with her on credit. On declinin
poſal, the old lady began to argue with him, and then abuſe him. Thou
prehended little of what ſhe ſaid, her actions were expreſſive enough, and
her words were to this effect, ſneering in his face, ſaying, what ſort of a m
thus to refuſe the embraces of ſo fine a young woman? For the girl certai
vant beauty.

As ſoon as the ſurgeon got aſhore, he dreſſed the man's wounds, and bled
as of opinion that he was in no ſort of danger, as the ſhot had done
can penetrate the ſkin.

On the 28th they prepared every thing in readineſs to ſail.

On the 30th they ſaw the ſummit of Amattafoa, but not clear enough to
with certainty whether there was a volcano or no; but every thing they
concurred to make them believe there was.

Anamocka, or Rotterdam, the iſland they had juſt left, was firſt diſco
Aſman, and by him named Rotterdam. It is of a triangular form, each ſid
three and a half or four miles. Round it lie ſcattered a number of ſmall iſl
banks, and breakers. They could ſee no end to their extent to the north;
not impoſſible that they reach as far ſouth as Amſterdam, or Tongatabu.
together with Middleburg or Eaoowee, and Pylſtaart, make a group, containi
three degrees of latitude and two of longitude, which Captain Cook
the Friendly Iſles or Archipelago, as a firm alliance and friendſhip ſeem t

itants, and their courteous behaviour to ſtrangers intitles them to that

ts, productions, &c. of Rotterdam, and the neighbouring iſles, are
mſterdam. There is, however, far more waſte-land on this iſle, in
fize, than upon the other, and the people ſeem to be much poorer;
matting, ornaments, &c. which conſtitute a great part of the riches of
landers.

t diſtinguiſh any king, or leading chief, or any perſon who took upon
ance of ſupreme authority.

n intended to get to the ſouth, in order to explore the land which might
continued to ply between the iſle of Lepers and Aurora; and on the
he laſt mentioned iſle bore South, diſtant twenty miles.

k on the 21ſt, they found themſelves before the channel that divides
land from the South Land, which is above two leagues over. Having
d boats to ſound, and look for anchorage, on their making the ſignal for
failed in, and anchored in eleven fathoms water.

ing early a good many of the natives came round them, ſome in canoes,
imming. The captain ſoon prevailed on one to come on board; which
did, than he was followed by more than he deſired; ſo that not only the
gging, was preſently filled with them. He took four into the cabin and
rious articles, which they ſhewed to thoſe in the canoes, and ſeemed
l with their reception. While he was thus making friends with thoſe in
n accident happened that threw all into confuſion, but in the end proved
. A fellow in a canoe having been refuſed admittance into one of the
y along-ſide, bent his bow to ſhoot a poiſoned arrow at the boat-keeper.
countrymen prevented his doing it that inſtant, and gave time to acquaint
with it. He ran inſtantly on deck, and ſaw another man ſtruggling with
f thoſe who had been in the cabin, and had leaped out of the window for
. The other ſeemed reſolved, ſhook him off, and directed his bow again
keeper; but, on the captain calling to him, pointed it at him. Having a
his hand loaded with ſmall ſhot, he gave him the contents. This ſtaggered
moment, but did not prevent him from holding his bow ſtill in the attitude
. Another diſcharge of the ſame nature made him drop it, and the others,
in the canoe, to paddle off with all ſpeed. At this time, ſome began
rows on the other ſide. A muſquet diſcharged in the air had no effect;
-pound ſhot over their heads, ſent them off in the utmoſt confuſion. Many
eir canoes and ſwam on ſhore: thoſe in the great cabin leaped out of the
and thoſe who were on the deck, and on different parts of the rigging, all
erboard. After this they took no further notice of them, but ſuffered them
off and pick up their canoes; and ſome even ventured again alongſide the ſhip.
people ſet no value on nails, or any ſort of tools; nor indeed on any
y had. They would now and then exchange a bow or arrow for a piece of cloth;
ſeldom would part with a bow.

unwilling to loſe the benefit of the moon-light nights, which now happened,
A. M. on the 23d of July, they weighed, and proceeded out of the harbour.
n the natives ſaw them under ſail, they came off in their canoes, making ex-
with more confidence than before, and giving ſuch extraordinary proofs of
neſty as ſurprized them. As the ſhip, at firſt, had ſcarce way through the water,

ſeveral

ſeveral of them dropped aſtern after they had received goods, and before time to deliver theirs in return. Inſtead of taking advantage of this, th utmoſt efforts to get up with them, and to deliver what they had al for. One man, in particular, followed them a conſiderable time, and them till it was calm, and the thing was forgotten. As ſoon as he c he held up the thing which ſeveral were ready to buy; but he refuſed till he ſaw the perſon to whom he had before ſold it, and to him he gav ſon, not knowing him again, offered him ſomething in return; which h ſhewed him what he had given him before. Pieces of cloth, and marb in moſt eſteem with them; but edge-tools, nails, and beads they ſeemed

By this time they might be ſatisfied they meant them no harm; ſo made a longer ſtay they might ſoon have been upon good terms with nation. For, in general, they were the moſt ugly, ill-proportioned pe ſaw, and in every reſpect different from any they had met with in this ſe a very dark-coloured and rather diminutive race, with long heads, f monkey countenances. Their hair moſtly black or brown, is ſhort an not quite ſo ſoft and woolly as that of a negroe. Their beards are very and buſhy, and generally black and ſhort. But what moſt adds to their a belt or cord which they wear round the waiſt, and tie ſo tight over th the ſhape of their bodies is not unlike that of an over-grown piſmire. quite naked, except a piece of cloth or leaf uſed as a wrappe

They ſaw but few women, and they were not leſs ugly than the men; faces, and ſhoulders are painted red; they wear a kind of petticoat; them had ſomething over their ſhoulders like a bag, in which they carry th None of them came off to the ſhip, and they generally kept at a diſtanc ſhip's people were on ſhore. Their ornaments are ear-rings made of t and bracelets. A curious one of the latter, four or five inches broad, w thread or cord, and ſtudded with ſhells, is worn by them juſt above the elb the right wriſt they wear hogs tuſks, bent circular, and rings made of round their left a round piece of wood, which they judged was to ward o ſtring. The bridge of the noſe is pierced, in which they wear a piece of w about an inch and a half long, formed like a bow. As ſigns of friendſhip ſent a green branch, and ſprinkle water with the hand over the head.

Their weapons are clubs, ſpears, and bows and arrows. The two former of hard or iron-wood. Their bows are about four feet long, made of a down the middle, and are not circular, but bent more at one end than the oth arrows, which are a ſort of reeds, are ſometimes armed with a long ſharp point hard wood, and ſometimes with a very hard point made of bone; and theſe all covered with a ſubſtance which they took for poiſon. Indeed the people th confirmed their ſuſpicions by making ſigns to them not to touch the point, a them to underſtand, that if they were pricked by them they would die. very careful of them, and keep them always wrapped up in a quiver. Some arrows are armed with two or three points, each with ſmall prickles on the e prevent the arrows being drawn out of the wound.

The people of Mallicolo ſeemed to be a quite different nation from any they had y met with, and ſpeak a different language. Of about eighty words, which Mr. Forſter collected, hardly one bears any affinity to the language ſpoken at any other iſland or place they had ever been at. The letter R is uſed in many of their words; and frequently two or three being joined together, ſuch words were found difficult to pronounce.

The captain obſerved that they could pronounce moſt of the Engliſh words
ſe. They expreſs their admiration by hiſſing like a gooſe.
the country by the little they ſaw of it, it muſt be fertile; but their
good as thoſe of the Society or Friendly Iſles. They left them a dog
nd there is no doubt they will be taken care of, as they were very fond

ad got to ſea, they tried what effect one of the poiſoned arrows would
g. Indeed they had tried it in the harbour the very firſt night, but
he operation had been too ſlight, as it had no effect. The ſurgeon now
ncifion in the dog's thigh, into which he laid a large portion of the poi-
was ſcraped from the arrows, and then bound up the wound with a
r ſeveral days after they thought the dog was not ſo well as he had been
whether this was really ſo, or only ſuggeſted by imagination, is uncertain.
wards as if nothing had been done to him, and lived to be brought home
However, there is no doubt of this ſtuff being of a poiſonous quality,
ſwer no other purpoſe. The people ſeemed not unacquainted with the
ſon; for when they brought them water on ſhore, they firſt taſted it, and
em to underſtand they might with ſafety drink it.
bour, which is ſituated on the north-eaſt ſide of Mallicollo, the captain
Sandwich; and it is ſo ſheltered that no winds can diſturb a ſhip at anchor
ther great advantage is, you can lie ſo near the ſhore, as to cover your
may be at work upon it.
r they got to ſea, they ſtood over for Ambrym. On the 24th they reached
ar Apee, about four leagues in circuit; it is remarkable by having three
d hills upon it, by which it has obtained that name. They now ſteered to
nd having weathered Threehills, ſtood for a groupe of ſmall iſles which lie
th-eaſt point of Apee. Theſe were called Shepherd's Iſles, in honour of
rd, Plumian Profeſſor of Aſtronomy at Cambridge.
ht before they came out of Port Sandwich, two red liſh fiſh, about the ſize
bream, and not unlike them, were caught with hook and line. On theſe
f the officers, and ſome of the petty-officers, dined the next day. The
wing, every one who had eaten of them was ſeized with violent pains in
and bones, attended with a ſcorching heat all over the ſkin, and numbneſs
nts. There remained no doubt that this was occaſioned by the fiſh being of
us nature, and having communicated its bad effects to all who partook of
even to the hogs and dogs. One of the former died about ſixteen hours
was not long before one of the latter ſhared the ſame fate; and it was a week
ys before all the gentlemen recovered. Theſe muſt have been the ſame ſort
entioned by Quiros, under the name of Pargos, which poiſoned the crews
ips, ſo that it was ſome time before they recovered; and they would doubtleſs
n in the ſame ſituation, had more of them been caught.
uing their courſe to the ſouth, at five P. M. drew near the ſouthern lands,
ey found to conſiſt of one large iſland, whoſe ſouth and weſtern extremities
nded beyond their ſight, and three or four ſmaller ones lying off its north ſide.
The two northernmoſt are much the largeſt, have a good height, and lie in the
direction of eaſt-by-ſouth, and weſt-by-north from each other, diſtant two leagues.
They named the one Montague, and the other Hinchinbrook, and the large iſland
Sandwich.

As

As they paſſed Hinchinbrook Iſle, ſeveral people came down to the ſea-ſide, and by ſigns ſeemed to invite them aſhore. Some were alſo ſeen on Sandwich Iſland, which exhibited a moſt delightful proſpect, being ſpotted with woods and lawns, agreeably diverſified over the whole ſurface. It hath a gentle ſlope from the hills, which are of a moderate height, down to the ſea-coaſt. This is low, and guarded by a chain of breakers, ſo that there is no approaching it at this part.

On the 3d of Auguſt, they found themſelves abreaſt a lofty promontory; and on the 4th, at day-break, the captain went with two boats to examine the coaſt, to look for a proper landing-place, wood and water. At this time the natives began to aſſemble on the ſhore, and by ſigns invited them to land. The captain went firſt to a ſmall beach, which is towards the head, where he found no good landing. Some of the natives who were there, offered to haul the boats over the breakers to the ſandy beach, which was thought a friendly offer, but they had reaſon afterwards to alter their opinion. When they found they would not do as they deſired, they made ſigns for them to go down into a bay, which they accordingly did, and they ran along ſhore abreaſt of them, their number increaſingly prodigiouſly. They put in to the ſhore in two or three places, but not liking the ſituation, did not land. By this time the natives conceived what they wanted, as they directed the boat round a rocky point, where, on a fine ſandy beach, the captain ſtepped out of the boat without wetting a foot, in the face of a vaſt multitude, with only a green branch in his hand. He took but one man out of the boat with him, and ordered the other boat to lie-to a little diſtance off. They received him with great courteſy and politeneſs; and would retire back from the boat on his making the leaſt motion with his hand. A man, whom he took to be a chief, ſeeing this, made them form a ſemicircle round the boat's bow, and beat ſuch as attempted to break through this order. This man he loaded with preſents, giving likewiſe to others, and aſked by ſigns for freſh water, in hopes of ſeeing where they got it. The chief immediately ſent a man for ſome, who ran to a houſe, and preſently returned with a little in a bamboo; ſo that he gained but little information by this. He next aſked, by the ſame means, for ſomething to eat; and they as readily brought him a yam and ſome cocoa-nuts. In ſhort, he was charmed with their behaviour; and the only thing which could give the leaſt ſuſpicion was, that moſt of them were armed with clubs, ſpears, darts, bows, and arrows. For this reaſon the captain kept his eye continually upon the chief, and watched his looks as well as his actions. He made many ſigns to haul the boat upon the ſhore, and at laſt ſlipped into the crowd, where he obſerved him ſpeak to ſeveral people, and then return, repeating ſigns to haul the boat up, and heſitating a good deal before he would receive ſome ſpike-nails which were then offered him. This made him ſuſpect ſomething was intended, and immediately he ſtepped into the boat, telling them by ſigns that he ſhould ſoon return. But they were not for parting ſo ſoon, and now attempted by force, what they could not obtain by gentler means. The gang-board happened unluckily to be laid out for the captain to come into the boat. Unluckily, for if it had not been out, and if the crew had been a little quicker in getting the boat off, the natives might not have had time to put their deſign in execution, nor would the following diſagreeable ſcene have happened. As they were putting off the boat, they laid hold of the gang-board, and unhooked it off the boat's ſtern; but as they did not take it away, it was thought this had been done by accident, and he ordered the boat in again to take it up. Then the natives hooked it over the boat's ſtern, and attempted to haul her aſhore; others, at the ſame time, ſnatched the oars out of the people's hands. On pointing a muſket at them, they in ſome meaſure deſiſted, but returned in an inſtant, ſeemingly determined

mined to haul the boat aſhore. At the head of this party was the chief; the others, who could not come at the boat, ſtood behind with darts, ſtones, and bows and arrows in hand, ready to ſupport them. Signs and threats having no effect, their own ſafety became the only conſideration; and yet the captain was unwilling to fire on the multitude, and reſolved to make the chief alone fall a victim to his own treachery; but his muſquet at this critical moment miſſed fire. Whatever idea they might have formed of their arms, the natives muſt now have looked upon them as childiſh weapons, and began to let them ſee how much better theirs were, by throwing ſtones and darts, and by ſhooting arrows. This made it abſolutely neceſſary to give orders to fire. The firſt diſcharge threw them into confuſion; but a ſecond was hardly ſufficient to drive them off the beach; and after all, they continued to throw ſtones from behind the trees and buſhes, and every now and then to pop out and throw a dart. Four lay to all appearance dead on the ſhore; but two of them afterwards crawled into the buſhes. Happy it was for theſe people, that not half their muſquets would go off, otherwiſe many more muſt have fallen. One ſailor was wounded in the cheek with a dart, the point of which was as thick as a little finger, and yet it entered above two inches; which ſhews that it muſt have come with great force, though indeed they were very near them. An arrow ſtruck Mr. Gilbert's naked breaſt, who was above thirty yards off; but probably it had ſtruck ſomething before; for it hardly penetrated the ſkin. The arrows were pointed with hard wood.

As ſoon as they got on board, the captain ordered the anchor to be weighed. While this was doing, ſeveral people appeared on the low rocky point, diſplaying two oars they had loſt in the ſcuffle. This was ſuppoſed a ſign of ſubmiſſion, and of their wanting to give them the oars. He, nevertheleſs, fired a four-pound ſhot at them, to let them ſee the effect of their great guns. The ball fell ſhort, but frightened them ſo much, that none were ſeen afterwards; and they left the oars ſtanding up againſt the buſhes. They now ſtood out to ſea.

Theſe iſlanders ſeemed to be a different race from thoſe of Mallicollo, and ſpoke a different language. They are of the middle ſize, have a good ſhape, and tolerable features. Their colour is very dark, and they paint their faces, ſome with black, and others with red pigment. Their hair is very curly and criſp, and ſomewhat woolly. They ſaw a few women, and thought them ugly; they wore a kind of petticoat made of palm leaves, or ſome plant like it. But the men, like thoſe of Mallicollo, were in a manner naked; having only the belt about the waiſt, and the piece of cloth, or leaf, uſed as a wrapper. They ſaw no canoes with theſe people, nor were any ſeen in any part of this iſland. They live in houſes covered with thatch, and their plantations are laid out by line, and fenced round.

In the night of the 5th of Auguſt they ſaw a light, which was occaſioned by a volcano, which they obſerved to throw up vaſt quantities of fire and ſmoke, with a rumbling noiſe heard at a great diſtance. They now made ſail for the iſland when ce it appeared, and preſently after diſcovered a ſmall inlet which had the appearance of being a good harbour. The wind left them as ſoon as they were within the entrance, and obliged them to drop an anchor in four fathoms water. After this, the boats were ſent to ſound.

Many of the natives now got together in parties, on ſeveral parts of the ſhore, all armed with bows, ſpears, &c. Some ſwam off to them, others came in canoes. At firſt they were ſhy, and kept at the diſtance of a ſtone's throw; they grew inſenſibly bolder, and at laſt came under their ſtern, and made ſome exchanges. The people in one of the firſt canoes, after coming as near as they durſt, threw towards them ſome cocoa-

cocoa-nuts. The captain went into a boat and picked them up, giving them in return ſome cloth and other articles. This induced others to come under the ſtern and alongſide, where their behaviour was inſolent and daring. They wanted to carry off every thing within their reach; they got hold of the fly of the enſign, and would have torn it from the ſtaff; others attempted to knock the rings off the rudder; but the greateſt trouble they gave them was to look after the buoys of their anchors, which were no ſooner thrown out of the boats, or let go from the ſhip, than they got hold of them. A few muſquets fired in the air had no effect; but a four-pounder frightened them ſo much, that they quitted their canoes that inſtant, and took to the water. But as ſoon as they found themſelves unhurt, they got again into their canoes, gave them ſome halloos, flouriſhed their weapons, and returned once more to the buoys. This put them to the expence of a few muſquetoon ball, which had the deſired effect. Although none were ſhot, they were afterwards afraid to come near the buoys; very ſoon all retired on ſhore, and they were permitted to ſit down to dinner undiſturbed.

Towards the evening, after the ſhip was moored, the captain landed at the head of the harbour, in the ſouth-eaſt corner, with a ſtrong party of men, without any oppoſition being made by a great number of the natives who were aſſembled in two parties, the one on the right, the other on the left, armed with clubs, darts, ſpears, ſlings and ſtones, bows and arrows, &c. After diſtributing to the old people (for they could diſtinguiſh no chief), and ſome others, preſents of cloth, medals, &c. he ordered two caſks to be filled with water out of a pond, about twenty paces behind the landing-place, giving the natives to underſtand that this was one of the articles they wanted. Beſides water, they got from them a few cocoa-nuts, which ſeemed to be in plenty on the trees; but they could not be prevailed upon to part with any of their weapons. Theſe they held in conſtant readineſs, and in the proper attitudes of offence and defence, ſo that little was wanting to make them attack them; at leaſt they thought ſo, by their preſſing ſo much upon them, and in ſpite of their endeavours to keep them off. Their early re-embarking probably diſconcerted their ſcheme, and after that they all retired.

As they wanted to take in a large quantity both of wood and water, and as when he was on ſhore he had found it practicable to lay the *ſhip much nearer the landing*-place than ſhe now was, which would greatly facilitate that work, as well as over-awe the natives, and enable them better to cover and protect the working party on ſhore; with this view, on the 6th, they endeavoured to tranſport the ſhip to the place the captain deſigned to moor her in. While they were about this, they obſerved the natives aſſembling from all parts, and forming themſelves into two parties, as they did the preceding evening, one on each ſide the landing-place, to the amount of ſome thouſands, armed as before. A canoe, ſometimes conducted by one, and at other times by two or three men, now and then came off, bringing a few cocoa-nuts or plantains. The captain made an old man, who ſeemed well-diſpoſed, underſtand, by ſigns, that they were to lay aſide their weapons, took thoſe which were in the canoe and threw them overboard, and made him a preſent of a large piece of cloth. There was no doubt that he underſtood him, and made his requeſt known to his countrymen; for as ſoon as he landed, they obſerved him go firſt to the one party, and then to the other; nor was he ever after ſeen with any thing like a weapon in his hand. After this, three fellows came in a canoe under the ſtern, one of them brandiſhing a club, with which he ſtruck the ſhip's ſide, and committed other acts of defiance, but at laſt offered to exchange it for a ſtring of beads, and ſome other trifles. Theſe were ſent down

down to him by a line; but the moment they were in his poſſeſſion, he and his companions paddled off in all haſte, without giving the club or any thing elſe in return. This was what the captain expected, and indeed what he was not ſorry for, as he wanted an opportunity to ſhew the multitude on ſhore the effect of their fire-arms without materially hurting any of them. Having a fowling-piece loaded with ſmall ſhot (No. 3.) he gave the fellow the contents; and when they were above muquet-ſhot off, he ordered ſome of the muſquetoons, or wall-pieces, to be fired, which made them leap out of the canoe, keep under her off-ſide, and ſwim with her aſhore. This tranſaction ſeemed to make little or no impreſſion on the people there; on the contrary, they began to halloo, and to make ſport of it.

After mooring the ſhip, by four anchors, with her broadſide to the landing-place, hardly muſquet-ſhot off, and placing the artillery in ſuch a manner as to command the whole harbour, he embarked with the marines, and a party of ſeamen, in three boats, and rowed in for the ſhore. It hath been already mentioned, that the two diviſions of the natives were drawn up on each ſide the landing-place. They had left a ſpace between them of about thirty or forty yards, in which were laid, to the moſt advantage, a few ſmall bunches of plantains, a yam, and two or three roots. Between theſe and the water were ſtuck upright in the ſand, for what purpoſe they never could learn, four ſmall reeds, about two feet from each other, in a line at right angles to the ſhore, where they remained for two or three days after. The old man before mentioned, and two more, ſtood by theſe things, inviting them by ſigns to land; but the former trap was ſtill in their memory, which they were ſo near being caught in at the laſt iſland; and this looked ſomething like it. In ſhort, every thing conſpired to make them believe they meant to attack them as ſoon as they ſhould be on ſhore; the conſequence of which was eaſily ſuppoſed: many of them muſt have been killed and wounded, and they ſhould hardly have eſcaped unhurt; two things the captain equally wiſhed to prevent. He ordered a muſquet to be fired over the party on the right, which was by far the ſtrongeſt body; but the alarm it gave them was momentary. In an inſtant they recovered themſelves, and began to diſplay their weapons. One fellow ſhewed them his backſide, in a manner which plainly conveyed his meaning. After this, he ordered three or four more muſquets to be fired. This was the ſignal for the ſhip to fire a few great guns, which preſently diſperſed them; and then they landed, and marked out the limits, on the right and left, by a line. The old man before mentioned ſtood his ground, though deſerted by his two companions, and the captain rewarded him. The natives came gradually to them, ſeemingly in a more friendly manner; ſome even without their weapons, but by far the greateſt part brought them; and when they made ſigns to lay them down, they gave the Engliſh to underſtand that they muſt lay down theirs firſt: thus all parties ſtood armed. They indeed climbed the cocoa-nut trees, and threw down the nuts without requiring any thing for them; but the captain took care that they ſhould always have ſomething in return. He obſerved that many were afraid to touch what belonged to them; and they ſeemed to have no notion of exchanging one thing for another. The captain took the old man (whoſe name was now found to be Paowang) to the woods, and made him underſtand he wanted to cut down ſome trees to take on board the ſhip; cutting down ſome at the ſame time, which they put into one of the boats, together with a few ſmall caſks of water, with a view of letting the people ſee what it was they chiefly wanted. Paowang very readily gave his conſent to cut wood; nor was there any one who made the leaſt objection. Having landed again, they loaded the launch with water, and after making three hauls with the ſeine, caught upwards of three

hundred

hundred pounds of mullet and other fiſh. It was ſome time before any of the natives appeared, and not above twenty or thirty at laſt, amongſt whom was their truſty friend Paowang, who made them a preſent of a ſmall pig, which was the only one they got at this iſle, or that was offered them.

During the night, the volcano, which was about four miles to the weſt, vomited up vaſt quantities of fire and ſmoke, as it had alſo done the night before; and the flames were ſeen to riſe above the hill which lay between them and it. At every eruption, it made a long rumbling noiſe like that of thunder, or the blowing up of large mines. A heavy ſhower of rain, which fell at this time, ſeemed to increaſe it; and the wind blowing from the ſame quarter, the air was loaded with its aſhes, which fell ſo thick that every thing was covered with the duſt. It was a kind of fine ſand, or ſtone, ground or burnt to powder, and was exceedingly troubleſome to the eyes.

Early in the morning of the 7th, the natives began again to aſſemble near the watering-place, armed as uſual, but not in ſuch numbers as at firſt. After breakfaſt they landed, in order to cut wood and fill water. They found many of the iſlanders much inclined to be friends, eſpecially the old people; on the other hand, moſt of the younger were daring and inſolent, and obliged them to keep to their arms. The captain ſtaid till he ſaw no diſturbance was like to happen, and then returned to the ſhip, leaving the party under the command of Lieutenants Clerke and Edgcumbe. When they came on board to dinner, they informed him, that the people continued to behave in the ſame inconſiſtent manner as in the morning; but more eſpecially one man, whom Mr. Edgecumbe was obliged to fire at, and believed he had ſtruck with a ſwan-ſhot. After that the others behaved with more diſcretion.

On the 9th Mr. Forſter learnt from the people the proper name of the iſland, which they call Tanna. They gave them to underſtand, in a manner which they thought admitted of no doubt, that they eat human fleſh, and that circumciſion was practiſed among them. They began the ſubject of eating of human fleſh, of their own accord, by aſking them if they did. One of the men employed in taking in ballaſt ſcalded his fingers in removing a ſtone out of ſome water. This circumſtance produced the diſcovery of ſeveral hot ſprings, at the foot of the cliff, and rather below high-water mark.

During the night of the 10th, alſo all the 11th, the volcano was exceedingly troubleſome, and made a terrible noiſe, throwing up prodigious columns of fire and ſmoke at each exploſion, which happened every three or four minutes; and, at one time, great ſtones were ſeen high in the air. Mr. Forſter and his party went up the hill on the weſt ſide of the harbour, where he found three places whence ſmoke of a ſulphureous ſmell iſſued through cracks or fiſſures in the earth. The ground about theſe was exceedingly hot, and parched or burnt, and they ſeemed to keep pace with the volcano; for, at every exploſion of the latter, the quantity of ſmoke or ſteam in theſe was greatly increaſed, and forced out ſo as to riſe in ſmall columns, which they ſaw from the ſhip, and had taken for common fires made by the natives. At the foot of this hill are the hot ſprings before mentioned.

In the afternoon Mr. Forſter having began his botanical reſearches on the other ſide of the harbour, fell in with Paowang's houſe, where he ſaw moſt of the articles the captain had given him, hanging on the adjoining trees and buſhes, as if they were not worthy of being under his roof.

Several other parts of the hill emitted ſmoke or ſteam all the day, and the volcano was uſually furious, inſomuch that the air was loaded with its aſhes. The rain which

fell at this time was a compound of water, ſand, and earth; ſo that it properly might be called ſhowers of mire. Whichever way the wind was, they were annoyed by the aſhes, unleſs it blew very ſtrong indeed from the oppoſite direction. Notwithſtanding the natives ſeemed well enough ſatisfied with the few expeditions they had made in the neighbourhood, they were unwilling they ſhould extend them farther. As a proof of this, ſome undertook to guide the gentlemen when they were in the country, to a place where they might ſee the mouth of the volcano. They very readily embraced the offer; and were conducted down to the harbour before they perceived the cheat.

The 13th, wind at north-eaſt, gloomy weather. The only thing worthy of note this day, was, that Paowang being at dinner with them on board, they took the opportunity to ſhew him ſeveral parts of the ſhip, and various articles, in hopes of finding out ſomething which he might value, and be induced to take in exchange for refreſhments; for what they had got of this kind was trifling. But he looked on every thing that was ſhewn him with the utmoſt indifference; nor did he take notice of any thing except a wooden ſand-box, which he ſeemed to admire, and turned two or three times over in his hand.

Next morning after breakfaſt, a party of them ſet out for the country, to try if they could not get a nearer and better view of the volcano. The place affected by the heat was not above eight or ten yards ſquare; and near it were ſome fig-trees, which ſpread their branches over a part of it, and ſeemed to like their ſituation. It was thought that this extraordinary heat was cauſed by the ſteam of boiling water ſtrongly impregnated with ſulphur. They proceeded up the hill through a country ſo covered with trees, ſhrubs, and plants, that the bread-fruit and cocoa-nut trees, which ſeem to have been planted here by nature, were in a manner choaked up. Here and there they met with a houſe, ſome few people, and plantations. Theſe latter they found in different ſtates; ſome of long ſtanding; others lately cleared; and ſome only clearing, and before any thing had been planted.—Happening to turn out of the common path, they came into a plantation where they found a man at work, who, either out of good nature, or to get them the ſooner out of his territories, undertook to be their guide. They followed him accordingly; but had not gone far before they came to the junction of two roads, in one of which ſtood another man with a ſling and a ſtone, which he thought proper to lay down when a muſquet was pointed at him. The attitude in which they found him, the ferocity appearing in his looks, and his behaviour after, convinced them that he meant to defend the path he ſtood in. He, in ſome meaſure, gained his point; for the guide took the other road, and they followed, but not without ſuſpecting he was leading them out of the common way. The other man went with them likewiſe, counting them ſeveral times over, and hallooing, as they judged, for aſſiſtance; for they were preſently joined by two or three more, among whom was a young woman with a club in her hand. By theſe people they were conducted to the brow of a hill, and ſhewn a road leading down to the harbour, which they wanted them to take. Not chooſing to comply, they returned to that they had left, which they purſued alone, their guide refuſing to go with them. After aſcending another ridge, as thickly covered with wood as thoſe they had come over, they ſaw yet other hills between them and the volcano, which ſeemed as far off as at their firſt ſetting out. This diſcouraged them from proceeding farther, eſpecially as they could get no one to be their guide. They therefore came to a reſolution to return; and had but juſt put this in execution when they met between twenty and thirty people, whom

whom the fellow before mentioned had collected together, with a design, no doubt, to oppose their advancing into the country.

Before this excursion some were of opinion, that these people were addicted to an unnatural passion, because they had endeavoured to entice some of the men into the woods; and in particular, one who had the care of Mr. Forster's plant bag, had been once or twice attempted. As the carrying of bundles, &c. is the office of the women in this country, it had occurred to the captain, and he was not singular in this, that the natives might mistake him, and some others, for women. This conjecture was fully verified this day. For, this man, who was one of the party, and carried the bag as usual, following the captain down the hill, by the words which he understood of the conversation of the natives, and by their actions, he was well assured that they considered him as a female; till, by some means, they discovered their mistake, on which they cried out Erramange! Erramange!' Tis a man!' tis a man! The thing was so palpable that every one was obliged to acknowledge that they had before mistaken his sex; and that, after they were undeceived, they seemed not to have the least notion of what they had suspected. This circumstance will shew how common it is to form wrong conjectures of things, among people whose language is not understood. Had it not been for this discovery, no doubt these people would have been charged with this vile custom.

In the evening Captain Cook took a walk with some of the gentlemen, into the country on the other side of the harbour, where they had very different treatment from what they had met with in the morning. The people they now visited, among whom was their friend Paowang, being better acquainted with them, shewed a readiness to oblige them in every thing in their power. They came to a village; it consisted of about twenty houses, the most of which need no other description than comparing them to the roof of a thatched house in England, taken off the walls and placed on the ground.—Some were open at both ends; others partly closed with reeds; and all were covered with palm thatch. A few of them were thirty or forty feet long, and fourteen or sixteen broad. This part of the island was well cultivated, open, and airy; the plantations were laid out by line, abounding with plaintains, sugar-canes, yams, and other roots, and stocked with fruit-trees.

On the 15th, having finished wooding and watering, a few hands only were on shore making brooms, the rest being employed on board, setting up the rigging, and putting the ship in a condition for sea. Mr. Forster, in his botanical excursions, shot a pigeon, in the craw of which was a wild nutmeg. He took some pains to find the tree, but his endeavours were without success.

On the 17th, the captain went ashore to pay a visit to an old chief, who was said to be King of the island.—Paowang took little or no notice of him; the captain made him a present, after which he immediately went away, as if he had got all he came for. His name was Geogy, and they gave him the title of Areeke. He was very old, but had a merry open countenance. He wore round his waist a broad red and white chequered belt, the materials and manufacture of which seemed the same as that of Otaheite cloth; but this was hardly a mark of distinction.

On the 17th, about ten o'clock, the captain went ashore, and found in the crowd old Geogy and a son of his, who soon made him understand that they wanted to dine with him; and accordingly he brought them, and two more on board. They all called them Areekés (or Kings); but it is doubtful if any of them had the least pretensions to that title over the whole island.

When he got them on board, he went with them all over the ſhip, which they viewed with uncommon ſurprize and attention. They happened to have for their entertainment a kind of pie or pudding made of plantains, and ſome ſort of greens which they had got from one of the natives. On this, and on yams, they made a hearty dinner; for, as to the ſalt beef and pork, they would hardly taſte them. In the afternoon, having made each of them a preſent of a hatchet, a ſpike-nail, and ſome medals, they were conducted on ſhore.

On the 15th, having nothing elſe to do, the captain went on ſhore with ſome wood-cutters, and finding a good number of the natives collected about the landing-place as uſual, he diſtributed among them all the articles he had with him, and then went on board for more. In leſs than an hour he returned, juſt as the people were getting ſome large logs into the boat. At the ſame time four or five of the natives ſtepped forward to ſee what they were about, and as they did not allow them to come within certain limits, unleſs to paſs along the beach, the ſentry ordered them back, which they readily complied with.—At this time Captain Cook having his eyes fixed on them, he obſerved the ſentry preſent his piece (as he thought at theſe men) and was juſt going to reprove him for it, becauſe he had obſerved that, whenever this was done, ſome of the natives would hold up their arms, to let them ſee they were equally ready. But he was aſtoniſhed beyond meaſure when the ſentry fired, for he ſaw not the leaſt cauſe. At this outrage moſt of the people fled; it was only a few he could prevail on to remain. As they ran off, he obſerved one man to fall; and he was immediately lifted up by two others, who took him into the water, waſhed his wound, and then led him off. Preſently after, ſome came and deſcribed to the captain the nature of his wound; and he ſent for the ſurgeon. As ſoon as he arrived, the captain went with him to the man, whom they found expiring. The ball had ſtruck his left arm, which was much ſhattered, and then entered his body by the ſhort ribs, one of which was broken. The raſcal who fired, pretended that a man had laid an arrow across his bow, and was going to ſhoot at him, ſo that he apprehended himſelf in danger. But this was no more than they had always done, and with no other view than to ſhew they were armed as well as they; at leaſt there was reaſon to think ſo, as they never went farther. What made this incident the more unfortunate was, it not appearing to be the man who bent the bow that was ſhot, but one who ſtood by him. This affair threw the natives into the utmoſt conſternation; and the few that were prevailed on to ſtay, ran to the plantations and brought cocoa-nuts, &c. which they laid down at their feet. So ſoon were theſe daring people humbled! When the captain went on board to dinner they all retired, and only a few appeared in the afternoon, among whom was Paowang. He promiſed to bring fruit, &c. the next morning, but their early departure put it out of his power.

On the 20th of Auguſt they put to ſea. Theſe people had not the leaſt knowledge of iron; conſequently, nails and iron tools, beads, &c. which had ſo great a run at the more eaſtern iſles, were of no conſideration here; and cloth can be of no uſe to people who go naked.

In this iſland hogs did not ſeem to be ſcarce; but they ſaw not many fowls. Theſe are the only domeſtic animals they have. Land birds are not more numerous than at Otaheite, and the other iſlands; but they met with ſome ſmall birds, with a very beautiful plumage, which they had never ſeen before. There is as great a variety of trees and plants here as at any iſland they touched at, where their botaniſts had time to examine. The captain never ſaw any ſort of fiſhing-tackle amongſt them, nor any

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one out fiſhing, except on the ſhoals, or along the ſhores of the harbour, where they would watch to ſtrike with a dart ſuch fiſh as came within their reach; and in this way they were expert. They ſeemed much to admire the European manner of catching fiſh with the ſeine.

Theſe people are of the middle ſize, rather ſlender than otherwiſe; many are little, but few tall or ſtout; the moſt of them have good features, and agreeable countenances; they ſeem to excel in the uſe of arms, but not to be fond of labour. They never would put a hand to aſſiſt in any work they were carrying on, which the people of the other iſlands uſed to delight in. They make the females do the moſt laborious work, as if they were pack-horſes. A woman has been ſeen in this iſland, carrying a large bundle on her back, or a child on her back, and a bundle under her arm, and a fellow ſtrutting before her with nothing but a club or ſpear, or ſome ſuch thing.

The women are not beauties; but they are handſome enough for the men, and too handſome for the uſe that is made of them. Both ſexes are of a very dark colour, but not black; nor have they the leaſt characteriſtic of the negro about them. They make themſelves blacker than they really are, by painting their faces with a pigment of the colour of black lead. They alſo uſe another ſort which is red, and a third ſort brown, or a colour between red and black. All theſe, but eſpecially the firſt, they lay on, with a liberal hand, not only on the face, but on the neck, ſhoulders, and breaſt. The men wear nothing but a belt, and a wrapping leaf. The women have a kind of petticoat made of the filaments of the plantain tree, flags, or ſome ſuch thing, which reaches below the knee. Both ſexes wear ornaments, ſuch as bracelets, earrings, necklaces, and amulets. The bracelets are chiefly worn by the men; ſome made of ſea-ſhells, and others of thoſe of the cocoa-nut.

With darts they kill both birds and fiſh, and are ſure of hitting a mark within the compaſs of the crown of a hat, at the diſtance of eight or ten yards; but, at double that diſtance, it is chance if they hit a mark the ſize of a man's body, though they will throw the weapon ſixty or ſeventy yards. They always throw with all their might, let the diſtance be what it will. Darts, bows, and arrows are to them what muſquets are to Europeans.

Mr. Wales, ſpeaking of their dexterity, ſays, "I muſt confeſs I have been often led to think the feats which Homer repreſents his heroes as performing with their ſpears, a little too much of the marvellous to be admitted into an heroic poem; I mean when confined within the ſtrait ſtays of Ariſtotle. Nay, even ſo great an advocate for him as Mr. Pope, acknowledges them to be *ſurpriſing*. But ſince I have ſeen what theſe people can do with their wooden ſpears, and them badly pointed, and not of a very hard nature, I have not the leaſt exception to any one paſſage in that great poet on this account. But, if I ſee fewer exceptions, I can find infinitely more beauties in him; as he has, I think, ſcarce an action, circumſtance, or deſcription of any kind whatever, relating to a ſpear, which I have not ſeen and recogniſed amongſt theſe people; as their whirling motion, and whiſtling noiſe, as they fly; their quivering motion, as they ſtick in the ground when they fall; their meditating their aim, when they are going to throw; and their ſhaking them in their hand as they go along," &c. &c.

As ſoon as the boats were hoiſted in they made ſail, and ſtretched to the eaſtward, with a freſh gale at ſouth-eaſt. Nothing material occurred till September 4th, when looking ſouth-eaſt, the coaſt ſeemed to terminate in a high promontory which the captain named Cape Colnett, after one of his midſhipmen, who firſt diſcovered this land. After a few hours calm they got a breeze at ſouth-eaſt, and ſpent the night ſtanding off and on.

Some gaps or openings were ſeen on the 5th to lie all along the coaſt, whether they plied up the coaſt to the ſouth-eaſt or bore down to north-weſt. They choſe the latter; and after running two leagues down the outſide of the reef (for ſuch it proved) they came before an opening that had the appearance of a good channel. They wanted to get on ſhore to have an opportunity to obſerve an eclipſe of the ſun, which was ſoon to happen. With this view they brought-to, hoiſted out two armed boats, and ſent them to ſound the channel; ten or twelve large ſailing canoes being then near them. They had obſerved them coming off from the ſhore all the morning, from different parts; and ſome were lying on the reef, fiſhing, as they ſuppoſed. As ſoon as they all got together, they came down in a body, and were pretty near when they were hoiſting out their boats, which probably gave them ſome alarm; for, without ſtopping, they hauled in for the reef, and the ſhip's boat followed them.

The boats having made a ſignal for a channel, they ſtood in. Their ſounding was from fifteen to twelve fathoms, which ſhallowed gradually as they approached the ſhore, when they anchored in five fathoms.

They had hardly got to an anchor, before they were ſurrounded by a great number of the natives, in ſixteen or eighteen canoes, the moſt of whom were without any ſort of weapons. At firſt they were ſhy of coming near the ſhip; but in a ſhort time they prevailed on the people in one boat to get cloſe enough to receive ſome preſents. Theſe they lowered down to them by a rope, to which, in return, they tied two fiſh that ſtunk intolerably. Theſe mutual exchanges bringing on a kind of confidence, two ventured on board the ſhip; and preſently after, ſhe was filled with them, and they had the company of ſeveral at dinner in the cabin. Peaſe ſoup, ſalt beef, and pork, they had no curioſity to taſte; but they eat of ſome yams. Like all the nations they had lately ſeen, the men were almoſt naked. They were curious in examining every part of the ſhip, which they viewed with uncommon attention. They had not the leaſt knowledge of goats, hogs, dogs, or cats, and had not even a name for one of them. They ſeemed fond of large ſpike-nails, and pieces of red cloth, or indeed any other colour; but red was their favourite.

After dinner, the captain went on ſhore with two armed boats, having with them one of the natives who had attached himſelf to him. They landed on a ſandy beach before a vaſt number of people, who had got together with no other intent than to ſee them; for many of them had not a ſtick in their hands; conſequently they were received with great courteſy, and with the ſurpriſe natural for people to expreſs, at ſeeing men and things ſo new to them as they muſt be. The captain made preſents to all thoſe his new friend pointed out, who were either old men, or ſuch as ſeemed to be of ſome note; but he took not the leaſt notice of a few women who ſtood behind the crowd, keeping back the captain's hand when he was going to give them ſome beads and medals. Here they found a chief, whoſe name was Teabooma; and they had not been on ſhore above ten minutes, before he called for ſilence. Being inſtantly obeyed by every individual preſent, he made a ſhort ſpeech; and ſoon after another chief having called for ſilence, made a ſpeech alſo. It was pleaſing to ſee with what attention they were heard. Their ſpeeches were compoſed of ſhort ſentences; to each of which two or three old men anſwered by nodding their heads, and giving a kind of grunt, ſignificant of approbation. It was impoſſible for them to know the purport of theſe ſpeeches; but they had reaſon to think they were favourable to them, on whoſe account they doubtleſs were made. The natives conducted them, upon enquiring for water, about two miles round the coaſt, to a little ſtraggling village, near ſome mangroves; there they landed, and were ſhewn freſh water. The ground near this village

lage was finely cultivated, being laid out in plantations of ſugar-canes, plantains, yams, and other roots. They heard the crowing of cocks, but ſaw none. Some roots were baking on a fire, in an earthen jar, which would have held ſix or eight gallons; nor did they doubt its being their own manufacture. As they proceeded up the creek, Mr. Forſter having ſhot a duck flying over their heads, which was the firſt uſe theſe people ſaw made of fire-arms, the native, whom Captain Cook diſtinguiſhed by the name of his friend, begged to have it; and when he landed, told his countrymen in what manner it was killed. The day being far ſpent, and the tide not permitting them to ſtay longer in the creek, they took leave of the people, and got on board a little after ſun-ſet.

Next morning they were viſited by ſome hundreds of the natives; ſome coming in canoes, and others ſwimming off; ſo that before ten o'clock, their decks, and all other parts of the ſhip, were quite full. The captain's friend, who was of the number, brought him a few roots, but all the others came empty in reſpect to eatables. Some few had with them their arms, ſuch as clubs and darts, which they exchanged for nails, pieces of cloth, &c. Next day Mr. Wales, accompanied by Lieutenant Clerk, went to make preparations for obſerving the eclipſe of the ſun, which was to be in the afternoon.

In the evening, the captain went aſhore to the watering-place. Excellent wood for fuel was here, far more convenient to procure than water, but this was an article they did not want. About ſeven o'clock in the evening of September 6th, died Simon Monk, their butcher, a man much eſteemed in the ſhip; his death was occaſioned by a fall down the fore-hatch-way the preceding night.

This afternoon a fiſh being ſtruck by one of the natives near the watering-place, the captain's clerk purchaſed it, and ſent to him after his return on board. It was of a new ſpecies, ſomething like a ſun-fiſh, with a large, long, ugly head. Having no ſuſpicion of its being of a poiſonous nature, they ordered it to be dreſſed for ſupper; but, very luckily, the operation of drawing and deſcribing took up ſo much time, that it was too late, ſo that only the liver and roe was dreſſed, of which the two Mr. Forſters and the captain did but taſte. About three o'clock in the morning, they all found themſelves ſeized with an extraordinary weakneſs and numbneſs all over their limbs. The captain had almoſt loſt the ſenſe of feeling; nor could he diſtinguiſh between light and heavy bodies, of ſuch as he had ſtrength to move; a quart pot, full of water, and a feather, being the ſame in his hand. They each of them took an emetic, and after that a ſweat, which gave them much relief. In the morning, one of the pigs, which had eaten the entrails was found dead. When the natives came on board and ſaw the fiſh hang up, they immediately gave them to underſtand it was not wholeſome food, and expreſſed the utmoſt abhorrence of it; though no one was obſerved to do this when the fiſh was to be ſold, or even immediately after it was purchaſed.

On the 8th, the guard and a party of men were on ſhore as uſual. In the afternoon the captain received a meſſage from the officer, acquainting him that Teabooma the chief was come, with a preſent, conſiſting of a few yams and ſugar-canes. In return, he ſent him, amongſt other articles, a dog and a bitch, both young, but nearly full grown. The dog was red and white, but the bitch was all red, or the colour of an Engliſh fox. The captain ſays, he mentions this, becauſe they may prove the Adam and Eve of their ſpecies in that country. When the officer returned on board in the evening, he informed the captain that the chief came, attended by about twenty men, ſo that it looked like a viſit of ceremony. It was ſome time before he would believe the

the dog and bitch were intended for him; but as ſoon as he was convinced, he ſeemed loſs in an exceſs of joy, and ſent them away immediately.

Next morning early, the 9th, Lieutenant Pickerſgill and Mr. Gilbert were ſent with the launch and cutter to explore the coaſt to the weſt. The two Mr. Forſters and the captain were confined on board, though much better, a good ſweat having had an happy effect. In the afternoon, a man was ſeen, both aſhore and along ſide the ſhip, ſaid to be as white as an European. From the account obtained of this circumſtance, his whiteneſs did not proceed from hereditary deſcent, but from chance or ſome diſeaſe.

On the 10th, a party was ſent on ſhore as uſual, and Mr. Forſter was ſo well recovered as to go out botanizing.

In the evening of the 11th, the boats returned, when the captain was informed, the cutter was near being loſt, by ſuddenly filling with water, which obliged them to throw ſeveral things overboard, before they could free her and ſtop the leak ſhe had ſprung. From a fiſhing canoe, which they met coming in from the reefs, they got as much fiſh as they could eat; and they were received by Teabi, the chief of the iſle of Balabea, and the people, who came in numbers to ſee them, with great courteſy. In order not to be too much crowded, they drew a line on the ground, and gave the natives to underſtand they were not to come within it. This reſtriction they obſerved; and one of them ſoon after turned it to his own advantage: for happening to have a few cocoa-nuts, which one of the ſailors wanted to buy, and he was unwilling to part with, he walked off, and was followed by the man who wanted them. On ſeeing this he ſat down on the ſand, made a circle round him, as he had ſeen them do, and ſignified that the other was not to come within it; which was accordingly obſerved. This ſtory, the captain ſays, was well atteſted.

In the afternoon of the 12th, the captain went on ſhore, and on a large tree, which ſtood cloſe to the ſhore, near the watering place, had an inſcription cut, ſetting forth the ſhip's name, date, &c. as a teſtimony of their being the firſt diſcoverers of this country, as he had done at all others at which they had touched, where this ceremony was neceſſary. This being done, they took leave of the natives, and returned on board; when he ordered all the boats to be hoiſted in, in order to be ready to put to ſea in the morning.

The people of this iſland are ſtrong, robuſt, active, and well-made; they are alſo courteous and friendly, and not in the leaſt addicted to pilfering, which is more than can be ſaid of any other nation in this ſea. They are nearly of the ſame colour as the natives of Tanna, but have better features, more agreeable countenances, and are a much ſtouter race; a few being ſeen who meaſured ſix feet four inches. Their hair and beards are in general black. The former is very much frizzled; ſo that, at firſt ſight, it appears like that of a negro. It is, nevertheleſs, very different; though both coarſer and ſtronger. Some who wear it long, tie it up on the crown of the head; others ſuffer only a large lock to grow on each ſide, which they tie up in clubs; many others, as well as all the women, wear it cropped ſhort. Theſe rough heads moſt probably want frequent ſcratching; for which purpoſe they have a moſt excellent inſtrument. This is a kind of comb made of ſticks of hard wood, from ſeven to nine or ten inches long, and about the thickneſs of knitting needles. A number of theſe, ſeldom exceeding twenty, but generally fewer, are faſtened together at one end, parallel to, and near 1-10th of an inch from each other. The other ends, which are a little pointed, will ſpread out or open like the ſticks of a fan, by which means they

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can beat up the quarters of a hundred lice at a time. Theſe combs, or ſcratchers, for they ſerve both purpoſes, they always wear in their hair on one ſide of their head. The people of Tanna have an inſtrument of this kind for the ſame uſe; but theirs is forked, never exceeding three or four prongs, and ſometimes only a ſmall pointed ſtick. Their beards, which are of the ſame criſp nature as their hair, are for the moſt part worn ſhort. Swelled and ulcerated legs and feet are common among the men, as alſo a ſwelling of the ſcrotum. It is not known whether this is occaſioned by diſeaſe, or by the mode of applying the wrapper, which they uſe as at Tanna and Mallicollo. This is their only covering, and is generally made of the bark of a tree, but ſometimes of leaves. The ſmall pieces of cloth, paper, &c. which they got from them, were commonly applied to this uſe. Some had a kind of concave, cylindrical, ſtiff black cap, which appeared to be a great ornament among them; and they ſuppoſed was only worn by men of note, or warriors. A large ſheet of ſtrong paper, when they got one in exchange for any thing, was generally applied to this uſe.

Their houſes, or at leaſt moſt of them, are circular; ſomething like a bee-hive, and full as cloſe and warm. The entrance is by a ſmall door, or long ſquare hole, juſt big enough to admit a man bent double. The ſide-walls are about four feet and a half high; but the roof is lofty, and peaked to a point at the top; above which is a poſt or ſtick of wood, which is generally ornamented either with carving, or ſhells, or both. In moſt of them they found two fire-places, and commonly a fire burning; and as there was no vent for the ſmoke but by the door, the whole houſe was both ſmoky and hot, inſomuch that they, who were not uſed to ſuch an atmoſphere, could hardly endure it a moment.

In ſome reſpects their habitations are neat; for, beſides the ornaments at top, there were ſome with carved door-poſts. Upon the whole, their houſes are better calculated for a cold than a hot climate; and as there are no partitions in them, they can have little privacy.

They have no great variety of houſehold utenſils; earthen jars being the only article worth notice. Each family has, at leaſt, one of them; in which they bake their roots, and perhaps their fiſh, &c. The fire, by which they cook their victuals, is on the outſide of each houſe, in the open air.

They ſubſiſt chiefly on roots and fiſh, and the bark of a tree, which alſo grows in the Weſt Indies. This they roaſt, and are almoſt continually chewing. Water is their only liquor; at leaſt, they never ſaw any other made uſe of. It ſeems to be a country unable to ſupport many inhabitants. Nature has been leſs bountiful to it than to any other tropical iſland known in this ſea. The greateſt part of its ſurface conſiſts of barren rocky mountains; and the graſs, &c. growing on them is uſeleſs to people who have no cattle.

Nevertheleſs, here are ſeveral plants, &c. common to the eaſtern and northern iſlands, and even a ſpecies of the paſſion-flower, which has never before been known to grow wild any where but in America. The botaniſts did not complain for want of employment at this place; every day bringing to light ſomething new in botany or other branches of natural hiſtory. Land-birds, indeed, are not numerous, but ſeveral are new; or at leaſt ſuch as they never ſaw before.

All their endeavours to get the name of the whole iſland, proved ineffectual. Probably, it is too large for them to know by one name. Whenever they made this inquiry, they always gave them the name of ſome diſtrict or place, which they pointed to. Hence Captain Cook imagines that the country is divided into ſeveral diſtricts, each governed by a chief; but they know nothing of the extent of his power. Balade

was the name of the diſtrict they were at, and Teabooma the chief. He lived on the other ſide of the ridge of hills, ſo that they had but little of his company, and therefore could not ſee much of his power. *Tea* ſeems to be a title prefixed to the names of all, or moſt of their chiefs or great men. The captain was by one of their principal men called *Tea* Cook.

Their fiſhing implements are turtle nets, made of the filaments of the plantain-tree twiſted; and ſmall hand-nets, with very minute meſhes, made of fine twine, and fiſh-gigs. Their general method of fiſhing, is to lie on the reefs in ſhoal water, and to ſtrike the fiſh that may come in their way.

The women of this country, and likewiſe thoſe of Tanna, are far more chaſte than thoſe of the moſt eaſtern iſlands. The captain ſays, he never heard that one of his people obtained the leaſt favour from any one of them. The ladies here would frequently divert themſelves, by going a little aſide with the officers, as if they meant to be kind to them, and then would run away, laughing at them. Whether this was chaſtity or coquetry, cannot be determined, nor is it material, ſince the conſequences were the ſame.

Every thing being in readineſs to put to ſea, at ſun-riſe, on the 13th of September, they weighed, and with a fine gale at eaſt-by-ſouth, ſtood out for the ſame channel they came in by.

Nothing remarkable occurred till the 28th in the evening, when two low iſlots were ſeen bearing weſt-by-ſouth, and as they were connected by breakers, which ſeemed to join thoſe on their ſtarboard, it became neceſſary to haul off ſouth-weſt, in order to get clear of them. At three, more breakers appeared, extending from the low iſles towards the ſouth-eaſt. They now hauled out cloſe to the wind, and in an hour and an half, were almoſt all on board the breakers, and obliged to tack. From the maſt-head, they were ſeen to extend as far as eaſt-ſouth-eaſt, and the ſmoothneſs of the ſea made it probable that they extended to the north of eaſt, and that they were in a manner ſurrounded by them.

They ſpent the night in making ſhort boards, under the terrible apprehenſion, every moment, of falling on ſome of the many dangers which ſurrounded them.

Day-light ſhewed that their fears were not ill-founded, and that they had been in the moſt imminent danger, having had breakers continually under their lee, and at a very little diſtance from them. They owed their ſafety to the interpoſition of Providence, a good look-out, and the very briſk manner in which the ſhip was managed; for, as they were ſtanding to the north, the people on the lee gangway and forecaſtle ſaw breakers under the lee-bow, which they eſcaped by quickly tacking the ſhip.

They were now almoſt tired of a coaſt which they could no longer explore, but at the riſque of loſing the ſhip, and ruining the whole voyage.

The ſhip was at this time conducted by an officer placed at the maſt-head: ſoon after, with great difficulty, they arrived within a mile of land, and were obliged to anchor in thirty-nine fathoms water; they then hoiſted out a boat, in which the captain went aſhore, accompanied by the botaniſts. Here they found ſeveral tall trees, which had been obſerved before at a conſiderable diſtance; they appeared to be a kind of ſpruce pine, very proper for ſpars, of which they were in want: after making this diſcovery, they haſtened on board, in order to have more time after dinner, when they landed again with two boats, accompanied by ſeveral of the officers and gentlemen, having with them the carpenter and ſome of the crew, to cut down ſuch trees as were wanting.

The little iſle upon which they landed is a mere ſand-bank, not exceeding three-fourths of a mile in circuit, and on it, beſides theſe pines, grew the *Etos* tree of Otaheite, and a variety of other trees, ſhrubs, and plants. Theſe gave ſufficient employment to the botaniſts, all the time they ſtaid upon it, and occaſioned the captain's calling it Botany Iſle. On it were ſeveral water-ſnakes, ſome pigeons and doves, ſeemingly different from any they had ſeen. One of the officers ſhot a hawk, which proved to be of the very ſame ſort as the Engliſh fiſhing-hawks. Several fire-places, branches and leaves very little decayed, remains of turtle, &c. ſhewed that people had lately been on the iſle. The hull of a canoe lay wrecked in the ſand. They were now no longer at a loſs to know of what trees they make their canoes, as they can be no other than theſe pines.

They alſo found on the iſle a ſort of ſcurvy-graſs, and a plant called by them Lamb's Quarters, which, when boiled, eats like ſpinage.

Having got ten or twelve ſmall ſpars, to make ſtudding ſail booms, boats, maſts, &c. and night approaching, they returned with them on board.

The purpoſe for which they anchored under this iſle being anſwered, it was neceſſary to conſider what was next to be done. They had, from the top-maſt head, taken a view of the ſea around, and obſerved the whole, to the weſt, to be ſtrewed with ſmall iſlots, ſand-banks, and breakers, to the utmoſt extent of their horizon.—This induced the captain to try to get without the ſhoals; that is, to the ſouthward of them.

Next morning, at day-break, the 30th of September, they got under ſail.

The wind continuing at ſouth-weſt, weſt-ſouth-weſt, and weſt, blowing a freſh gale, and now and then ſqualls, with ſhowers of rain, they ſteered to the ſouth-ſouth-eaſt, without meeting with any remarkable occurrence till near noon on the 6th of October, when it fell calm. In the afternoon, they had a boat in the water, and ſhot two albatroſſes, which were geeſe to them. They had ſeen one of this kind of birds the day before, which was the firſt they obſerved ſince they had been within the tropic.

In the evening of the 8th, Mr. Cooper having ſtruck a porpoiſe with a harpoon, it was neceſſary to bring to, and have two boats out, before they could kill it, and get it on board. It was ſix feet long; a female of that kind, which naturaliſts call dolphins of the ancients, and which differs from the other kind of porpoiſe in the head and jaw, having them long and pointed. This had eighty-eight teeth in each jaw. The haſlet and lean fleſh were to them a feaſt. The latter was a little liveriſh, but had not the leaſt fiſhy taſte. It was eaten roaſted, broiled, and fried, firſt ſoaking it in warm water. Indeed, little art was wanting to make any thing freſh palateable to thoſe who had been living ſo long on ſalt meat.

They continued to ſtretch to weſt-ſouth-weſt till the 10th, when at day-break they diſcovered land, bearing ſouth-weſt, which on a nearer approach they found to be an iſland of good height, and five leagues in circuit. It was named Norfolk Iſle, in honour of the noble family of Howard. After dinner a party embarked in two boats, and landed on the iſland without any difficulty, behind ſome large rocks, which lined part of the coaſt.

They found it uninhabited, and were undoubtedly the firſt that ever ſet foot on it. They obſerved many trees and plants common at New Zealand; and, in particular, the flax plant, which is rather more luxuriant here than in any part of that country; but the chief produce is a ſort of ſpruce pine, which grows in abundance, and to a large ſize, many of the trees being as thick, breaſt high, as two men could fathom, and exceedingly ſtraight and tall. It is a good deal like the Quebec pine. For about two

hundred yards from the ſhore, the ground is covered ſo thick with ſhrubs and plants, as hardly to be penetrated farther inland. The woods were perfectly clear and free from underwood, and the ſoil ſeemed rich and deep.

They found the ſame kind of pigeons, parrots, and parroquets as in New Zealand, rails, and ſome ſmall birds. The ſea-fowl are white boobies, gulls, terns, &c. which breed undiſturbed on the ſhores, and in the cliffs of the rocks.

On the iſle is freſh water; and cabbage-palm, wood-ſorrel, ſow-thiſtle, and ſamphire, abounding in ſome places on the ſhore; they brought on board as much of each ſort as the time they had to gather them would admit.

The approach of night brought them all on board, when they hoiſted in the boats, and ſtretched to eaſt-north-eaſt.

After leaving Norfolk Iſle, they ſteered for New Zealand, intending to touch at Queen Charlotte's Sound, to refreſh the crew, and put the ſhip in a condition to encounter the ſouthern latitudes.

On the 17th, at day-break, they ſaw Mount Egmont, which was covered with everlaſting ſnow, bearing ſouth-eaſt-half-eaſt. Their diſtance from the ſhore was about eight leagues.

On the 18th, at eleven o'clock, they anchored before Ship Cove; the ſtrong flurries from off the land not permitting them to get in.

In the afternoon, as they could not move the ſhip, the captain went into the Cove, with the ſeine, to try to catch ſome fiſh. The firſt thing he did after landing, was to look for the bottle he left hid when laſt here, in which was the memorandum. It was taken away, but by whom it did not appear. Two hauls with the ſeine producing only four ſmall fiſh, they in ſome meaſure made up for this deficiency by ſhooting ſeveral birds, which the flowers in the garden had drawn thither, as alſo ſome old ſhags, and by robbing the neſts of ſome young ones.

Being little wind next morning, they weighed and warped the ſhip into the Cove, and there moored with the two bowers. Here the forge was erected, and the ſhip and rigging repaired. The captain gave orders that vegetables (of which there were plenty) ſhould be boiled every morning with oat-meal and portable broth for breakfaſt, and with peaſe and broth every day for dinner, for the whole crew, over and above their uſual allowance of ſalt meat.

In the afternoon, as Mr. Wales was ſetting up his obſervatory, he diſcovered that ſeveral trees, which were ſtanding when they laſt ſailed from this place, had been cut down with ſaws and axes. It was therefore now no longer to be doubted that the Adventure had been in this Cove after they had left it.

Nothing remarkable happened till the 24th, when, in the morning, two canoes were ſeen coming down the Sound; but as ſoon as they perceived the ſhip, they retired behind a point on the weſt ſide. After breakfaſt, they went in a boat to look for them; and as they proceeded along the ſhore, they ſhot ſeveral birds. The report of the muſquets gave notice of their approach, and the natives diſcovered themſelves in Shag Cove by hallooing to them. The moment they landed, they knew them. Joy then took place of fear; and the reſt of the natives hurried out of the woods, and embraced them over and over again, leaping and ſkipping about like madmen; but it was obſerved that they would not ſuffer ſome women, whom they ſaw at a diſtance, to come near them. After they had made them preſents of hatchets, knives, and what elſe they had with them, they gave in return a large quantity of fiſh, which they had juſt caught. After a ſhort ſtay, they took leave, and went on board.

Next morning early, the inhabitants paid them a viſit on board, and brought with them a quantity of fine fiſh, which they exchanged for Otaheitean cloth, &c. and then returned to their habitations.

On the 26th, the natives brought a plentiful ſupply of fiſh.

On the 28th, a party went a ſhooting to Weſt Bay, and came to the place where they left the hogs and fowls; but ſaw no veſtiges of them, nor of any body having been there ſince. In their return, having viſited the natives, they got ſome fiſh in exchange for trifles which they gave them. As they were coming away, Mr. Forſter thought he heard the ſqueaking of a pig in the woods, cloſe by their habitations; probably they may have thoſe they left with them when laſt here. In the evening, they got on board with about a dozen and a half of wild-fowl, ſhags, and ſea-pies. The ſportſmen who had been out in the woods near the ſhip, were more ſucceſsful among the ſmall birds.

On the 6th, their old friends having taken up their abode near them, one whoſe name was Pedro, (a man of ſome note) made the captain a preſent of a ſtaff of honour, ſuch as the chiefs generally carry. In return, he dreſſed him in a ſuit of old clothes, of which he was not a little proud. He had a fine perſon, and a good preſence, and nothing but his colour diſtinguiſhed him from an European. Having got him and another into a communicative mood, he began to inquire of them if the Adventure had been there during his abſence; and they gave him to underſtand, in a manner which admitted of no doubt, that, ſoon after they were gone, ſhe arrived; that ſhe ſtaid between ten and twenty days, and had been gone ten months.

After breakfaſt, he took a number of hands, in order to catch a ſow that had been there for ſome time (her companion having been killed) to put her to the boar and remove her to ſome other place; but they returned without ſeeing her. Some of the natives had been there not long before, as their fires were yet burning; and they had undoubtedly taken her away.

The 8th, they put two pigs, a boar and a ſow, on ſhore, in the cove next Cannibal Cove; ſo that it is hardly poſſible all the methods the captain has taken to ſtock this country with theſe animals ſhould fail.

On the 9th, the natives having brought a very large and ſeaſonable ſupply of fiſh, the captain beſtowed on Pedro a preſent of an empty oil-jar, which made him as happy as a prince.

In the afternoon, a party went on ſhore into one of the coves, where two families of the natives were variouſly employed; ſome ſleeping, ſome making mats, others roaſting fiſh and fern-roots, and one girl was heating of ſtones. As ſoon as the ſtones were hot, ſhe took them out of the fire, and gave them to an old woman who was ſitting in the hut. She placed them in a heap, laid over them a handful of green celery, and over that a coarſe mat, and then ſquatted herſelf down, on her heels, on the top of all; thus making a kind of Dutch warming-pan, on which ſhe ſat as cloſe as a hare on her ſeat. The captain ſays, he ſhould hardly have mentioned this operation, if he had thought it had no other view than to warm the old woman's backſide. He rather ſuppoſes it was intended to cure ſome diſorder ſhe might have on her, which the ſteams ariſing from the green celery might be a ſpecific for.

On the 10th of November, they weighed and ſtood out of the Sound, and ſteered for Cape Campbell. At four in the afternoon, they paſſed the cape, at the diſtance of four or five leagues.

Next morning the wind veered round by the weſt to ſouth, and forced them more to the eaſt than they had any view of going. The captain's intention now was to croſs

croſs this vaſt ocean, ſo as to paſs over thoſe parts which were left unexplored the preceding ſummer.

On Saturday the 17th of December they made the land, extending from north-eaſt-by-north to eaſt-by-ſouth about ſix leagues diſtant. On this diſcovery, they wore and brought-to, with the ſhip's head to the ſouth; and having ſounded, found ſeventy-five fathoms water, the bottom ſtone and ſhells. The land now before them could be no other than the weſt coaſt of Terra del Fuego, and near the weſt entrance of the ſtraits of Magalhaens.

This was the firſt run that had been made directly acroſs this ocean in a high ſouthern latitude. The captain ſays, he never made a paſſage, any where, of ſuch length, where ſo few intereſting circumſtances occurred; for, the variation of the compaſs excepted, he met with nothing elſe worth notice. Here they took their leave of the South Pacific Ocean.

AN ABSTRACT OF CAPTAIN COOK'S LAST VOYAGE.

Begun in 1776, and finiſhed in 1780.

PART I.

Tranſactions from the Commencement of the Voyage in February 1776, to the quitting of New Zealand in February 1777.

CAPTAIN COOK and Captain Clerke received their commiſſions for making diſcoveries in the northern hemiſphere, in order to determine the poſition and extent of the weſt ſide of North America, its diſtance from Aſia, and the practicability of a northern paſſage to Europe.

Captain Cook was appointed to the command of His Majeſty's ſloop the Reſolution, and Captain Clerke to that of the Diſcovery, a ſhip of three hundred tons burthen, purchaſed into the ſervice.

They immediately prepared for their voyage, by taking on board all the neceſſary ſtores, and a conſiderable quantity of iron tools and trinkets, which might enable them to cultivate a friendly intercourſe with the inhabitants of ſuch countries as they might be fortunate enough to meet with; they alſo took ſome live ſtock, conſiſting of ſheep, two cows with their calves, and a bull; they were likewiſe furniſhed with a quantity of European garden-ſeeds, which could not fail of being valuable preſents to the new diſcovered iſlands.

As they were to touch at Otaheite, in their way to the intended ſcene of freſh operations, they were ordered to carry Omai back to his native country. He left London with a mixture of regret and ſatisfaction: when he talked of his friends in England, it was with difficulty he refrained from tears; but the inſtant the converſation turned to his own country, his eyes ſparkled with joy. He was loaded with preſents of conſiderable value by His Majeſty, Lord Sandwich, Mr. Banks (now Sir Joſeph), and other perſons of diſtinction.

Several months were ſpent in preparation for this long and important voyage; both the ſhips arrived in Plymouth Sound on the 30th of June; here they made a ſhort ſtay to take in ſome additional proviſions, to replace what had been expended, alſo a quantity of port-wine; and the petty officers and ſeamen received two months' wages in advance. Contrary winds, and other circumſtances of little conſequence, prevented their clearing the Channel till the 14th of July in the evening. There were on board the two ſhips one hundred and ninety-two perſons, officers included.

Nothing very intereſting happened from the 5th of December till the 26th of January, when they arrived at Van Diemen's Land; where, as ſoon as they had anchored in Adventure Bay, Captain Cook ſays, —I ordered the boats to be hoiſted out. In one of them I went myſelf, to look for the moſt commodious place for furniſhing ourſelves with

with the neceſſary ſupplies; and Captain Clerke went in his boat upon the ſame ſervice.

Next morning early, I ſent Lieutenant King to the eaſt ſide of the bay, with two parties; one to cut wood, and the other graſs, under the protection of the marines. For although, as yet, none of the natives had appeared, there could be no doubt that ſome were in our neighbourhood: I alſo ſent the launch for water; and afterwards viſited all the parties myſelf. In the evening we drew the ſeine at the head of the bay, and at one haul caught a great quantity of fiſh. Moſt of them were of that ſort known to ſeamen by the name of elephant fiſh. After this every one repaired on board with what wood and graſs we had cut, that we might be ready to ſail whenever the wind ſhould ſerve.

In the afternoon, next day, we were agreeably ſurpriſed, at the place where we were cutting wood, with a viſit from ſome of the natives, eight men and a boy. They approached us from the woods, without betraying any marks of fear, for none of them had any weapons, except one, who held in his hand a ſtick about two feet long, and pointed at one end.

They were quite naked, and wore no ornaments, unleſs we conſider as ſuch, and as a proof of their love of finery, ſome large punctures or ridges raiſed on different parts of their bodies, ſome in ſtraight, and others in curved lines.

They were of common ſtature, but rather ſlender. Their ſkin was black, and alſo their hair, which was as woolly as that of any native of Guinea; but they were not diſtinguiſhed by remarkably thick lips, nor flat noſes; on the contrary, their features were far from being diſagreeable. They had pretty good eyes; and their teeth were tolerably even, but very dirty. Moſt of them had their hair and beards ſmeared with a red ointment; and ſome had their faces alſo painted with the ſame compoſition.

They received every preſent we made to them without the leaſt appearance of ſatisfaction. When ſome bread was given, as ſoon as they underſtood that it was to be eaten, they either returned it, or threw it away, without even taſting it. They alſo refuſed ſome elephant fiſh, both raw and dreſſed, which we offered to them; but upon giving ſome birds to them, they did not return theſe, and eaſily made us comprehend that they were fond of ſuch food. I had brought two pigs aſhore, with a view to leave them in the woods. The inſtant theſe came within their reach, they ſeized them, as a dog would have done, by the ears, and were for carrying them off immediately, with no other intention, as we could perceive, but to kill them.

Being deſirous of knowing the uſe of the ſtick which one of our viſitors carried in his hand, I made ſigns to them to ſhew me; and ſo far ſucceeded, that one of them ſet up a piece of wood as a mark, and threw at it, at the diſtance of about twenty yards; but we had little reaſon to commend his dexterity, for after repeated trials he was ſtill very wide from the object. Omai, to ſhew them how much ſuperior our weapons were to theirs, then fired his muſquet at it; which alarmed them ſo much, that notwithſtanding all we could do or ſay, they ran inſtantly into the woods. One of them was ſo frightened, that he let drop an axe and two knives that had been given to him. From us, however, they went to the place where ſome of the Diſcovery's people were employed in taking water into their boat. The officer of that party, not knowing that they had paid us ſo friendly a viſit, nor what their intent might be, fired a muſquet in the air, which ſent them off with the greateſt precipitation.

Thus ended our firſt interview with the natives. Immediately after their final retreat, judging that their fears would prevent their remaining near enough to obſerve what

what was paſſing, I ordered the two pigs, being a boar and a ſow, to be carried about a mile within the woods, at the head of the bay. I ſaw them left there by the ſide of a freſh-water brook. A young bull and a cow, and ſome ſheep and goats, were alſo, at firſt, intended to have been left by me, as an additional preſent to Van Diemen's Land. But I ſoon laid aſide all thoughts of this, from a perſuaſion that the natives, incapable of entering into my views of improving their country, would deſtroy them.

The morning of the 29th we had a dead calm, which continued all day, and effectually prevented our ſailing. I therefore ſent a party over to the eaſt point of the bay to cut graſs, having been informed that ſome of a ſuperior quality grew there. Another party, to cut wood, was ordered to go to the uſual place, and I accompanied them myſelf. We had obſerved ſeveral of the natives, this morning, ſauntering along the ſhore, which aſſured us that though their conſternation had made them leave us ſo abruptly the day before, they were convinced that we intended them no miſchief, and were deſirous of renewing the intercourſe. It was natural that I ſhould wiſh to be preſent on the occaſion.

We had not been long landed before about twenty of them, men and boys, joined us, without expreſſing the leaſt ſign of fear or diſtruſt. There was one of this company conſpicuouſly deformed; and who was not more diſtinguiſhable by the hump on his back, than by the drollery of his geſtures, and the ſeeming humour of his ſpeeches; which he was very fond of exhibiting, as we ſuppoſed, for our entertainment: but, unfortunately, we could not underſtand him; the language ſpoken here being wholly unintelligible to us. It appeared to me, to be different from that ſpoken by the inhabitants of the more northern parts of this country, whom I met with in my firſt voyage; which is not extraordinary, ſince thoſe we then ſaw, and thoſe we then viſited, differ in many other reſpects. Nor did they ſeem to be ſuch miſerable wretches as the natives whom Dampier mentions to have ſeen on its weſtern coaſt.

Some of our preſent groupe wore looſe round their necks three or four folds of ſmall cord, made of the fur of ſome animal; and others of them had a narrow ſlip of the kangooroo ſkin tied round their ancles. I gave to each of them a ſtring of beads and a medal, which I thought they received with ſome ſatisfaction. They ſeemed to ſet no value on iron or on iron tools: they were even ignorant of the uſe of fiſh-hooks, if we might judge from their manner of looking at ſome of ours which we ſhewed to them.

We cannot, however, ſuppoſe it to be poſſible that a people who inhabit a ſea-coaſt, and who ſeem to derive no part of their ſuſtenance from the productions of the ground, ſhould not be acquainted with ſome mode of catching fiſh, though we did not happen to ſee any of them thus employed, nor obſerve any canoe or veſſel in which they could go upon the water. Their habitations were little ſheds or hovels built of ſticks, and covered with bark. We could alſo perceive evident ſigns of their ſometimes taking up their abode in the trunks of large trees, which had been hollowed out by fire, moſt probably for this very purpoſe.

After ſtaying about an hour with the wooding party and the natives, as I could now be pretty confident that the latter were not likely to give the former any diſturbance, I left them, and went over to the graſs-cutters, and found that they had met with a fine patch. Having ſeen the boats loaded, I left that party, and returned on board to dinner; where, ſome time after, Lieutenant King arrived.

From him I learnt that I had but juſt left the ſhore, when ſeveral women and children made their appearance. Theſe females wore a kangooroo ſkin tied over the

ſhoulders, and round the waiſt. But its only uſe ſeemed to be to ſupport their children when carried on their backs; for it did not cover thoſe parts which moſt nations conceal; being, in all other reſpects, as naked as the men, and as black, and their bodies marked with ſcars in the ſame manner. But in this they differed from the men, that though their hair was of the ſame colour, ſome of them had their heads completely ſhorn; in others, this operation had been performed only on one ſide, while the reſt of them had all the upper part of the head ſhorn cloſe, leaving a circle of hair all round, ſomewhat like the tonſure of the Romiſh eccleſiaſtics. Many of the children had fine features, and were thought pretty; but of the perſons of the women, eſpecially thoſe advanced in years, a leſs favourable report was made. However, ſome of the gentlemen belonging to the Diſcovery, I was told, paid their addreſſes, and made liberal offers of preſents, which were rejected with great diſdain; whether from a ſenſe of virtue, or the fear of diſpleaſing their men, I ſhall not pretend to determine. That this gallantry was not very agreeable to the latter, is certain; for an elderly man, as ſoon as he obſerved it, ordered all the women and children to retire, which they obeyed, though ſome of them ſhewed a little reluctance.

Mr. Anderſon, my ſurgeon, with his uſual diligence, ſpent the few days we remained in Adventure Bay, in examining the country. His account of its natural productions, with which he favoured me, will more than compenſate for my ſilence about them: ſome of his remarks on the inhabitants will ſupply what I may have omitted or repreſented imperfectly; and his ſpecimen of their language, however ſhort, will be thought worth attending to, by thoſe who wiſh to collect materials for tracing the origin of nations. I ſhall only premiſe, that the tall ſtraight foreſt-trees which Mr. Anderſon deſcribes in the following account, are of a different ſort from thoſe which are found in the more northern parts of this coaſt. The wood is very long and cloſe-grained, extremely tough, fit for ſpars, oars, and many other uſes; and would, on occaſion, make good maſts (perhaps none better) if a method could be found to lighten it. Upon the whole, it has many marks of being naturally a very dry country; and perhaps might, independent of its wood, be compared to Africa, about the Cape of Good Hope, though that lies ten degrees farther northward, rather than to New Zealand, on its other ſide, in the ſame latitude, where we find every valley, however ſmall, furniſhed with a conſiderable ſtream of water. It was remarked, that birds were ſeldom killed an hour or two, before they were almoſt covered with ſmall maggots, which I would rather attribute merely to the heat; as we had not any reaſon to ſuppoſe there is a peculiar diſpoſition in the climate to render ſubſtances ſoon putrid.

The only animal of the quadruped kind we got, was a ſort of opoſſum, about twice the ſize of a large rat; and is, moſt probably, the male of that ſpecies found at Endeavour River. It is of a duſky colour above, tinged with a brown or ruſty caſt, and whitiſh below. About a third of the tail, towards its tip, is white, and bare underneath, by which it probably hangs on the branches of trees, as it climbs theſe and lives on berries. The kangooroo, another animal found farther northward in New Holland, without doubt alſo inhabits here, as the natives we met with had ſome pieces of their ſkins, and we ſeveral times ſaw animals, though indiſtinctly, run from the thickets when we walked in the woods, which, from the ſize, could be no other.

There are ſeveral ſorts of birds, but all ſo ſcarce and ſhy, that they are evidently haraſſed by the natives, who, perhaps, draw much of their ſubſiſtence from them. In the woods, the principal ſorts are large brown hawks, or eagles; crows, nearly the ſame as ours in England; yelloviſh paroquets; and large pigeons. There are alſo three or four ſmall birds, one of which is of the thruſh kind; another ſmall one, with a pretty

a pretty long tail, has part of the head and neck of a moſt beautiful azure colour; from whence we named it motacylla cyanea. On the ſhore were ſeveral common and ſea gulls, a few black oyſter-catchers, or ſea-pies, and a pretty plover, of a ſtone colour, with a black hood. About the pond or lake behind the beach, a few wild ducks were ſeen; and ſome ſhags uſed to perch upon the high leafleſs trees near the ſhore.

Some pretty large blackiſh ſnakes were ſeen in the woods; and we killed a large, hitherto unknown, lizard, fifteen inches long, and ſix round, elegantly clouded with black and yellow; beſides a ſmall ſort, of a brown gilded colour above, and ruſty below.

The ſea affords a much greater plenty, and at leaſt as great a variety as the land. Of theſe the elephant-fiſh, or pejegallo, mentioned in Frazier's Voyage, are the moſt numerous; and though inferior to many other fiſh, were very palateable food. Several large rays, nurſes, and ſmall leather-jackets were caught, with ſome ſmall white bream, which were firmer and better than thoſe caught in the lake. We likewiſe got a few ſoles and flounders; two ſorts of gurnards, one of them a new ſpecies; ſome ſmall ſpotted mullet; and very unexpectedly, the ſmall fiſh with a ſilver band on its ſide, called atherina hepſetus, by Haſſelquiſt.

But that next in number, and ſuperior in goodneſs, to the elephant-fiſh, was a ſort none of us recollected to have ſeen before. It partakes of the nature both of a round and of a flat fiſh, having the eyes placed very near each other; the fore-part of the body much flattened or depreſſed, and the reſt rounded. It is of a browniſh ſandy colour, with ruſty ſpots on the upper part, and below. From the quantity of ſlime it was always covered with, it ſeems to live after the manner of flat-fiſh, at the bottom.

Upon the rocks are plenty of muſcles, and ſome other ſmall ſhell-fiſh. There are alſo great numbers of ſea-ſtars, ſome ſmall limpets, and large quantities of ſponge; one ſort of which, that is thrown on ſhore by the ſea, but not very common, has a moſt delicate texture.

Many pretty Meduſa's heads were found upon the beach; and the ſtinking laplyſia, or ſea-hare, which, as mentioned by ſome authors, has the property of taking off the hair by the acrimony of its juice; but this ſort was deficient in this reſpect.

Inſects, though not numerous, are here in conſiderable variety. Amongſt them are graſshoppers, butterflies, and ſeveral ſorts of ſmall moths, finely variegated. There are two ſorts of dragon-flies, gad-flies, camel-flies, ſeveral ſorts of ſpiders, and ſome ſcorpions; but the laſt are rather rare. The moſt troubleſome, though not very numerous tribe of inſects, are the muſquitoes; and a large black ant, the pain of whoſe bite is almoſt intolerable, during the ſhort time it laſts. The muſquitoes, alſo, make up for the deficiency of their number, by the ſeverity of their venomous proboſcis.

The inhabitants whom we met with here, had little of that fierce or wild appearance common to people in their ſituation; but, on the contrary, ſeemed mild and cheerful, without reſerve, or jealouſy of ſtrangers. This, however, may ariſe from their having little to loſe or care for.

With reſpect to perſonal activity or genius, we can ſay but little of either. They do not ſeem to poſſeſs the firſt in any remarkable degree; and as for the laſt, they have, to appearance, leſs than even the half-animated inhabitants of Terra del Fuego, who have not invention ſufficient to make cloathing for defending themſelves from the rigour of their climate, though furniſhed with the materials. The ſmall ſtick, rudely pointed, which one of them carried in his hand, was the only thing we ſaw that required

any mechanical exertion, if we except the fixing on the feet of ſome of them pieces of kangooroo ſkin, tied with thongs; though it could not be learnt whether theſe were in uſe as ſhoes, or only to defend ſome ſore. It muſt be owned, however, they are maſters of ſome contrivance in the manner of cutting their arms and bodies in lines of different lengths and directions, which are raiſed conſiderably above the ſurface of the ſkin, ſo that it is difficult to gueſs the method they uſe in executing this embroidery of their perſons.

Their colour is a dull black, and not quite ſo deep as that of the African negroes. Their hair, however, is perfectly woolly, and it is clotted or divided into ſmall parcels like that of the Hottentots, with the uſe of ſome ſort of greaſe, mixed with a red paint or ochre which they ſmear in great abundance over their heads. Their noſes, though not flat, are broad and full; their eyes are of a middling ſize, with the white leſs clear than in us; and though not remarkably quick or piercing, ſuch as give a frank cheerful caſt to the whole countenance. Their teeth are broad, but not equal, nor well ſet; and either from nature, or from dirt, not of ſo true a white as is uſual among people of a black colour. Their mouths are rather wide; but this appearance ſeems heightened by wearing their beards long, and clotted with paint, in the ſame manner as the hair on their heads.

The following is a ſpecimen of Van Diemen's Land vocabulary.

Quadne,	A woman.
Eve'rai,	The eye.
Muidje,	The noſe.
Ka'my,	The teeth, mouth, or tongue.
Lae'renne,	A ſmall bird, a native of the woods here.
Koy'gee,	The ear.
No'onga,	Elevated ſcars on the body.
Teegera,	To eat.
Toga'rago,	I muſt be gone, *or*, I will go.

I have no doubt but we ſhall find, on a diligent inquiry, and when opportunities offer to collect accurately a ſufficient number of theſe words, and to compare them, that all the people from New Holland, eaſtward to Eaſter Iſland, have been derived from the ſame common root.

At eight o'clock in the morning of the 30th of January, a light breeze ſpringing up at weſt, we weighed anchor, and put to ſea from Adventure Bay.

We purſued our courſe to the eaſtward, without meeting any thing worthy of note, till the night between the 6th and 7th of February, when a marine belonging to the Diſcovery fell overboard, and was never ſeen afterward. This was the ſecond misfortune of the kind that had happened to Captain Clerke ſince he left England.

On the 16th of February, at four in the afternoon, we diſcovered the land of New Zealand. The part we ſaw, proved to be Rock's Point, and bore ſouth-eaſt-by-ſouth, about eight or nine leagues diſtant.

We had not been long at anchor in Queen Charlotte Sound, before ſeveral canoes, filled with natives, came alongſide of the ſhips; but very few of them would venture on board; which appeared the more extraordinary, as I was well known to them all. There was one man in particular amongſt them, whom I had treated with remarkable kindneſs, during the whole of my ſtay when I was laſt here. Yet now, neither profeſſions of friendſhip, nor preſents, could prevail upon him to come into the ſhip. This ſhyneſs was to be accounted for, only on this ſuppoſition, that they were apprehenſive

henſive we had reviſited their country, in order to revenge the death of Captain Furneaux's people.

On the 13th we ſet up two tents, one from each ſhip, on the ſame ſpot where we had pitched them formerly. The obſervatories were at the ſame time erected; and Meſſrs. King and Bayley began their operations immmediately, to find the rate of the time-keeper, and to make other obſervations. The remainder of the empty water-caſks were alſo ſent on ſhore, with the cooper to trim, and a ſufficient number of ſailors to fill them. Two men were appointed to brew ſpruce-beer; and the carpenter and his crew were ordered to cut wood. A boat, with a party of men under the direction of one of the mates, was ſent to collect graſs for our cattle; and the people that remained on board were employed in refitting the ſhip, and arranging the proviſions. In this manner, we were all profitably buſied during our ſtay. For the protection of the party on ſhore, I appointed a guard of ten marines, and ordered arms for all the workmen: Mr. King, and two or three petty officers, conſtantly remaining with them. A boat was never ſent to any conſiderable diſtance from the ſhips without being armed, and under the direction of ſuch officers as I could depend upon, and who were well acquainted with the natives.

During the courſe of this day, a great number of families came from different parts of the coaſt, and took up their reſidence cloſe to us; ſo that there was not a ſpot in the cove where a hut could be put up, that was not occupied by them, except the place where we had fixed our little encampment.

It is curious to obſerve, with what facility they build their little huts. I have ſeen above twenty of them erected on a ſpot of ground, that, not an hour before, was covered with ſhrubs and plants. They generally bring ſome part of the materials with them, the reſt they find upon the premiſes. I was preſent when a number of people landed, and built one of theſe villages. The moment the canoes reached the ſhore, the men leaped out, and at once took poſſeſſion of a piece of ground, by tearing up the plants and ſhrubs, or ſticking up ſome part of the framing of a hut. They then returned to their canoes, and ſecured their weapons, by ſetting them up againſt a tree, or placing them in ſuch a poſition, that they could be laid hold of in an inſtant.

Beſides the natives who took up their abode cloſe to us, we were occaſionally viſited by others of them, whoſe reſidence was not afar off; and by ſome who lived more remote. Their articles of commerce were, curioſities, fiſh, and women. The two firſt always came to a good market; which the latter did not. The ſeamen had taken a kind of diſlike to theſe people; and were either unwilling, or afraid, to aſſociate with them; which produced this good effect, that I knew no inſtance of a man's quitting his ſtation, to go to their habitations.

A connection with women I allow, becauſe I cannot prevent it; but never encourage, becauſe I always dread its conſequences. I know, indeed, that many men are of opinion, that ſuch an intercourſe is one of our greateſt ſecurities amongſt ſavages; and perhaps they, who either from neceſſity or choice, are to remain and ſettle with them, may find it ſo. But with travellers and tranſient viſitors, ſuch as we were, it is generally otherwiſe; and in our ſituation, a connection with their women betrays more men than it ſaves. What elſe can be reaſonably expected, ſince all their views are ſelfiſh, without the leaſt mixture of regard or attachment? My own experience, at leaſt, which hath been pretty extenſive, hath not pointed out to me one inſtance to the contrary.

Amongſt our occaſional viſitors, was a chief named Kahoora, who, as I was informed, headed the party that cut off Captain Furneaux's people, and himſelf killed Mr. Rowe,

the

the officer who commanded. To judge of the character of Kahoora, by what I had heard from many of his countrymen, he ſeemed to be more feared than beloved amongſt them. Not ſatisfied with telling me that he was a very bad man, ſome of them even importuned me to kill him: and, I believe, they were not a little ſurpriſed that I did not liſten to them; for, according to their ideas of equity, this ought to have been done. But if I had followed the advice of all our pretended friends, I might have extirpated the whole race; for the people of each hamlet or village, by turns, applied to me to deſtroy the other.

On the 16th, at day-break, I ſet out with a party of men, in five boats, to collect food for our cattle. Captain Clerke, and ſeveral of the officers, Omai, and two of the natives, accompanied me. We proceeded about three leagues up the ſound, and then landed on the eaſt ſide, at a place where I had formerly been. Here we cut as much graſs as loaded the two launches.

As we returned down the ſound, we viſited Graſs Cove, the memorable ſcene of the maſſacre of Captain Furneaux's people. Here I met with my old friend Pedro, who was almoſt continually with me the laſt time I was in the Sound, and is mentioned in my hiſtory of that voyage. He, and another of his countrymen, received us on the beach, armed with the pa-too and ſpear. Whether this form of reception was a mark of their courteſy, or of their fear, I cannot ſay; but I thought they betrayed manifeſt ſigns of the latter. However, if they had any apprehenſions, a few preſents ſoon removed them, and brought down to the beach two or three more of the family; but the greateſt part of them remained out of ſight.

Whilſt we were at this place, our curioſity prompted us to enquire into the circumſtances attending the melancholy fate of our countrymen *; and Omai was made uſe of as our interpreter for this purpoſe. Pedro, and the reſt of the natives preſent, anſwered all the queſtions that were put to them on the ſubject without reſerve, and like men who are under no dread of puniſhment for a crime of which they are not guilty. For we already knew that none of them had been concerned in the unhappy tranſaction. They told us, that while our people were ſitting at dinner, ſurrounded by ſeveral of the natives, ſome of the latter ſtole, or ſnatched from them, ſome bread and fiſh, for which they were beat. This being reſented, a quarrel enſued, and two New Zealanders were ſhot dead, by the only two muſquets that were fired. For before our people had time to diſcharge a third, or to load again thoſe that had been fired, the natives ruſhed in upon them, overpowered them with their numbers, and put them all to death. Pedro and his companions, beſides relating the hiſtory of the maſſacre, made us acquainted with the very ſpot that was the ſcene of it. It is at the corner of the cove on the right hand. They pointed to the place of the ſun, to mark to us at what hour of the day it happened; and according to this, it muſt have been late in the afternoon. They alſo ſhewed us the place where the boat lay; and it appeared to be about two hundred yards diſtant from that where the crew were ſeated. One of their number, a black ſervant of Captain Furneaux, was left in the boat to take care of her.

We were afterwards told that this black was the cauſe of the quarrel, which was ſaid to have happened thus: One of the natives ſtealing ſomething out of the boat, the negro gave him a ſevere blow with a ſtick. The cries of the fellow being heard by his countrymen at a diſtance, they imagined he was killed, and immediately began the attack on our people; who, before they had time to reach the boat, or to arm

* Vide Captain Cook's former Voyage.

themſelves

themſelves againſt the unexpected impending danger, fell a ſacrifice to the fury of their ſavage aſſailants. What became of the boat, I never could learn. Some ſaid ſhe was pulled to pieces and burnt; others told us, that ſhe was carried they knew not whither by a party of ſtrangers.

We ſtayed here till the evening, when, having loaded the reſt of the boats with graſs, celery, ſcurvy-graſs, &c. we embarked to return to the ſhips; where ſome of the boats did not arrive till one o'clock the next morning; and it was fortunate that they got on board then, for it afterwards blew a perfect ſtorm. In the evening the gale ceaſed, and the wind having veered to the eaſt, brought with it fair weather.

On the 20th, in the forenoon, we had another ſtorm from the north-weſt. Though this was not of ſo long continuance as the former, the guſts of wind from the hills were far more violent.

By this time more than two-thirds of the inhabitants of the ſound had ſettled themſelves about us. Great numbers of them daily frequented the ſhips while our people were there melting ſome ſeal-blubber. No Greenlander was ever fonder of train-oil, than our friends here ſeemed to be. They reliſhed the very ſkimmings of the kettle; but a little of the pure ſtinking oil was a delicious feaſt.

Having got on board as much hay and graſs as we judged ſufficient to ſerve the cattle till our arrival at Otaheite, and having completed the wood and water of both ſhips, on the 24th we weighed anchor, and ſtood out of the cove.

While we were unmooring and getting under ſail, many of the natives came to take their leave of us, or rather to obtain, if they could, ſome additional preſents from us before we left them. Accordingly, I gave to Matahouah and Tomatongeauooranuc, two of their chiefs, two pigs, a boar, and a ſow. They made me a promiſe not to kill them; though I muſt own I put no great faith in this. The animals which Captain Furneaux ſent on ſhore here, and which ſoon after fell into the hands of the natives, I was now told were all dead; but I was afterwards informed, that Tiratou, a chief, had a great many cocks and hens in his poſſeſſion, and one of the ſows.

We had not been long at anchor near Motuara, before three or four canoes, filled with natives, came off to us from the ſouth-eaſt ſide of the ſound; and a briſk trade was carried on with them for the curioſities of this place. In one of theſe canoes was Kahoora, leader of the party who cut off the crew of the Adventure's boat. This was the third time he had viſited us, without betraying the ſmalleſt appearance of fear. I was aſhore when he now arrived, but had got on board juſt as he was going away. Omai, who had returned with me, preſently pointed him out, and ſolicited me to ſhoot him. Not ſatisfied with this, he addreſſed himſelf to Kahoora, threatening to be his executioner, if ever he preſumed to viſit us again.

The New Zealander paid ſo little regard to theſe threats, that he returned, the next morning with his whole family, men, women, and children, to the number of twenty and upwards. Omai was the firſt who acquainted me with his being alongſide the ſhip, and deſired to know if he ſhould aſk him to come on board. I told him he might; and accordingly he introduced the chief into the cabin, ſaying, "There is Kahoora; kill him!" But, as if he had forgot his former threats, or was afraid that I ſhould call upon him to perform them, he immediately retired. In a ſhort time, however, he returned; and ſeeing the chief unhurt, he expoſtulated with me very earneſtly, ſaying, "Why do you not kill him? You tell me, if a man kills another in England, that he is hanged for it. This man has killed ten, and yet you will not kill him, though many of his countrymen deſire it, and it would be very good." Omai's arguments, though ſpecious enough, having no weight with me, I deſired him

to aſk the chief, why he had killed Captain Furneaux's people? At this queſtion, Kahoora folded his arms, hung down his head, and looked like one caught in a trap; and, I firmly believe, he expected inſtant death. But no ſooner was he aſſured of his ſafety, than he became cheerful. He did not, however, ſeem willing to give me an anſwer to the queſtion that had been put to him, till I had, again and again, repeated my promiſe that he ſhould not be hurt. Then he ventured to tell us, that one of his countrymen having brought a ſtone hatchet to barter, the man to whom it was offered took it, and would neither return it, nor give any thing for it: on which the owner of it ſnatched up the bread as an equivalent; and then the quarrel began.

For ſome time before we arrived at New Zealand, Omai had expreſſed a deſire to take one of the natives with him to his own country. We had not been there many days, before he had an opportunity of being gratified in this; for a youth about ſeventeen or eighteen years of age, named Taweiharooa, offered to accompany him. Finding that he was fixed in his reſolution to go with us, and having learnt that he was the only ſon of a deceaſed chief, I told his mother that, in all probability, he would never return, but this made no impreſſion on either; for when ſhe returned the next morning, to take her laſt farewell of him, all the time ſhe was on board ſhe remained quite cheerful, and went away wholly unconcerned. Another youth, about ten years of age, accompanied him as a ſervant, named Kokoa; he was preſented to me by his own father, who ſtripped him, and left him naked as he was born; indeed he ſeemed to part with him with perfect indifference.

From my own obſervations, and from the information of Taweiharooa and others, it appears to me that the New Zealanders muſt live under perpetual apprehenſions of being deſtroyed by each other: there being few of their tribes that have not, as they think, ſuſtained wrongs from ſome other tribe, which they are continually upon the watch to revenge. And, perhaps, the deſire of a good meal may be no ſmall incitement. Their method of executing their horrible deſigns is, by ſtealing upon the adverſe party in the night; and if they find them unguarded they kill all indiſcriminately; not even ſparing the women and children. When the maſſacre is completed, they either feaſt themſelves on the ſpot, or carry off as many of the dead bodies as they can, and devour them at home, with acts of brutality too ſhocking to be deſcribed. One hardly ever finds a New Zealander off his guard, either by night or by day; indeed, no other man can have ſuch powerful motives to be vigilant, as the preſervation both of body and of ſoul depends upon it. For, according to their ſyſtem of belief, the ſoul of the man whoſe fleſh is devoured by the enemy, is doomed to a perpetual fire, whilſt the ſoul of the man whoſe body has been reſcued from thoſe who killed him, as well as the ſouls of all who die a natural death, aſcend to the habitations of the gods.

Polygamy is allowed amongſt theſe people; and it is not uncommon for a man to have two or three wives. The women are marriageable at a very early age; and it ſhould ſeem, that one who is unmarried, is but in a forlorn ſtate. She can with difficulty get a ſubſiſtence; at leaſt, ſhe is, in a great meaſure, without a protector, though in conſtant want of a powerful one.

No people can have a quicker ſenſe of an injury done to them, and none are more ready to reſent it. But, at the ſame time, they will take an opportunity of being inſolent when they think there is no danger of puniſhment.

Their public contentions are frequent, or rather perpetual; for it appears, from their number of weapons, and dexterity in uſing them, that war is their principal profeſſion. Before they begin the onſet, they join in a war-ſong, to which they all keep the

exacteſt time, and ſoon raiſe their paſſion to a degree of frantic fury, attended with the moſt horrid diſtortion of their eyes, mouths, and tongues, to ſtrike terror into their enemies; which, to thoſe who have not been accuſtomed to ſuch a practice, makes them appear more like demons than men, and would almoſt chill the boldeſt with fear. To this ſucceeds a circumſtance, almoſt foretold in their fierce demeanour, horrid, cruel, and diſgraceful to human nature; which is, cutting in pieces, even before being perfectly dead, the bodies of their enemies, and, after dreſſing them on a fire, devouring the fleſh, not only without reluctance, but with peculiar ſatisfaction.

PART II.

From leaving New Zealand in February 1777, to their Arrival at Otaheite in July following.

ON the 25th of February we ſailed from New Zealand, and had no ſooner loſt ſight of the land than our two young adventurers repented heartily of the ſtep they had taken. All the ſoothing encouragement we could think of availed but little. They wept both in public and in private; and made their lamentations in a kind of ſong, which was expreſſive of their praiſes of their country. Thus they continued for many days, but at length their native country and their friends were forgot, and they appeared to be as firmly attached to us, as if they had been born amongſt us.

On the 29th of March, at ten in the morning, as we were ſtanding to the north-eaſt, the Diſcovery made the ſignal of ſeeing land. We ſaw it from the maſt-head almoſt the ſame moment, bearing north-eaſt-by-eaſt. We ſoon diſcovered it to be an iſland of no great extent.

We preſently found it was inhabited, and ſaw ſeveral people, on a point of the land we had paſſed, wading to the reef, where, as they found the ſhip leaving them quickly, they remained. But others who ſoon appeared in different parts, followed her courſe; and ſometimes ſeveral of them collected into ſmall bodies, who made a ſhouting noiſe all together, nearly after the manner of the inhabitants of New Zealand.

Between ſeven and eight o'clock, we were at the weſt-north-weſt part of the iſland, and, being near the ſhore, we could perceive with our glaſſes that ſeveral of the natives were armed with long ſpears and clubs, which they brandiſhed in the air with ſigns of threatening, or, as ſome on board interpreted their attitudes, with invitations to land. Moſt of them appeared naked, except having a ſort of girdle, which, being brought up between the thighs, covered that part of the body. But ſome of them had pieces of cloth of different colours, white, ſtriped, or chequered, which they wore as a garment thrown about their ſhoulders; and almoſt all of them had a white wrapper about their heads, not much unlike a turban. They were of a tawny colour, and of a middling ſtature.

At this time a ſmall canoe was launched in a great hurry from the further end of the beach, and a man getting into it, put off, as with a view to reach the ſhip. On perceiving this, I brought-to, that we might receive the viſit; but the man's reſolution failing, he ſoon returned toward the beach, where, after ſome time, another man joined him in the canoe, and then they both paddled towards us. They ſtopped ſhort, however, as if afraid to approach, until Omai, who addreſſed them in the Otaheitean language, in ſome meaſure quieted their apprehenſions. They then came near enough to take ſome beads and nails, which were tied to a piece of wood, and thrown into the

canoe. They ſeemed afraid to touch theſe things, and put the piece of wood aſide without untying them. This, however, might ariſe from ſuperſtition; for Omai told us, that when they ſaw us offering them preſents, they aſked ſomething for their Eatooa, or god. He alſo, perhaps improperly, put the queſtion to them, Whether they ever eat human fleſh? which they anſwered in the negative, with a mixture of indignation and abhorrence. One of them, whoſe name was Mourooa, being aſked how he came by a ſcar on his forehead, told us, that it was the conſequence of a wound he had got in fighting with the people of an iſland, which lies to the north-eaſtward, who ſometimes came to invade them. They afterward took hold of a rope. Still, however, they would not venture on board; but told Omai, who underſtood them pretty well, that their countrymen on ſhore had given them this caution, at the ſame time directing them to inquire, from whence our ſhip came, and to learn the name of the captain. On our part, we inquired the name of the iſland, which they called Mangya or Mangeea; and ſometimes added to it Nooe, nai, naiwa. The name of their chief, they ſaid, was Orooaeeka.

Mourooa was luſty and well made, but not very tall. His features were agreeable, and his diſpoſition ſeemingly no leſs ſo; for he made ſeveral droll geſticulations, which indicated both good-nature and a ſhare of humour. He alſo made others which ſeemed of a ſerious kind, and repeated ſome words with a devout air, before he ventured to lay hold of the rope at the ſhip's ſtern; which was probably to recommend himſelf to the protection of ſome divinity. His colour was nearly of the ſame caſt with that common to the moſt ſouthern Europeans. The other man was not ſo handſome. Both of them had ſtrong, ſtraight hair, of a jet colour, tied together on the crown of the head with a bit of cloth. They wore ſuch girdles as we had perceived about thoſe on ſhore, and we found they were a ſubſtance made from the morus papyrifera, in the ſame manner as at the other iſlands of this ocean. It was glazed like the ſort uſed by the natives of the Friendly iſlands; but the cloth on their heads was white, like that which was found at Otaheite. They had on a kind of ſandals, made of a graſſy ſubſtance interwoven, which we alſo obſerved were worn by thoſe who ſtood upon the beach; and, as we ſuppoſed, intended to defend their feet againſt the rough coral rock. Their beards were long, and the inſide of their arms, from the ſhoulder to the elbow, and ſome other parts, were punctured or tatooed, after the manner of the inhabitants of almoſt all the other iſlands in the South-Sea. The lobe of their ears was pierced, or rather ſlit, and to ſuch a length, that one of them ſtuck there a knife and ſome beads, which he had received from us; and the ſame perſon had two poliſhed pearl-ſhells, and a bunch of human hair, looſely twiſted, hanging about his neck, which was the only ornament we obſerved. The canoe they came in (which was the only one we ſaw) was not above ten feet long, and very narrow; but both ſtrong and neatly made. The fore-part had a flat board faſtened over it, and projecting out, to prevent the ſea getting in on plunging, like the ſmall evaas at Otaheite; but it had an upright ſtern, about five feet high, like ſome in New Zealand; and the upper end of this ſtern-poſt was forked. The lower part of the canoe was of a white wood; but the upper was black, and their paddles, made of wood of the ſame colour, not above three feet long, broad at one end, and blunted. They paddled either end of the canoe forward indifferently; and only turned about their faces to paddle the contrary way.

We now ſtood off and on; and as ſoon as the ſhips were in a proper ſtation, about ten o'clock I ordered two boats, one of them from the Diſcovery, to ſound the coaſt, and to endeavour to find a landing-place. With this view, I went in one of them myſelf,

myſelf, taking with me ſuch articles to give the natives as I thought might ſerve to gain their good-will. I had no ſooner put off from the ſhip, than the canoe with the two men, which had not left us long before, paddled towards my boat; and having come alongſide, Mouroa ſtept into her, without being aſked, and without a moment's heſitation.

Omai, who was with me, was ordered to inquire of him where we could land; and he directed us to two different places. But I ſaw, with regret, that the attempt could not be made at either place, unleſs at the riſk of having our boats filled with water, or even ſtaved to pieces. Nor were we more fortunate in our ſearch for anchorage; for we could find no bottom till within a cable's length of the breakers. There we met with from forty to twenty fathoms depth, over ſharp coral rocks; ſo that anchoring would have been attended with much more danger than landing.

While we were thus employed in reconnoitring the ſhore, great numbers of the natives thronged down upon the reef, all armed as above mentioned. Mouroa, who was now in my boat, probably thinking that this warlike appearance hindered us from landing, ordered them to retire back. As many of them complied, I judged he muſt be a perſon of ſome conſequence among them. Indeed, if we underſtood him right, he was the King's brother. So great was the curioſity of ſeveral of them, that they took to the water, and ſwimming off to the boats, came on board them without reſerve. Nay, we found it difficult to keep them out; and ſtill more difficult to prevent them carrying off every thing they could lay their hands upon. At length, when they perceived that we were returning to the ſhips, they all left us, except our original viſitor Mouroa. He, though not without evident ſigns of fear, kept his place in my boat, and accompanied me on board the ſhip.

The cattle, and other new objects, that preſented themſelves to him there, did not ſtrike him with ſo much ſurpriſe as one might have expected. Perhaps his mind was too much taken up about his own ſafety, to allow him to attend to other things. It is certain, that he ſeemed very uneaſy; and the ſhip, on our getting on board, happening to be ſtanding off ſhore, this circumſtance made him the more ſo. I could get but little new information from him; and therefore, after he had made a ſhort ſtay, I ordered a boat to carry him in toward the land. As ſoon as he got out of the cabin, he happened to ſtumble over one of the goats. His curioſity now overcoming his fear, he ſtopped, looked at it, and aſked Omai, what bird this was? and not receiving an immediate anſwer from him, he repeated the queſtion to ſome of the people upon deck. The boat having conveyed him pretty near to the ſurf, he leaped into the ſea, and ſwam aſhore. He had no ſooner landed, than the multitude of his countrymen gathered round him, as if with an eager curioſity to learn from him what he had ſeen; and in this ſituation they remained, when we loſt ſight of them. As ſoon as the boat returned, we hoiſted her in, and made ſail from the land to the northward.

Thus were we obliged to leave, unviſited, this fine iſland, which ſeemed capable of ſupplying all our wants.

As the inhabitants ſeemed to be both numerous and well fed, ſuch articles of proviſion as the iſland produces muſt be in great plenty. It might, however, be a matter of curioſity to know, particularly, their method of ſubſiſtence; for our friend Mouroa told us, that they had no animals, as hogs and dogs, both which, however, they had heard of; but acknowledged they had plantains, bread-fruit, and taro. The only birds we ſaw, were ſome white egg-birds, terns, and noddies; and one white heron, on the ſhore.

After leaving Mangeea, on the afternoon of the 30th, we continued our courſe northward all that night, and till noon on the 31ſt; when we again ſaw land, in the direction of north-eaſt-by-north, diſtant eight or ten leagues; and next morning, at eight o'clock, we got abreaſt of its north end. I ſent two armed boats from the Reſolution, and one from the Diſcovery, under the command of Lieutenant Gore, to look for anchoring-ground, and a landing-place. In the mean time, we plyed up under the iſland with the ſhips.

Juſt as the boats were putting off, we obſerved ſeveral ſingle canoes coming from the ſhore. They went firſt to the Diſcovery, ſhe being the neareſt ſhip. It was not long after, when three of the canoes came alongſide of the Reſolution, each conducted by one man. They are long and narrow, and ſupported by outriggers. The ſtern is elevated about three or four feet, ſomething like a ſhip's ſtern-poſt. The head is flat above, but prow-like below, and turns down at the extremity, like the end of a violin. Some knives, beads, and other trifles, were conveyed to our viſitors; and hey gave us a few cocoa-nuts, upon our aſking for them. But they did not part with them by way of exchange for what they had received from us. For they ſeemed to have no idea of bartering; nor did they appear to eſtimate any of our preſents at a high rate.

With a little perſuaſion, one of them made his canoe faſt to the ſhip, and came on board; and the other two, encouraged by his example, ſoon followed him. Their whole behaviour marked that they were quite at their eaſe, and felt no ſort of apprehenſion of our detaining or uſing them ill.

After their departure another canoe arrived, conducted by a man who brought a bunch of plantains as a preſent to me; aſking for me by name, having learnt it from Omai, who was ſent before us in a boat with Mr. Gore. In return for this civility, I gave him an axe, and a piece of red cloth; and he paddled back to the ſhore well ſatisfied. I afterwards underſtood from Omai, that this preſent had been ſent from the King, or principal chief of the iſland.

Not long after a double canoe, in which were twelve men, came towards us. As they drew near the ſhip, they recited ſome words in concert, by way of chorus, one of their number firſt ſtanding up, and giving the word before each repetition. When they had finiſhed their ſolemn chant, they came alongſide and aſked for the chief. As ſoon as I ſhewed myſelf, a pig and a few cocoa-nuts were conveyed up into the ſhip; and the principal perſon in the canoe made me an additional preſent of a piece of matting, as ſoon as he and his companions got on board.

Our viſitors were conducted into the cabin, and to other parts of the ſhip. Some objects ſeemed to ſtrike them with a degree of ſurpriſe; but nothing fixed their attention for a moment. They were afraid to come near the cows and horſes; nor did they form the leaſt conception of their nature. But the ſheep and goats did not ſurpaſs the limits of their ideas; for they gave us to underſtand, that they knew them to be birds. It will appear rather incredible, that human ignorance could ever make ſo ſtrange a miſtake; there not being the moſt diſtant ſimilitude between a ſheep or a goat and any winged animal. I made a preſent to my new friend of what I thought might be moſt acceptable to him; but, on his going away, he ſeemed rather diſappointed than pleaſed. I afterward underſtood that he was very deſirous of obtaining a dog, of which animal this iſland could not boaſt.

The people in theſe canoes were in general of a middling ſize, and not unlike thoſe of Mangeea; though ſeveral were of a blacker caſt than any we ſaw there. Their hair was tied on the crown of the head, or flowing looſe about the ſhoulders; and though

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in ſome it was of a frizzling diſpoſition, yet, for the moſt part, that, as well as the ſtraight ſort, was long. Their features were various, and ſome of the young men rather handſome. Like thoſe of Mangeea, they had girdles of glazed cloth, or fine matting, the ends of which, being brought betwixt their thighs, cover the adjoining parts. Ornaments, compoſed of a ſort of broad braſs, ſtained with red, and ſtrung with berries of the night-ſhade, were worn about their necks. Their ears were bored, but not ſlit; and they were punctured upon their legs, from the knee to the heel, which made them appear as if they wore a kind of boots. They alſo reſembled the inhabitants of Mangeea in the length of their beards, and, like them, wore a ſort of ſandals upon their feet. Their behaviour was frank and cheerful, with a great deal of good-nature.

Soon after day-break, we obſerved ſome canoes coming off to the ſhips, and one of them directed its courſe to the Reſolution. In it was a hog, with ſome plantains and cocoa-nuts, for which the people who brought them demanded a dog from us, and refuſed every other thing that we offered in exchange. To gratify theſe people, Omai parted with a favourite dog he had brought from England; and with this acquiſition they departed highly ſatisfied.

I diſpatched Mr. Gore with three boats, two from the Reſolution, and one from the Diſcovery. Two of the natives, who had been on board, accompanied him, and Omai went with him in his boat as an interpreter. The ſhips being a full league from the iſland when the boats put off, it was noon before we could work up to it. We then ſaw our three boats riding at their graplings, juſt without the ſurf, and a prodigious number of the natives on the ſhore, abreaſt of them. By this we concluded, that Mr. Gore, and others of our people, had landed, and our impatience to know the event may be eaſily conceived. In order to obſerve their motions, and to be ready to give them ſuch aſſiſtance as they might want, and our reſpective ſituations would admit of, I kept as near the ſhore as was prudent. Some of the iſlanders, now and then, came off to the ſhips in their canoes, with a few cocoa-nuts, which they exchanged for whatever was offered to them.

Theſe occaſional viſits ſerved to leſſen my ſolicitude about our people who had landed. Though we could get no information from our viſitors; yet their venturing on board ſeemed to imply, at leaſt, that their countrymen on ſhore had not made an improper uſe of the confidence put in them. At length, a little before ſun-ſet, we had the ſatisfaction of ſeeing the boats put off. When they got on board, I found that Mr. Gore himſelf, Omai, Mr. Anderſon, and Mr. Burney, were the only perſons who had landed. The tranſactions of the day were now fully reported to me by Mr. Anderſon: I ſhall give them nearly in his words.

"We rowed toward a ſmall ſandy beach, upon which a great number of the natives had aſſembled. Several of the natives ſwam off, bringing cocoa-nuts; and Omai, with their countrymen, whom we had with us in the boats, made them ſenſible of our wiſh to land.

"Mr. Burney, the firſt lieutenant of the Diſcovery, and I, went in one canoe, a little time before the other; and our conductors, watching attentively the motions of the ſurf, landed us ſafely upon the reef. An iſlander took hold of each of us, obviouſly with an intention to ſupport us in walking over the rugged rocks to the beach; where ſeveral of the others met us, holding the green boughs of a ſpecies of mimoſa in their hands, and ſaluted us by applying their noſes to ours.

"We were conducted from the beach amidſt a crowd of people, who flocked with very eager curioſity to look at us, and would have prevented our proceeding, had not

ſome men, who ſeemed to have authority, dealt blows, with little diſtinction, amongſt them, to keep them off. We were then led up an avenue of cocoa-palms; and ſoon came to a number of men, arranged in two rows, armed with clubs. After walking a little way amongſt theſe, we found a perſon who ſeemed a chief, ſitting on the ground croſs-legged, cooling himſelf with a ſort of triangular fan made from a leaf of the cocoa-palm. In his ears were large bunches of beautiful red feathers; but he had no other mark to diſtinguiſh him from the reſt of the people, though they all obeyed him.

"We proceeded ſtill amongſt the men armed with clubs, and came to a ſecond chief, who ſat fanning himſelf, and ornamented as the firſt. In the ſame manner we were conducted to a third chief, who ſeemed older than the two former. He alſo was ſitting, and adorned with red feathers; and after ſaluting him as we had done the others, he deſired us both to ſit down; which we were very willing to do, being pretty well fatigued.

"In a few minutes, we ſaw, at a ſmall diſtance, about twenty young women, ornamented as the chiefs, with red feathers, engaged in a dance, which they performed to a ſlow and ſerious air, ſung by them all. We got up, and went forward to ſee them; and though we muſt have been ſtrange objects to them, they continued their dance, without paying the leaſt attention to us. Their motions and ſong were performed in exact concert. In general, they were rather ſtout than ſlender, with black hair flowing in ringlets down the neck, and of an olive complexion. Their eyes were of a deep black, and each countenance expreſſed a degree of complacency and modeſty, peculiar to the ſex in every part of the world; but perhaps more conſpicuous here, where nature preſented us with her productions in the fulleſt perfection, unbiaſſed in ſentiment by cuſtom, or unreſtrained in manner by art. Their ſhape and limbs were elegantly formed; for as their dreſs conſiſted only of a piece of glazed cloth faſtened about the waiſt, and ſcarcely reaching ſo low as the knees, in many we had an opportunity of obſerving every part.

"As we ſuppoſed the ceremony of being introduced to the chiefs was at an end, we began to look about for Mr. Gore and Omai; and though the crowd would hardly ſuffer us to move, we at length found them coming up, as much incommoded by the number of people as we had been, and introduced in the ſame manner to the three chiefs, whoſe names were Otteroo, Taroa, and Fatouweera. Omai mentioned to them our views in coming on ſhore, when he was told we muſt wait till next day.

"They now ſeemed to take ſome pains to ſeparate us from each other; every one of us having his circle, to ſurround and gaze at him: and when I told the chief with whom I ſat, that I wanted to ſpeak to Omai, he peremptorily refuſed my requeſt. At the ſame time I found the people began to ſteal ſeveral trifling things which I had in my pocket; and when I took the liberty of complaining to the chief of this treatment, he juſtified it. From theſe circumſtances, I now entertained apprehenſions that they might have formed the deſign of detaining us amongſt them.

"Mr. Burney happening to come to the place where I was, I mentioned my ſuſpicions to him; and, to put it to the teſt, whether they were well founded, we attempted to get to the beach. But we were ſtopped, when about half way, by ſome men, who told us that we muſt go back to the place which we had left. On coming up, we found Omai entertaining the ſame apprehenſions. But he had, as he fancied, an additional reaſon for being afraid; for he had obſerved, that they had dug a hole in the ground for an oven, which they were now heating; and he could aſſign no other reaſon for this, than that they meant to roaſt and eat us, as is practiſed by the inhabitants

inhabitants of New Zealand. Nay, he went ſo far as to aſk them the queſtion; at which they were greatly ſurprized, aſking, in return, whether that was a cuſtom with us?

"In this manner we were detained the greateſt part of the day, being ſometimes together and ſometimes ſeparated, but always in a crowd; who, not ſatisfied with gazing at us, frequently deſired us to uncover parts of our ſkin; the ſight of which commonly produced a general murmur of admiration. At the ſame time, they did not omit theſe opportunities of rifling our pockets; and at laſt, one of them ſnatched a ſmall bayonet from Mr. Gore, which hung in its ſheath by his ſide.

"Upon our urging again the buſineſs we came upon, they gave us to underſtand, that we muſt ſtay and eat with them; and a pig which we ſaw ſoon after, lying near the oven, which they had prepared and heated, removed Omai's apprehenſions of being put into it himſelf; and made us think it might be intended for our repaſt. The chief alſo promiſed to ſend ſome people to procure food for the cattle; but it was not till pretty late in the afternoon that we ſaw them return with a few plantain-trees, which they carried to our boats. A piece of the young hog that had been dreſſed, was ſet before us, of which we were deſired to eat. Our appetites, however, had failed, from the fatigue of the day; and though we did eat a little to pleaſe them, it was without ſatisfaction to ourſelves.

"It being now near ſunſet, we told them it was time to go on board. This they allowed; and ſent down to the beach the remainder of the victuals that had been dreſſed, to be carried with us to the ſhips. They put us on board our boats, with the cocoa-nuts, plantains, and other proviſions, which they had brought; and we rowed to the ſhips, very well pleaſed that we had at laſt got out of the hands of our troubleſome maſters.

"We regretted much, that our reſtrained ſituation gave us ſo little opportunity of making obſervations on the country. For, during the whole day, we were ſeldom a hundred yards from the place where we were introduced to the chiefs, on landing; and, conſequently, were confined to the ſurrounding objects. The firſt thing that preſented itſelf, worthy of our notice, was the number of people; which muſt have been, at leaſt, two thouſand. For thoſe who welcomed us on the ſhore, bore no proportion to the multitude we found amongſt the trees, on proceeding a little way up.

"We could alſo obſerve, that, except a few, thoſe we had hitherto ſeen on board, were of the lower claſs. For a great number of thoſe we now met with, had a ſuperior dignity in their air, and were of a much whiter caſt. In general, they had their hair tied on the crown of the head, long, black, and of a moſt luxuriant growth. Many of the young men were perfect models in ſhape, of a complexion as delicate as that of the women, and to appearance, of a diſpoſition as amiable.

"The wife of one of the chiefs appeared with her child, laid in a piece of red cloth, which had been preſented to her huſband; and ſeemed to carry it with great tenderneſs, ſuckling it much after the manner of our women. Another chief introduced his daughter, who was young and beautiful; but appeared with all the timidity natural to the ſex; though ſhe gazed on us with a kind of anxious concern, that ſeemed to ſtruggle with her fear, and to expreſs her aſtoniſhment at ſo unuſual a ſight. Others advanced with a firmneſs, and, indeed, were leſs reſerved than we expected; but behaved with a becoming modeſty. We did not obſerve any perſonal deformities amongſt either ſex; except in a few who had ſcars of broad ſuperficial ulcers remaining on the face and other parts.

"About a third part of the men were armed with clubs and ſpears; and probably, theſe were only the perſons who had come from a diſtance, as many of them had ſmall baſkets, mats, and other things, faſtened to the ends of their weapons. The clubs were generally about ſix feet long, made of hard black wood, lance-ſhaped at the end, but much broader, with the edge nicely ſcolloped, and the whole neatly poliſhed.

"What the ſoil of the iſland may be, farther inland, we could not tell. But, toward the ſea, it is nothing more than a bank of coral, ten or twelve feet high, ſteep, and rugged; except where there are ſmall ſandy beaches, at ſome clefts where the aſcent is gradual. The coral, though it has, probably, been expoſed to the weather for many centuries, has undergone no farther change than becoming black on the ſurface; which, from its irregularity, is not much unlike large maſſes of a burnt ſubſtance. But on breaking ſome pieces off, we found that, at the depth of two or three inches, it was juſt as freſh as the pieces that had been lately thrown upon the beach by the waves. The reef or rock, that lines the ſhore entirely, runs to different breadths into the ſea, where it ends all at once, and becomes like a high ſteep wall. It is nearly even with the ſurface of the water, and of a brown or brick colour; but the texture is rather porous, yet ſufficient to withſtand the waſhing of the ſurf which continually breaks upon it."

Though the landing of our gentlemen proved the means of enriching my journal with the foregoing particulars, the principal object I had in view was, in a great meaſure, unattained; for the day was ſpent without getting any one thing from the iſland worth mentioning. The natives, however, were gratified with a ſight they never before had; and, probably, will never have again. And mere curioſity ſeems to have been the chief motive for keeping the gentlemen under ſuch reſtraint, and for uſing every art to prolong their continuance amongſt them.

Omai was Mr. Gore's interpreter, but that was not the only ſervice he performed this day. He was aſked by the natives a great many queſtions concerning us, our ſhips, our country, and the ſort of arms we uſed; and according to the account he gave me, his anſwers were not a little upon the marvellous. As, for inſtance, he told them, that our country had ſhips as large as their iſland; on board which were inſtruments of war, (deſcribing our guns) of ſuch dimenſions, that ſeveral people might ſit within them; and that one of them was ſufficient to cruſh the whole iſland at one ſhot. This led them to enquire of him, what ſort of guns we actually had in our two ſhips. He ſaid, that though they were but ſmall, in compariſon with thoſe he had juſt deſcribed, yet, with ſuch as they were, we could with the greateſt eaſe, and at the diſtance the ſhips were from the ſhore, deſtroy the iſland, and kill every ſoul in it. They perſevered in their inquiries to know by what means this could be done? and Omai explained the matter as well as he could. He happened luckily to have a few cartridges in his pocket: theſe he produced; the balls, and the gunpowder which was to ſet them in motion, were ſubmitted to inſpection; and, to ſupply the defects of his deſcription, an appeal was made to the ſenſes of the ſpectators. It has been mentioned above, that one of the chiefs had ordered the multitude to form themſelves into a circle. This furniſhed Omai with a convenient ſtage for his exhibition. In the centre of this amphitheatre, the inconſiderable quantity of gunpowder, collected from his cartridges, was properly diſpoſed upon the ground, and, by means of a bit of burning wood from the oven, where dinner was dreſſing, ſet on fire. The ſudden blaſt, and loud report, the mingled flame and ſmoke, that inſtantly ſucceeded, now filled the whole aſſembly with aſtoniſhment; they no longer doubted

doubted the tremendous power of our weapons, and gave full credit to all that Omai had ſaid.

If it had not been for the terrible ideas they conceived of the guns of our ſhips, from this ſpecimen of their mode of operation, it was thought that they would have detained the gentlemen all night. For Omai aſſured them, that if he and his companions did not return on board the ſame day, they might expect that I would fire upon the iſland. And as we ſtood in nearer the land in the evening, than we had done any time before, of which poſition of the ſhips they were obſerved to take great notice, they, probably, thought we were meditating this formidable attack; and, therefore, ſuffered their gueſts to depart; under the expectation, however, of ſeeing them again on ſhore next morning. But I was too ſenſible of the riſk they had already run, to think of a repetition of the experiment.

Omai found three of his countrymen here; their ſtory is an affecting one, as related by him. About twenty perſons had embarked on board a canoe at Otaheite, to croſs over to the neighbouring iſland Ulietea. A violent contrary wind ariſing, they could neither reach the latter, nor get back to the former. Their intended paſſage being a very ſhort one, their ſtock of proviſions was ſcanty, and ſoon exhauſted. The hardſhips they ſuffered, while driven along by the ſtorm, are not to be conceived. They paſſed many days without ſuſtenance. Their numbers gradually diminiſhed, worn out by famine and fatigue. Four only ſurvived, when the canoe overſet. However, they kept hanging by the ſide of the veſſel, till Providence brought them in ſight of the people of this iſland, who immediately ſent out canoes, and brought them aſhore. Of the four, one was ſince dead. The other three ſtill living, ſpoke highly of the kind treatment they here met with. And ſo well ſatisfied were they with their ſituation, that they refuſed the offer made to them by our gentlemen, at Omai's requeſt, of giving them a paſſage on board our ſhips, to reſtore them to their native iſlands.

The landing of our gentlemen on this iſland, though they failed in the object of it, cannot but be conſidered as a very fortunate circumſtance. It has proved, as we have ſeen, the means of bringing to our knowledge a matter of fact, not only very curious, but very inſtructive. The application of the above narrative is obvious. It will ſerve to explain, better than a thouſand conjectures of ſpeculative reaſoners, how the detached parts of the earth, and in particular how the iſlands of the South Seas, may have been firſt peopled, eſpecially thoſe that lie remote from any inhabited continent, or from each other.

Light airs and calms having prevailed, by turns, all the night of the 3d of April, the eaſterly ſwell had carried the ſhips ſome diſtance from Watteeoo, before daybreak. But as I had failed in my object of procuring ſome effectual ſupply, I quitted it without regret, and ſteered for the neighbouring iſland.

With gentle breeze at eaſt, we got up with it before ten o'clock in the morning, and I immediately diſpatched Mr. Gore, with two boats, to endeavour to get ſome food for our cattle. As there ſeemed to be no inhabitants here to obſtruct our taking away whatever we might think proper, our boats no ſooner reached the weſt ſide of the iſland, but they ventured in, and Mr. Gore and his party got ſafe on ſhore. I could, from the ſhip, ſee that they had ſucceeded ſo far; and I immediately ſent a ſmall boat to know what farther aſſiſtance was wanting. She did not return till three o'clock in the afternoon, having waited to take in a lading of what uſeful produce the iſland afforded. As ſoon as ſhe was cleared, ſhe was ſent again for another cargo; the jolly-boat was alſo diſpatched, and Mr. Gore was ordered to be on board, with all the boats, before night; which was complied with.

The ſupply obtained here, conſiſted of about a hundred cocoa-nuts for each ſhip; we alſo got for our cattle ſome graſs, and a quantity of the leaves and branches of young cocoa-trees, and of the wharra-tree, as it is called at Otaheite.

The only birds ſeen here were a beautiful cuckoo, of a cheſnut brown, variegated with black, which was ſhot. And upon the ſhore, ſome egg-birds; a ſmall ſort of curlew; blue and white herons; and great numbers of noddies; which laſt, at this time, laid their eggs, a little further up, on the ground.

One of our people caught a lizard, of a moſt forbidding aſpect, though ſmall, running up a tree; and many of another ſort were ſeen. The buſhes towards the ſea, were frequented by infinite numbers of a ſort of moth, elegantly ſpeckled with red, black, and white. There were alſo ſeveral other ſorts of moths, as well as ſome pretty butterflies; and a few other inſects.

Though there were, at this time, no fixed inhabitants upon the iſland, indubitable marks remained of its being, at leaſt, occaſionally frequented. In particular, a few empty huts were found. In one of them, Mr. Gore left a hatchet, and ſome nails, to the full value of what we took away.

As ſoon as the boats were hoiſted in, I made ſail again to the northward. Although Hervey's iſland, diſcovered in 1773, was not above fifteen leagues diſtant, yet we did not get ſight of it till day-break in the morning. As we drew near it, at eight o'clock, we obſerved ſeveral canoes put off toward the ſhips. This was a ſight that, indeed, ſurpriſed me, as no ſigns of inhabitants were ſeen when the iſland was firſt diſcovered; which might be owing to a pretty briſk wind that then blew, and prevented their canoes venturing out, as the ſhips paſſed to leeward; whereas now we were to windward.

As we kept on toward the iſland, ſix or ſeven of the canoes, all double ones, ſoon came near us. There were from three to ſix men in each of them. They ſtopped at the diſtance of about a ſtone's throw from the ſhip; and it was ſome time before Omai could prevail upon them to come alongſide; but no entreaties could induce any of them to venture on board. Indeed, their diſorderly and clamorous behaviour by no means indicated a diſpoſition to truſt us, or treat us well. We afterwards learnt, that they had attempted to take ſome oars out of the Diſcovery's boat that lay alongſide, and ſtruck a man who endeavoured to prevent them. They alſo cut away, with a ſhell, a net with meat, which hung over that ſhip's ſtern, and abſolutely refuſed to reſtore it; though we afterwards purchaſed it of them. Thoſe who were about our ſhip, behaved in the ſame daring manner; for they made a ſort of hook, of a long ſtick, with which they endeavoured, openly, to rob us of ſeveral things; and, at laſt, actually got a frock belonging to one of our people, that was towing over-board. At the ſame time, they immediately ſhewed a knowledge of bartering, and ſold ſome fiſh they had (amongſt which was an extraordinary flounder, ſpotted like porphyry; and a cream-coloured eel, ſpotted with black) for ſmall nails, of which they were immoderately fond, and called them goore. But they caught, with the greateſt avidity, bits of paper, or any thing elſe that was thrown to them; and if what was thrown fell into the ſea, they made no ſcruple to ſwim after it.

Theſe people ſeemed to differ as much in perſon, as in diſpoſition, from the natives of Wateeoo; though the diſtance between the two iſlands is not very great. Their colour was of a deeper caſt; and ſeveral had a fierce, rugged aſpect, reſembling the natives of New Zealand. The ſhell of a pear-oyſter poliſhed, hung about the neck, was the only ornamental faſhion that we obſerved amongſt them; for not one of them

them had adopted that mode of ornament, ſo generally prevalent amongſt the natives of this ocean, of puncturing, or tatooing their bodies.

Though ſingular in this, we had the moſt unequivocal proofs of their being of the ſame common race. Their language approached ſtill nearer to the dialect of Otaheite than that of Wateeoo, or Mangeea. Like the inhabitants of theſe two iſlands, they inquired from whence our ſhips came, and whither bound; who was our chief; the number of our men on board; and even the ſhip's name.

Having but very little wind, it was one o'clock before we drew near the north-weſt part of the iſland; when I ſent Lieutenant King, with two armed boats, to ſound and reconnoitre the coaſt, while we ſtood off and on with the ſhips. The inſtant the boats were hoiſted out, our viſitors in the canoes, who had remained alongſide all the while, bartering their little trifles, ſuſpended their traffic, and puſhing for the ſhore as faſt as they could, came near us no more.

At three o'clock, the boats returned; and Mr. King informed me, "that there was no anchorage for the ſhips; and that the boats could only land on the outer edge of the reef, which lay about a quarter of a mile from the dry land. He ſaid, that a number of the natives came down upon the reef, armed with long pikes and clubs, as if they intended to oppoſe his landing. And yet when he drew near enough, they threw ſome cocoa-nuts to our people, and invited them to come on ſhore; though, at the very ſame time, he obſerved that the women were very buſy bringing down a freſh ſupply of ſpears and darts. But, as he had no motive to land, he did not give them an opportunity to uſe them."

If I had been ſo fortunate as to have procured a ſupply of water, and of graſs, at any of the iſlands we had lately viſited, it was my purpoſe to have ſtood back to the ſouth, till I had met with a weſterly wind. But the certain conſequence of doing this, without ſuch a ſupply, would have been the loſs of all the cattle, before we could poſſibly reach Otaheite, without gaining one advantage, with regard to the great object of our voyage. I therefore determined to bear away for the Friendly Iſlands, where I was ſure of meeting with abundance of every thing I wanted.

April the 7th, I ſteered weſt-by-ſouth, with a fine breeze eaſterly. I propoſed to proceed firſt to Middleburg, or Eooa; thinking, if the wind continued favourable, that we had food enough on board for the cattle, to laſt till we ſhould reach that iſland. But, about noon, next day, thoſe faint breezes, that had attended and retarded us ſo long, again returned; and I found it neceſſary to haul more to the north, to get into the latitude of Palmerſtone's and Savage iſlands, diſcovered in 1774, during my laſt voyage; that if neceſſity required it, we might have recourſe to them.

This day, in order to ſave our water, I ordered the ſtill to be kept at work, from ſix o'clock in the morning to four in the afternoon; during which time, we procured from thirteen to ſixteen gallons of freſh water. There has been lately made ſome improvement, as they are pleaſed to call it, of this machine, which, in my opinion, is much for the worſe.

At length, at daybreak, in the morning of the 13th, we ſaw Palmerſtone iſland, bearing weſt-by-ſouth, diſtant about five leagues. However, we did not get up with it, till eight o'clock the next morning. I then ſent four boats, three from the Reſolution, and one from the Diſcovery, with an officer in each, to ſearch the coaſt for the moſt convenient landing-place. For, now, we were under an abſolute neceſſity of procuring from this iſland, ſome food for the cattle; otherwiſe we muſt have loſt them.

The boats firſt examined the ſouth-eaſternmoſt part, and failing there, ran down to the eaſt, where we had the ſatisfaction to ſee them land. This place is not inhabited.

About one o'clock, one of the boats came on board, laden with ſcurvy-graſs and young cocoa-nut trees; which, at this time, was a feaſt for the cattle. The ſame boat brought a meſſage from Mr. Gore, informing me, that there was plenty of ſuch produce upon the iſland. Before evening, I went aſhore in a ſmall boat, accompanied by Captain Clerke.

We found every body hard at work, and the landing-place to be in a ſmall creek. Upon the buſhes that front the ſea, or even farther in, we found a great number of men-of-war birds, tropic birds, and two ſorts of boobies, which, at this time, were laying their eggs, and ſo tame, that they ſuffered us to take them off with our hands.

At one part of the reef, which looks into, or bounds, the lake that is within, there was a large bed of coral, almoſt even with the ſurface, which afforded, perhaps, one of the moſt enchanting proſpects that nature has any where produced. Its baſe was fixed to the ſhore, but reached ſo far in, that it could not be ſeen; ſo that it ſeemed to be ſuſpended in the water, which deepened ſo ſuddenly, that, at the diſtance of a few yards, there might be ſeven or eight fathoms. The ſea was, at this time, quite unruffled; and the ſun ſhining bright, expoſed the various ſorts of coral, in the moſt beautiful order. But the appearance of theſe was ſtill inferior to that of the multitude of fiſhes that glided gently along, ſeemingly with the moſt perfect ſecurity. The colours of the different ſorts were the moſt beautiful that can be imagined; yellow, blue, red, black, &c. far exceeding any thing that art can produce.

There were no traces of inhabitants having ever been here; if we except a ſmall piece of a canoe that was found upon the beach, which, probably, may have drifted from ſome other iſland. But what is rather extraordinary, we ſaw ſeveral ſmall brown rats on this ſpot; a circumſtance, perhaps, difficult to account for, unleſs we allow that they were imported in the canoe of which we ſaw the remains.

After the boats were laden, I returned on board, leaving Mr. Gore, with a party, to paſs the night on ſhore, in order to be ready to go to work early the next morning.

That day was accordingly ſpent, as the preceding one had been, in collecting, and bringing on board, food for the cattle. Having got a ſufficient ſupply by ſunſet, I ordered every body on board. But having little or no wind, I determined to wait, and to employ the next day, by endeavouring to get ſome cocoa-nuts for our people from the next iſland to leeward, where we could obſerve that thoſe trees were in much greater abundance than where we had already landed.

With this view I kept ſtanding off and on all night; and, in the morning, between eight and nine o'clock, I went with the boats to the weſt-ſide of the iſland, and landed with little difficulty. I immediately ſet the people with me to work to gather cocoa-nuts, which we found in great abundance. Omai, who was with me, caught, with a ſcoop-net, in a very ſhort time, as much fiſh as ſerved the whole party on ſhore for dinner, beſides ſending ſome to both ſhips. Here were alſo great abundance of birds, particularly men-of-war and tropic birds; ſo that we fared ſumptuouſly. And it is but doing juſtice to Omai to ſay, that, in theſe excurſions to the uninhabited iſlands, he was of the greateſt uſe. For he not only caught the fiſh, but dreſſed theſe, and the birds we killed, in an oven with heated ſtones, after the faſhion of his country, with a dexterity and good-humour that did him great credit.

We

We found this iſlot near a half larger than the other, and almoſt entirely covered with cocoa-palms. A young turtle had been lately thrown aſhore here, as it was ſtill full of maggots. We found ſome ſcorpions, a few other inſects, and a great number of fiſh upon the reefs. Amongſt theſe were ſome large eels, beautifully ſpotted, which, when followed, would raiſe themſelves out of the water, and endeavour, with an open mouth, to bite their purſuers. The other ſorts were chiefly parrot-fiſh, ſnappers, and a brown ſpotted rock-fiſh, about the ſize of a haddock, ſo tame, that, inſtead of ſwimming away, it would remain fixed, and gaze at us. Had we been in abſolute want, a ſufficient ſupply might have been had; for thouſands of the clams, already mentioned, ſtuck upon the reef, ſome of which weighed two or three pounds. There were, beſides, ſome other ſorts of ſhell-fiſh; particularly the large periwinkle. When the tide flowed, ſeveral ſharks came in over the reef, ſome of which our people killed; but they rendered it rather dangerous to walk in the water at that time.

Upon the whole, we did not ſpend our time unprofitably at this laſt iſlot; for we got there about twelve hundred cocoa-nuts, which were equally divided amongſt the whole crew.

The nine or ten low iſlots, comprehended under the name of Palmerſton's iſland, may be reckoned the heads or ſummits of the reef of coral rock, that connects them together, covered only with a thin coat of ſand, yet clothed, as already obſerved, with trees and plants, moſt of which are of the ſame ſorts that are found on the low grounds of the high iſlands of this ocean.

The heat, which had been great for about a month, became now much more diſagreeable in this cloſe rainy weather; and, from the moiſture attending it, threatened ſoon to be noxious; as the ſhips could not be kept dry, nor the ſkuttles open for the ſea. However, it is remarkable enough, that though the only refreſhment we had received ſince leaving the Cape of Good Hope, was that at New Zealand; there was not, yet, a ſingle perſon on board ſick, from the conſtant uſe of ſalt food, or viciſſitude of climate.

In the night between the 24th and 25th we paſſed Savage iſland, which I had diſcovered in 1774. I ſteered for the ſouth, and then hauled up for Annamooka. The weather being ſqually, with rain, I anchored, at the approach of night, in fifteen fathoms water, over a bottom of coral-ſand and ſhells; Komango bearing north-weſt, about two leagues diſtant.

Soon after we anchored, two canoes, the one with four, and the other with three men, paddled towards us, and came alongſide without the leaſt heſitation. They brought ſome cocoa-nuts, bread-fruit plantains, and ſugar-cane, which they bartered with us for nails.

Next morning, at four o'clock, I ſent Lieutenant King, with two boats, to Komango, to procure refreſhments; and at five, made the ſignal to weigh, in order to ply up to Annamooka, the wind being unfavourable at north-weſt.

It was no ſooner day-light, than we were viſited by ſix or ſeven canoes from different iſlands, bringing with them, beſides fruits and roots, two pigs, ſeveral fowls, ſome large wood-pigeons, ſmall rails, and large violet-coloured coots. All theſe they exchanged with us for beads, nails, hatches, &c. They had alſo other articles of commerce, ſuch as pieces of their cloth, fiſh-hooks, ſmall baſkets, muſical reeds, and ſome clubs, ſpears, and bows. But I ordered that no curioſities ſhould be purchaſed, till the ſhips ſhould be ſupplied with proviſions, and leave given for that purpoſe. Knowing, alſo, from experience, that, if all our people might trade with the natives, according to their own caprice, perpetual quarrels would enſue, I ordered that particular

cular perſons ſhould manage the traffic both on board and on ſhore, prohibiting all others to interfere. Before mid-day, Mr. King's boat returned with ſeven hogs, ſome fowls, a quantity of fruit and roots for ourſelves, and ſome graſs for the cattle. His party was very civilly treated at Komango. The inhabitants did not ſeem to be numerous; and their huts, which ſtood cloſe to each other, within a plantain walk, were but indifferent. Not far from them was a pretty large pond of freſh water, tolerably good; but there was not any appearance of a ſtream. With Mr. King came on board the chief of the iſland, named Tooboulangee; and another whoſe name was Taipa. They brought with them a hog, as a preſent to me, and promiſed more the next day.

Tooboulangee and Taipa kept their promiſe, and brought off to me ſome hogs. Several others were alſo procured by bartering, from different canoes that followed us; and as much fruit as we could well manage.

At four o'clock next morning, I ordered a boat to be hoiſted out, and ſent the maſter to ſound the ſouth-weſt ſide of Annamooka. For his report I determined to anchor on the north-ſide of the iſland, where, during my laſt voyage, I had found a place fit both for watering and landing; we reached it that afternoon.

Thus I reſumed the very ſame ſtation which I had occupied when I viſited Annamooka three years before; and probably, almoſt in the ſame place where Taſman, the firſt diſcoverer of this, and ſome of the neighbouring iſlands, anchored in 1643.

The following day I went aſhore, accompanied by Captain Clerke. Toobou, the chief of the iſland, conducted me and Omai to his houſe. We found it ſituated on a pleaſant ſpot, in the centre of his plantation. A fine graſs-plot ſurrounded it, which, he gave us to underſtand, was for the purpoſe of cleaning their feet, before they went within doors. I had not, before, obſerved ſuch an inſtance of attention to cleanlineſs at any of the places I had viſited in this ocean. While we were on ſhore, we procured a few hogs, and ſome fruit, by bartering; and, before we got on board again, the ſhips were crouded with the natives. Few of them coming empty-handed, every neceſſary refreſhment was now in the greateſt plenty.

I landed again in the afternoon, with a party of marines; and, at the ſame time, the horſes, and ſuch of the cattle as were in a weakly ſtate, were ſent on ſhore. Every thing being ſettled to my ſatisfaction, I returned to the ſhip at ſunſet, leaving the command upon the iſland to Mr. King. Taipa, who was now become our faſt friend, and who ſeemed to be the only active perſon about us, in order to be near our party in the night, as well as the day, had a houſe brought, on men's ſhoulders, a full quarter of a mile, and placed cloſe by the ſhed which our party occupied.

Next day, May 3d, our various operations on ſhore began. Some were employed in making hay for cattle; others in filling our water-caſks at the neighbouring ſtagnant pool; and a third party in cutting wood. In the evening, before the natives retired from our poſt, Taipa harangued them for ſome time. We could only gueſs at the ſubject; and judged, that he was inſtructing them how to behave towards us, and encouraging them to bring the produce of the iſland to market. We experienced the good effects of his eloquence in the plentiful ſupply of proviſions which, next day, we received.

Nothing worth notice happened on the 4th and 5th, except that, on the former of theſe days, the Diſcovery loſt her ſmall bower anchor, the cable being cut in two by the rocks. This misfortune made it neceſſary to examine the cables of the Reſolution, which were found to be unhurt.

On

On the 6th, we were viſited by a great chief from Tongataboo, whoſe name was Feenou, and whom Taipa was pleaſed to introduce to us as King of all the Friendly iſles. All the natives paid their obeiſance to him, by bowing their heads as low as his feet, the ſole of which they alſo touched with each hand, firſt with the palm, and then with the back part. There could be little room to ſuſpect that a perſon received with ſo much reſpect, could be any thing leſs than the King.

In the afternoon, I went to pay this great man a viſit, having firſt received a preſent of two fiſh from him, brought on board by one of his ſervants. As ſoon as I landed, he came up to me. He appeared to be about thirty years of age, tall, but thin, and had more of the European features than any I had yet ſeen here. After a ſhort ſtay, our new viſitor and five or ſix of his attendants, accompanied me on board. I gave ſuitable preſents to them all, and entertained them in ſuch a manner, as I thought would be moſt agreeable.

In the evening I attended them on ſhore in my boat, into which the chief ordered three hogs to be put, as a return for the preſents he had received from me.

The Diſcovery having found again her ſmall bower anchor, ſhifted her birth on the 7th; but not before her beſt bower cable had ſhared the fate of the other. This day, I had the company of Feenou at dinner; and alſo the next day, when he was attended by Taipa, Toobou, and ſome other chiefs. It was remarkable, that none but Taipa was allowed to ſit at table with him, or even to eat in his preſence. I own that I conſidered Feenou as a very convenient gueſt, on account of this etiquette. For, before his arrival, I had generally a larger company than I could well find room for.

The firſt day of our arrival at Annamooka, one of the natives had ſtolen, out of the ſhip, a large junk axe. I now applied to Feenou to exert his authority to get it reſtored to me; and ſo implicitly was he obeyed, that it was brought on board while we were at dinner. Theſe people gave us very frequent opportunities of remarking what expert thieves they were. Even ſome of the chiefs did not think this profeſſion beneath them. On the 9th, one of them was detected carrying out of the ſhip, concealed under his clothes, the bolt belonging to the ſpun yarn winch; for which I ſentenced him to receive a dozen laſhes, and kept him confined till he paid a hog for his liberty. After this, we were not troubled with thieves of rank. Their ſervants, or ſlaves, however, were ſtill employed in this dirty work; and upon them a flogging ſeemed to make no greater impreſſion than it would have done upon the main-maſt. When any of them happened to be caught in the act, their maſters, far from interceding for them, would often adviſe us to kill them. As this was a puniſhment we did not chuſe to inflict, they generally eſcaped without any puniſhment at all; for they appeared to us to be equally inſenſible of the ſhame and of the pain of corporal chaſtiſement. Captain Clerke, at laſt, hit upon a mode of treatment, which; we thought, had ſome effect. He put them under the hands of the barber, and completely ſhaved their heads; thus pointing them out as objects of ridicule to their countrymen, and enabling our people to deprive them of future opportunities for a repetition of their rogueries, by keeping them at a diſtance.

Finding that we had quite exhauſted the iſland of almoſt every article of food that it afforded, I employed the 11th in moving off, from the ſhore, the horſes, obſervatories, and other things that we had landed, as alſo the party of marines who had mounted guard at our ſtation, intending to ſail as ſoon as the Diſcovery ſhould have recovered her beſt bower anchor. Feenou, underſtanding that I meant to proceed directly to Tongataboo, importuned me ſtrongly to alter this plan, to which he expreſſed

as much averſion as if he had ſome particular intereſt to promote by diverting me from it. In preference to it, he warmly recommended an iſland, or rather a group of iſlands, called Hapaee, lying to the north-eaſt. There, he aſſured us, we could be ſupplied plentifully with every refreſhment, in the eaſieſt manner; and, to add weight to his advice, he engaged to attend us thither in perſon. He carried his point with me; and Hapaee was made choice of for our next ſtation. As it had never been viſited by any European ſhips, the examination of it became an object with me.

The 12th and the 13th, were ſpent in attempting the recovery of Captain Clerke's anchor, which, after much trouble, was happily accompliſhed; and on the 14th, in the morning, we got under ſail, and left Annamooka.

This iſland is ſomewhat higher than the other ſmall iſles that ſurround it; but, ſtill it cannot be admitted to the rank of thoſe of a moderate height, ſuch as Mangeea and Wateeoo.

Beſides walking frequently up into the country, which we were permitted to do without interruption, we ſometimes amuſed ourſelves in ſhooting wild ducks, not unlike the widgeon, which are very numerous upon the ſalt lake, and the pool where we got our water.

To the north and north-eaſt of Annamooka, and in the direct track to Hapaee, whither we were now bound, the ſea is ſprinkled with a great number of ſmall iſles.

At four o'clock in the afternoon being the length of Kotoo, the weſternmoſt of the above cluſter of ſmall iſlands, we ſteered to the north, leaving Toofoa and Kao on our larboard, keeping along the weſt ſide of a reef of rocks, which lie to the weſtward of Kotoo, till we came to their northern extremity, round which we hauled in for the iſland.

We had, in the afternoon, been within two leagues of Toofoa, the ſmoak of which we ſaw ſeveral times in the day. The Friendly iſlanders have ſome ſuperſtitious notions about the volcano upon it, which they call kollefeea, and ſay it is an otooa, or divinity. According to their account, it ſometimes throws up very large ſtones; and they compare the crater to the ſize of a ſmall iſlot, which has never ceaſed ſmoaking in their memory; nor have they any tradition that it ever did.

At day-break the next morning, being then not far from Kao, which is a vaſt rock of a conic figure, we ſteered to the eaſt, for the paſſage between the iſlands Footooha and Hafaiva, with a gentle breeze at ſouth-eaſt. About ten o'clock, Feenou came on board, and remained with us all day. He brought with him two hogs and a quantity of fruit; and, in the courſe of the day, ſeveral canoes, from the different iſlands, came round us, to barter quantities of the latter article, which was very acceptable, as our ſtock was nearly expended.

In the courſe of this night we could plainly ſee flames iſſuing from the volcano upon Toofoa, though to no great height.

At day-break in the morning of the 16th, with a gentle breeze at ſouth-eaſt, we ſteered north-eaſt for Hapaee, which was now in ſight. The wind ſcanting upon us, we could not fetch the land; ſo that we were forced to ply to windward.

On the 17th, I diſpatched a boat to look for anchorage. A proper place was ſoon found; and we came-to abreaſt of a reef, being that which joins Lefooga to Foa.

By the time we had anchored, the ſhips were filled with the natives. They brought from the ſhore hogs, fowls, fruit, and roots, which they exchanged for hatchets, knives, nails, beads, and cloth. I went on ſhore, accompanied by Omai and Feenou, landing at the north part of Lefooga, a little to the right of the ſhip's ſtation.

The

The chief conducted me to a hut, ſituated cloſe to the ſea-beach, which I had ſeen brought thither, but a few minutes before, for our reception. In this Feenou, Omai, and myſelf, were ſeated. The other chiefs, and the multitude, compoſed a circle, on the outſide, fronting us; and they alſo ſat down. I was then aſked, How long I intended to ſtay? On my ſaying, Five days; Taipa was ordered to come and ſit by me, and proclaim this to the people. He then harangued them, in a ſpeech moſtly dictated by Feenou. The purport of it, as I learnt from Omai, was, that they were all, both old and young, to look upon me as a friend, who intended to remain with them a few days; that during my ſtay, they muſt not ſteal any thing, nor moleſt me any other way; and that it was expected they ſhould bring hogs, fowls, fruit, &c. to the ſhips, where they would receive, in exchange for them, ſuch and ſuch things, which he enumerated. Soon after Taipa had finiſhed his addreſs to the aſſembly, Feenou left us. Taipa then took occaſion to ſignify to me, that it was neceſſary I ſhould make a preſent to the chief of the iſland, whoſe name was Earoupa. I was not unprepared for this; and gave him ſuch articles as far exceeded his expectation. My liberality to him brought upon me demands of the ſame kind, from two chiefs of other iſles who were preſent, and from Taipa himſelf. When Feenou returned, which was immediately after I had made the laſt of theſe preſents, he pretended to be angry with Taipa for ſuffering me to give away ſo much; but I looked upon this as mere fineſſe; being confident that he acted in concert with the others. He now took his ſeat again, and ordered Earoupa to ſit by him, and to harangue the people as Taipa had done, and to the ſame purpoſe; dictating, as before, the heads of the ſpeech.

Theſe ceremonies being performed, the chief, at my requeſt, conducted me to three ſtagnant pools of freſh water, as he was pleaſed to call it: and, indeed, in one of theſe the water was tolerable, and the ſituation not inconvenient for filling our caſks. After viewing the watering-place, we returned to our former ſtation, where I found a baked hog and ſome yams, ſmoaking hot, ready to be carried on board for my dinner. I invited Feenou and his friends to partake of it; and we embarked for the ſhip; but none but himſelf ſat down with us at the table. After dinner I conducted them on ſhore; and, before I returned on board, the chief gave me a fine large turtle, and a quantity of yams. Our ſupply of proviſions was copious; for, in the courſe of the day, we got, by barter, alongſide the ſhip, about twenty ſmall hogs, beſide fruit and roots.

Next morning early, Feenou, and Omai, who ſcarcely ever quitted the chief, and now ſlept on ſhore, came on board. The object of the viſit was to require my preſence upon the iſland. After ſome time, I accompanied them; and, upon landing, was conducted to the ſame place where I had been ſeated the day before; and where I ſaw a large concourſe of people already aſſembled. I gueſſed that ſomething more than ordinary was in agitation; but could not tell what, nor could Omai inform me.

I had not long been ſeated, before near a hundred of the natives appeared in ſight, and advanced, laden with yams, bread-fruit, plantains, cocoa-nuts, and ſugar-canes. They depoſited their burdens, in two heaps, or piles, upon our left, being the ſide they came from. Soon after arrived a number of others from the right, bearing the ſame kind of articles; which were collected into two piles upon that ſide. To theſe were tied two pigs, and ſix fowls; and to thoſe, upon the left, ſix pigs, and two turtles. Earoupa ſeated himſelf before the ſeveral articles upon the left; and another chief before thoſe upon the right; they being, as I judged, the two chiefs who had collected them, by order of Feenou, who ſeemed to be as implicitly obeyed here, as

he had been at Annamooka; and, in conſequence of his commanding ſuperiority over the chiefs of Hapaee, had laid this tax upon them for the preſent occaſion.

As ſoon as this munificent collection of proviſions was laid down in order, and diſpoſed to the beſt advantage, the bearers of it joined the multitude, who formed a large circle round the whole. Preſently after a number of men entered this circle, or area, before us, armed with clubs, made of the green branches of the cocoa-nut tree. Theſe paraded about for a few minutes, and then retired; the one half to one ſide, and the other half to the other ſide, ſeating themſelves before the ſpectators. Soon after, they ſucceſſively entered the liſts, and entertained us with ſingle combats. One champion, riſing up and ſtepping forward from one ſide, challenged thoſe of the other ſide, by expreſſive geſtures, more than by words, to ſend one of their body to oppoſe him. If the challenge was accepted, which was generally the caſe, the two combatants put themſelves in proper attitudes, and then began the engagement, which continued till one or other owned himſelf conquered, or till their weapons were broken. As ſoon as each combat was over, the victor ſquatted himſelf down facing the chief, then roſe up and retired. At the ſame time ſome old men, who ſeemed to ſit as judges, gave their plaudit in a few words; and the multitude, eſpecially thoſe on the ſide to which the victor belonged, celebrated the glory he had acquired, in two or three huzzas.

This entertainment was now and then ſuſpended for a few minutes. During theſe intervals there were both wreſtling and boxing matches. The firſt were performed in the ſame manner as at Otaheite; and the ſecond differed very little from the method practiſed in England. But what ſtruck us with the moſt ſurpriſe was, to ſee a couple of luſty wenches ſtep forth, and begin boxing, without the leaſt ceremony, and with as much art as the men. This conteſt, however, did not laſt above half a minute, before one of them gave it up. The conquering heroine received the ſame applauſe from the ſpectators, which they beſtowed upon the ſucceſsful combatants of the other ſex. We expreſſed ſome diſlike at this part of the experiment; which, however, did not prevent two other females from entering the liſts. They ſeemed to be girls of ſpirit, and would certainly have given each other a good drubbing, if two old women had not interpoſed to part them. All theſe combats were exhibited in the midſt of at leaſt three thouſand people, and were conducted with the greateſt good-humour on all ſides.

As ſoon as theſe diverſions were ended, the chief told me, that the heaps of proviſions on our right hand were a preſent to Omai; and that thoſe on our left hand, being about two-thirds of the whole quantity, were given to me. He added, that I might take them on board whenever it was convenient; but that there would be no occaſion to ſet any of our people as guards over them, as I might be aſſured, that not a ſingle cocoa-nut would be taken away by the natives. So it proved: for I left every thing behind, and returned to the ſhip to dinner, carrying the chief with me; and when the proviſions were removed on board, in the afternoon, not a ſingle article was miſſing. There was as much as loaded four boats; and I could not but be ſtruck with the munificence of Feenou; for this preſent far exceeded any I had ever received from any of the ſovereigns of the various iſlands I had viſited in the Pacific Ocean. I loſt no time in convincing our friend, that I was not inſenſible of his liberality; for, before he quitted my ſhip, I beſtowed upon him ſuch of my commodities as I gueſſed were moſt valuable in his eſtimation. And the return I made was ſo much to his ſatisfaction, that, as ſoon as he got on ſhore, he left me ſtill indebted to him, by ſending me a freſh preſent,

preſent, conſiſting of two large hogs, a conſiderable quantity of cloth, and ſome yams.

Feenou had expreſſed a deſire to ſee the marines go through the military exerciſe. As I was deſirous to gratify his curioſity, I ordered them all aſhore, from both ſhips, in the morning. After they had performed various evolutions, and fired ſeveral volleys, with which the numerous body of ſpectators ſeemed well pleaſed, the chief entertained us in his turn with an exhibition, which, as was acknowledged by us all, was performed with a dexterity and exactneſs far ſurpaſſing the ſpecimen we had given of our military manœuvres. It was a kind of dance ſo entirely different from any thing I had ever ſeen, that I fear, I can give no deſcription that will convey any tolerable idea of it to my readers. It was performed by men; and one hundred and five perſons bore their parts in it. Each of them had in his hand an inſtrument neatly made, ſhaped ſomewhat like a paddle, of two feet and a half in length, with a ſmall handle and a thin blade; ſo that they were very light. With theſe inſtruments, they made many and various flouriſhes, each of which was accompanied with a different movement. At firſt, the performers ranged themſelves in three lines; and, by various evolutions, each man changed his ſtation in ſuch a manner, that thoſe who had been in the rear came into the front. Nor did they remain long in the ſame poſition; but theſe changes were made by pretty quick tranſitions. At one time, they extended themſelves in one line; they then formed into a ſemicircle; and laſtly, into two ſquare columns. While this laſt movement was executing, one of them advanced, and performed an antic dance before me; with which the whole ended.

The muſical inſtruments conſiſted of two drums, or rather two hollow logs of wood, from which ſome varied notes were produced, by beating on them with two ſticks. It did not, however, appear to me, that the dancers were much aſſiſted by theſe ſounds, but by a chorus of vocal muſic, in which all the performers joined at the ſame time. Their ſong was not deſtitute of pleaſing melody; and all their correſponding motions were executed with ſo much ſkill, that the numerous body of dancers ſeemed to act as if they were one great machine. It was the opinion of every one of us, that ſuch a performance would have met with univerſal applauſe on an European theatre; and it ſo far exceeded any attempt we had made to entertain them, that they ſeemed to pique themſelves upon the ſuperiority they had over us. As to our muſical inſtruments, they held none of them in the leaſt eſteem, except the drum; and even that they did not think equal to their own. Our french-horns in particular, ſeemed to be held in great contempt; for neither here, nor at any other of the iſlands, would they pay the ſmalleſt attention to them.

In order to give them a more favourable opinion of Engliſh amuſements, and to leave their minds fully impreſſed with the deepeſt ſenſe of our ſuperior attainments, I directed ſome fire-works to be got ready; and, after it was dark, played them off in the preſence of Feenou, the other chiefs, and a vaſt concourſe of their people. Our water and ſky-rockets, in particular, pleaſed and aſtoniſhed them beyond all conception; and the ſcale was now turned in our favour.

This, however, ſeemed only to furniſh them with an additional motive to proceed to freſh exertions of their very ſingular dexterity; and our fire-works were no ſooner ended than a ſucceſſion of dances began. As a prelude to them, a band of muſic, or chorus of eighteen men, ſeated themſelves before us, in the centre of the circle. Four or five of this band had pieces of large bamboo, from three to five or ſix feet long; the upper end open, but the other end cloſed by one of the joints. With this cloſe end, the performers kept conſtantly ſtriking the ground, though ſlowly, thus pro-

ducing different notes, according to the different lengths of the inſtruments, but all of them of the hollow or baſs ſort; to counteract which a perſon kept ſtriking quickly, and with two ſticks, a piece of the ſame ſubſtance, ſplit, and laid along the ground, and, by that means, furniſhing a tone as acute, as thoſe produced by the others were grave. The reſt of the band, as well as thoſe who performed upon the bamboos, ſung a ſlow and ſoft air, which ſo tempered the harſher notes of the above inſtruments, that no by-ſtander, however accuſtomed to hear the moſt perfect and varied modulation of ſweet ſounds, could avoid confeſſing the vaſt power and pleaſing effect of this ſimple harmony.

Soon after they had finiſhed, nine women exhibited themſelves, and ſat down fronting the hut where the chief was. A man then roſe, and ſtruck the firſt of theſe women on the back, with both fiſts joined. He proceeded, in the ſame manner, to the ſecond and third; but when he came to the fourth, whether from accident or deſign I cannot tell, inſtead of the back, he ſtruck her on the breaſt. Upon this, a perſon roſe inſtantly from the crowd, who brought him to the ground with a blow on the head; and he was carried off without the leaſt noiſe or diſorder. But this did not ſave the other five women from ſo odd a diſcipline, or perhaps neceſſary ceremony; for a perſon ſucceeded him, who treated them in the ſame manner. Their diſgrace did not end here; for when they danced, they had the mortification to find their performance twice diſapproved of, and were obliged to repeat it.

The place where the dances were performed, was an open ſpace amongſt the trees, juſt by the ſea, with lights, at ſmall intervals, placed round the inſide of the circle. The concourſe of people, ſome of our gentlemen ſaid, might be about five thouſand perſons; others thought there were more; but that they who reckoned there were fewer, probably came nearer to the truth.

Curioſity, on both ſides, being now ſufficiently gratified, by the exhibition of the various entertainments I have deſcribed, I began to have time to look about me. Accordingly, next day, I took a walk into the iſland of Lefooga, of which I was deſirous to obtain ſome knowledge. I found it to be in ſeveral reſpects ſuperior to Annamooka. The plantations were more numerous, and more extenſive. In many places, indeed, toward the ſea, eſpecially on the eaſt ſide, the country is ſtill waſte; owing, perhaps, to the ſandy ſoil: as it is much lower than Annamooka, and its ſurrounding iſles. But, towards the middle of the iſland, the ſoil is better; and the marks of conſiderable population, and of improved cultivation, were very conſpicuous. For we met here with very large plantations, incloſed in ſuch a manner, that the fences running parallel to each other, form fine ſpacious public roads, that would appear ornamental in countries where rural conveniences have been carried to the greateſt perfection. We obſerved large ſpots covered with the paper-mulberry trees; and the plantations, in general, were well ſtocked with ſuch roots and fruits as are the natural produce of the iſland. To theſe I made ſome addition, by ſowing the ſeeds of Indian corn, melons, pumpkins, and the like.

The iſland is not above ſeven miles long; and, in ſome places, not above two or three broad. The eaſt ſide of it, which is expoſed to the trade-wind, has a reef running to a conſiderable breadth from it, on which the ſea breaks with great violence.

When I returned from my excurſion into the country, and went on board to dinner, I found a large ſailing canoe faſt to the ſhip's ſtern. In this canoe was Latooliboula, whom I had ſeen at Tongataboo during my laſt voyage; and who was then ſuppoſed by us to be the King of that iſland. He ſat in the canoe with all that gravity by which he was ſo remarkably diſtinguiſhed at that time; nor could I, by any intreaties, prevail upon him now to come into the ſhip. Many of the iſlanders were preſent; and they all called him Arekee, which

Dance in the Friendly Isles.

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which ſignifies King. I had never heard any one of them give this title to Feenou, however extenſive his authority over them, both here and at Annamooka, had appeared to be; which had all along inclined me to ſuſpect, that he was not the King; though his friend Taipa had taken pains to make me believe he was. Latooliboula remained under the ſtern till the evening, when he retired in his canoe to one of the iſlands. Feenou was on board my ſhip at the ſame time; but neither of theſe great men took the leaſt notice of each other.

Nothing material happened the next day, except that ſome of the natives ſtole a tarpaulin, and other things, from off the deck. They were ſoon miſſed, and the thieves purſued; but without ſucceſs.

In the morning of the 23d, as we were going to unmoor, in order to leave the iſland, Feenou and his prime miniſter Taipa came alongſide in a ſailing canoe, and informed me, that they were ſetting out for Vavaoo, an iſland which, they ſaid, lies about two days' ſail to the northward of Hapaee. The object of their voyage, they would have me believe, was to get for me an additional ſupply of hogs, and ſome red feathered caps for Omai, to carry to Otaheite, where they are in high eſteem. Feenou aſſured me, that he ſhould be back in four or five days; and deſired me not to ſail till his return, when, he promiſed, he would accompany me to Tongataboo. I thought this a good opportunity to get ſome knowledge of Vavaoo, and propoſed to him to go thither with the ſhips. But he ſeemed not to approve of the plan; and by way of diverting me from it, told me, that there was neither harbour, nor anchorage about it. I therefore conſented to wait, in my preſent ſtation, for his return; and he immediately ſet out.

The next day our attention was for ſome time taken up with a report induſtriouſly ſpread by ſome of the natives, that a ſhip like ours had arrived at Annamooka ſince we left it; they alſo added, that Toobou, the chief of that iſland, was haſtening thither to receive theſe new-comers. However, upon inveſtigation, there appeared no foundation for it. What end the invention of this tale could anſwer, was not eaſy to conjecture; unleſs we ſuppoſe it to have been artfully contrived, to get us removed from the one iſland to the other.

In my walk, on the 25th, I happened to ſtep into a houſe, where a woman was dreſſing the eyes of a young child, who ſeemed blind; the eyes being much inflamed, and a thin film ſpread over them. The inſtruments ſhe uſed were two ſlender wooden probes, with which ſhe had bruſhed the eyes ſo as to make them bleed. It ſeems worth mentioning, that the natives of theſe iſlands ſhould attempt an operation of this ſort; though I entered the houſe too late, to deſcribe exactly how this female oculiſt employed the wretched tools ſhe had to work with.

I was fortunate enough to ſee a different operation going on in the ſame houſe, of which I can give a tolerable account. I found there another woman ſhaving a child's head, with a ſhark's tooth ſtuck into the end of a piece of ſtick. I obſerved, that ſhe firſt wetted the hair with a rag dipped in water, applying her inſtrument to that part which ſhe had previouſly ſoaked. The operation ſeemed to give no pain to the child; although the hair was taken off as cloſe as if one of our razors had been employed. Encouraged by what I now ſaw, I ſoon after tried one of theſe ſingular inſtruments upon myſelf, and found it to be an excellent ſuccedaneum. However, the men of theſe iſlands have recourſe to another contrivance when they ſhave their beards. The operation is performed with two ſhells; one of which they place under a ſmall part of the beard, and with the other, applied above, they ſcrape that part off. In this manner they are able to ſhave very cloſe. The proceſs is, indeed, rather

tedious,

tedious, but not painful; and there are men amongſt them who ſeem to profeſs this trade. It was as common, while we were here, to ſee our ſailors go aſhore to have their beards ſcraped off, after the faſhion of Hapaee, as it was to ſee their chiefs come on board to be ſhaved by our barbers.

Finding that little or nothing of the produce of the iſland was now brought to the ſhips, I reſolved to change our ſtation, and to wait Feenou's return from Vavaoo, in ſome other convenient anchoring place, where refreſhments might ſtill be met with. At half paſt two in the afternoon of the 26th of May, I hauled into a bay that lies between the ſouth end of Lefooga, and the north end of Hoolaiva, and there anchored in ſeventeen fathoms water; the Diſcovery did not get to anchor till ſunſet. She had touched upon a ſhoal, but backed off again, without receiving any damage.

As ſoon as we had anchored, I ſent Mr. Bligh to ſound the bay; and myſelf, accompanied by Mr. Gore, landed on the ſouthern part of Lefooga, to examine the country, and to look for freſh water. We were conducted to two wells; but the water in both proved execrable; and the natives, our guides, aſſured us that they had none better.

Near the ſouth end of the iſland, and on the weſt ſide, we met with an artificial mount. From the ſize of ſome trees that were growing upon it, and from other appearances, I gueſſed that it had been raiſed in remote times: I judged it to be about forty feet high; and the diameter of its ſummit meaſured fifty feet. At the bottom of this mount, ſtood a ſtone, which muſt have been hewn of coral rock. It was four feet broad, two and a half thick, and fourteen high; and we were told by the natives preſent, that not above half its length appeared above ground. They called it Tangata Arekee *; and ſaid, that it had been ſet up, and the mount raiſed, by ſome of their forefathers, in memory of one of their Kings; but how long ſince, they could not tell.

About noon, a large ſailing canoe came under our ſtern, in which was a perſon named Futtafaihe, or Poulaho, or both; who, as the natives then on board told us, was King of Tongataboo, and of all the neighbouring iſlands. It was a matter of ſurpriſe to me, to have a ſtranger introduced under this character, which I had ſo much reaſon to believe really belonged to Feenou. However, it being my intereſt, as well as my inclination, to pay court to all the great men, without making inquiry into the validity of their aſſumed titles, I invited Poulaho on board; he brought with him, as a preſent, two fat hogs, though not ſo fat as himſelf. If weight of body could give weight in rank or power, he was certainly the moſt eminent man in that reſpect we had ſeen; for, though not very tall, he was very unwieldy, and almoſt ſhapeleſs with corpulence. I found him to be a ſedate, ſenſible man. He viewed the ſhip and the ſeveral new objects with uncommon attention, and aſked many pertinent queſtions; one of which was: What could induce us to viſit theſe iſlands? After he had ſatisfied his curioſity in looking at the cattle, and other novelties, which he met with upon deck, I deſired him to walk down into the cabin. To this his attendants objected, ſaying, that if he were to accept of that invitation, it muſt happen, that people would walk over his head; but the chief himſelf, leſs ſcrupulous in this reſpect than his attendants, waved all ceremony, and walked down.

Poulaho ſat down with us to dinner; but he ate little, and drank leſs. When we roſe from the table, he deſired me to accompany him aſhore. Omai was aſked to be of the party; but he was too faithfully attached to Feenou to ſhew any attention to

* *Tangata*, in their language, is man; *Arekee*, king.

his

his competitor; and therefore excuſed himſelf. I attended the chief in my own boat, having firſt made preſents to him of ſuch articles as, I could obſerve, he valued much, and were even beyond his expectation to receive. I was not diſappointed in my view of thus ſecuring his friendſhip: for the moment the boat reached the beach, he ordered two more hogs to be brought, and delivered to my people. He was then carried out of the boat, by ſome of his own people, upon a board reſembling a hand-barrow, and went and ſeated himſelf in a ſmall houſe near the ſhore; which ſeemed to have been erected there for his accommodation. He placed me at his ſide; and his attendants, who were not numerous, ſeated themſelves in a ſemicircle before us, on the outſide of the houſe. Behind the chief, or rather, on one ſide, ſat an old woman, with a ſort of fan in her hand, whoſe office it was to prevent his being peſtered with the flies.

The ſeveral articles his people had got, by trading on board the ſhips, were now diſplayed before him. He looked over them all with attention; enquired what they had given in exchange, and ſeemed pleaſed with the bargains they had made. At length, he ordered every thing to be reſtored to the reſpective owners, except a glaſs bowl, with which he was ſo much pleaſed, that he reſerved it for himſelf. The perſons who brought theſe things to him, firſt ſquatted themſelves down before him, then they depoſited their ſeveral purchaſes, and immediately roſe up and retired. The ſame reſpectful ceremony was obſerved in taking them away; and not one of them preſumed to ſpeak to him ſtanding. I ſtayed till ſeveral of his attendants left him, firſt paying him obeiſance, by bowing the hand down to the ſole of his foot, and touching or tapping the ſame, with the upper and under ſide of the fingers of both hands. Others, who were not in the circle, came, as it ſeemed, on purpoſe, and paid him this mark of reſpect, and then retired, without ſpeaking a word. I was quite charmed with the decorum that was obſerved. I had no where ſeen the like, not even amongſt more civilized nations.

The maſter of the Diſcovery, who had been examining the channels by my orders, informed me, when I got on board, that as far as he had proceeded there was anchorage; but that toward the ſouth, he ſaw a number of ſhoals and breakers. I therefore thought it better to return toward Annamooka by the ſame route, which we had ſo lately experienced to be a ſafe one.

Having come to this reſolution, I ſhould have ſailed next morning, if the wind had not been unſettled. Poulaho, the King, as I ſhall now call him, came on board betimes; and brought, as a preſent to me, one of their caps, made, or at leaſt covered, with red feathers. Theſe caps were much ſought after by us; for we knew they would be highly valued at Otaheite. But, though very large prices were offered, not one was ever brought for ſale; which ſhewed, that they were no leſs valuable in the eſtimation of the people here; nor was there a perſon in either ſhip, that could make himſelf the proprietor of one, except myſelf, Captain Clerke, and Omai. Theſe caps, or rather bonnets, are compoſed of the tail feathers of the tropic bird, with the red feathers of the parroquets wrought upon them, or jointly with them. They are made ſo as to tie upon the forehead, without any crown, and have the form of a ſemicircle, whoſe radius is eighteen or twenty inches.

At day-break the next morning, I weighed with a fine breeze at eaſt-north-eaſt, and ſtood to the weſtward, with a view to return to Annamooka. We were followed by ſeveral ſailing canoes, in one of which was the King. He quitted us in a ſhort time, but left his brother and five of his attendants on board. We had alſo the company of a chief, juſt then arrived from Tongataboo, whoſe name was Toboueitoa.

The moment he arrived, he ſent his canoe away, and declared that he and five more, who came with him, would ſleep on board; ſo that I had now my cabin filled with viſitors. They brought plenty of proviſions with them, for which they always had ſuitable returns.

At day-break on the 31ſt, I ſtood for the channel which is between Kotoo and the reef of rocks that lie to the weſtward of it; but on drawing near, I found the wind too ſcant to lead us through. From an apprehenſion of loſing the iſlands, with ſo many of the natives on board, I tacked and ſtood back, intending to wait till ſome more favourable opportunity. We did but juſt fetch in with Footooha, between which and Kotoo we ſpent the night, under reefed topſails and foreſail. The wind was freſh, and blew by ſqualls, with rain, and we were not without apprehenſions of danger. I kept the deck till midnight, when I left it to the maſter, with ſuch directions as I thought would keep the ſhips clear of the ſhoals. Our ſhip, by a ſmall ſhift of the wind, fetched farther to the windward than was expected. By this means ſhe was very near running full upon a low ſandy iſle, called Pootoo. It happened, very fortunately, that the people had juſt before been ordered upon deck, to put the ſhip about, ſo that the neceſſary movements were executed with judgment and alertneſs; and this alone ſaved us from deſtruction. The Diſcovery being aſtern, was out of danger. Such hazardous ſituations are the unavoidable companions of the man who goes upon a voyage of diſcovery.

This circumſtance frightened our paſſengers ſo much, that they expreſſed a ſtrong deſire to get aſhore. Accordingly, as ſoon as daylight returned, I hoiſted out a boat, and ordered the officer who commanded her, after landing them at Kotoo, to ſound along the reef that ſpits off from that iſland, for anchorage. For I was full as much tired as they could be, with beating about the ſurrounding iſles and ſhoals, and determined to get to an anchor ſomewhere or other, if poſſible. While the boat was abſent, we attempted to turn the ſhips through the channel, between the ſandy iſle and the reef of Kotoo, in expectation of finding a moderate depth of water behind them to anchor in. But meeting with a tide or current againſt us, we were obliged to deſiſt, and anchor in fifty fathoms water, with the ſandy iſle bearing eaſt by north, one mile diſtant.

We lay here until the 4th, when we weighed; and with a freſh gale at eaſt-ſouth-eaſt, ſtood away for Annamooka, where we anchored next morning, nearly in the ſame ſtation which we had lately occupied.

I went on ſhore ſoon after, and found the inhabitants very buſy in their plantations, digging up yams to bring to market. It appeared alſo that they had been very buſy, while we were abſent, in cultivating; for we now ſaw ſeveral large plantain fields in places which we had ſo lately ſeen lying waſte. The yams were now in the greateſt perfection; and we procured a good quantity, in exchange for pieces of iron.

Before I returned on board, I viſited the ſeveral places where I had ſown melon ſeeds, and had the mortification to find, that moſt of them were deſtroyed by a ſmall ant; but ſome pine-apple plants, which I had alſo left, were in thriving ſtate.

About noon next day, Feenou arrived from Vavaoo. He told us, that ſeveral canoes, laden with hogs and other proviſions, which had ſailed with him from that iſland, had been loſt, owing to the late blowing weather; and that every body on board them had periſhed. This melancholy tale did not ſeem to affect any of his countrymen who heard it; and as to ourſelves, we were, by this time, too well acquainted with his character, to give much credit to ſuch a ſtory. The following morning, Poulaho,

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and the other chiefs, who had been wind-bound with him, arrived. I happened at this time to be aſhore in company with Feenou, who now ſeemed to be ſenſible of the impropriety of his conduct, in aſſuming a character that did not belong to him. For he not only acknowledged Poulaho to be King of Tongataboo and the other iſles, but affected to inſiſt much on it; which, no doubt, was with a view to make amends for his former preſumption. I left him, to viſit this greater man, whom I found ſitting with a few people before him. But every one haſtening to pay court to him, the circle increaſed pretty faſt. I was very deſirous of obſerving Feenou's behaviour on this occaſion, and had the moſt convincing proof of his ſuperiority; for he placed himſelf amongſt the reſt that ſat before Poulaho, as attendants on his Majeſty. Both he and Poulaho went on board with me to dinner; but only the latter ſat at table. Feenou, having made his obeiſance in the uſual way, ſaluting his ſovereign's foot with his head and hands, retired out of the cabin. The King had before told us that this would happen; and it now appeared, that Feenou could not even eat nor drink in his royal preſence.

At eight o'clock next morning, we ſteered for Tongataboo, having a gentle breeze at north-eaſt: about fourteen or fifteen ſailing veſſels, belonging to the natives, ſet out with us; but every one of them outran the ſhips conſiderably.

We continued our courſe till daybreak, and preſently after ſaw ſeveral ſmall iſlands before us, and Eooa and Tongataboo beyond them. We had at this time twenty-five fathoms water, over a bottom of broken coral and ſand. The depth gradually decreaſed as we drew near the iſles above mentioned. We were, inſenſibly, drawn upon a large flat, upon which lay innumerable coral rocks below the ſurface of the water. Notwithſtanding all our care to keep the ſhip clear of them, we could not prevent her from ſtriking on one of theſe rocks. Nor did the Diſcovery, though behind us, eſcape any better. Fortunately, neither of the ſhips ſtuck faſt, nor received any damage. We could not get back without increaſing the danger, as we had come in almoſt before the wind. The moment we found a ſpot where we could drop the anchor, clear of rocks, we came to; and ſent the maſters with the boats, to ſound.

About four o'clock, the boats made the ſignal for having found good anchorage. Upon this we weighed, and ſtood in till dark, and then anchored in nine fathoms, having a fine, clear ſandy bottom.

Next morning, while we were plying up the harbour, to which the natives directed us, the King kept ſailing round us in his canoe. There were, at the ſame time, a great many ſmall canoes about the ſhips. Two of theſe which could not get out of the way of his royal veſſel, he ran quite over, with as little concern as if they had been bits of wood. Amongſt many others who came on board the Reſolution, was Otago, who had been ſo uſeful to me when I viſited Tongataboo during my laſt voyage; and one Toobou, who, at that time, had attached himſelf to Captain Furneaux. Each of them brought a hog and ſome yams, as a teſtimony of his friendſhip; and I was not wanting, on my part, in making a ſuitable return.

At length, about two in the afternoon, we arrived at our intended ſtation. It was a very ſnug place, formed by the ſhore of Tongataboo on the ſouth-eaſt, and two ſmall iſlands on the eaſt and north-eaſt. Here we anchored in ten fathoms water, over a bottom of oozy ſand; diſtant from the ſhore one-third of a mile.

Soon after we had anchored, having firſt dined, I landed, accompanied by Omai, and ſome of the officers. We found the King waiting for us upon the beach; he immediately conducted us to a ſmall neat houſe, ſituated a little within the ſkirts of the

woods, with a fine large area before it. This houſe, he told me, was at my ſervice, during our ſtay at the iſland; and a better ſituation we could not wiſh for.

We had not been long in the houſe, before a pretty large circle of the natives were aſſembled before us, and ſeated upon the area. A root of the kava plant being brought and laid down before the King, he ordered it to be ſplit into pieces, and diſtributed to ſeveral people of both ſexes, who began the operation of chewing it; and a bowl of their favourite liquor was ſoon prepared. In the mean time, a baked hog and two baſkets of baked yams were produced, and afterwards divided into ten portions. Theſe portions were then given to certain people preſent; but how many were to ſhare in each, I could not tell. One of them, I obſerved, was beſtowed upon the King's brother; and one remained undiſpoſed of, which, I judged, was for the King himſelf, as it was a choice bit. The liquor was next ſerved out, but I obſerved, that not a fourth part of the company had taſted either the victuals or the drink. It is worthy of remark, though this was the firſt time of our landing, and a great many people were preſent who had never ſeen us before, yet no one was troubleſome; but the greateſt good order was preſerved throughout the whole aſſembly.

As I intended to make ſome ſtay at Tongataboo, we pitched a tent in the forenoon, juſt by the houſe which Poulaho had aſſigned for our uſe. The horſes, cattle, and ſheep were afterwards landed, and a party of marines, with their officer, ſtationed a guard there. The obſervatory was then ſet up, at a ſmall diſtance from the other tent; and Mr. King reſided on ſhore, to attend the obſervations. The gunners were ordered to conduct the traffic with the natives, who thronged from every part of the iſland with hogs, yams, cocoa-nuts, and other articles of their produce. In a ſhort time, our land-poſt was like a fair, and the ſhips were ſo crouded with viſitors, that we had hardly room to ſtir upon the decks.

Feenou had taken up his reſidence in our neighbourhood; but he was no longer the leading man. However, we ſtill found him to be a perſon of conſequence, and we had daily proofs of his opulence and liberality, by the continuance of his valuable preſents. But the King was equally attentive in this reſpect; for ſcarcely a day paſſed without receiving from him ſome conſiderable donation. We now heard, that there were other great men of the iſland, whom we had not as yet ſeen. Otago and Toobou, in particular, mentioned a perſon named Mareewagee, who, they ſaid, was of the firſt conſequence in the place. Some of the natives even hinted that he was too great a man to confer the honour of a viſit upon us. This account exciting my curioſity, I this day mentioned to Poulaho, that I was very deſirous of waiting upon Mareewagee; and he readily agreed to accompany me to the place of his reſidence the next morning.

Accordingly, we ſet out pretty early in the pinnace, and entered a ſpacious bay or inlet, up which we rowed about a league, and landed amidſt a conſiderable number of people, who received us with a ſort of acclamation, not unlike our huzzaing. They immediately ſeparated to let Poulaho paſs, who took us into a ſmall incloſure, and ſhifted the piece of cloth he wore, for a new piece, neatly folded, that was carried by a young man. An old woman aſſiſted in dreſſing him, and put a mat over his cloth, as we ſuppoſed, to prevent its being dirtied when he ſat down. On our now aſking him where Mareewagee was, to our great ſurpriſe he ſaid he had gone from the place. It afterwards appeared, that, in this affair, we had laboured under ſome groſs miſtakes, and that our interpreter, Omai, had either been miſinformed, or had miſunderſtood what was told him about the great man, on whoſe account we had made this excurſion.

The

A Fiatooka or Morai, in Tongatabbo.

ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY LIBRARY

The place we went to was a village, moſt delightfully ſituated on the bank of the inlet, where all, or moſt of the principal perſons of the iſland reſide; each having his houſe in the midſt of a ſmall plantation with leſſer houſes, and offices for ſervants. Theſe plantations are neatly fenced round; and, for the moſt part, have only one entrance: this is by a door, faſtened on the inſide by a prop of wood; ſo that a perſon has to knock before he can get admittance. Every article of the vegetable produce of the iſland, abounded in theſe plantations; but theſe, I obſerved, are not the reſidence of people of the firſt rank. There are ſome large houſes near the public roads, with ſpacious ſmooth graſs-plots before them, and unincloſed. Theſe, I was told, belonged to the King, and, probably, they are the places where their public aſſemblies are held.

About noon the next day, this Mareewagee, of whom we had heard ſo much, actually came to the neighbourhood of our poſt on ſhore; and with him a very conſiderable number of people of all ranks. I was informed, that he had taken this trouble on purpoſe to give me an opportunity of waiting upon him; having, probably, heard of the diſpleaſure I had ſhewn on my diſappointment the day before. In the afternoon, a party of us, accompanied by Feenou, landed to pay him a viſit. We found a perſon ſitting under a large tree, near the ſhore, a little to the right of the tent. A piece of cloth, at leaſt forty yards long, was ſpread before him, round which a great number of people of both ſexes were ſeated. It was natural to ſuppoſe that this was the great man; but we were undeceived by Feenou, who informed us, that another, who ſat on a piece of mat, a little way from this chief, to the right hand, was Mareewagee; and he introduced us to him, who received us very kindly, and deſired us to ſit down by him. The perſon who ſat under the tree fronting us, was called Toobou; and when I have occaſion to ſpeak of him afterward, I ſhall call him old Toobou, to diſtinguiſh him from his nameſake, Captain Furneaux's friend. Both he and Mareewagee had a venerable appearance. The latter is a ſlender man, and from his appearance, ſeems to be conſiderably above threeſcore years of age. The former is rather corpulent, and almoſt blind with a diſorder of his eyes; though not ſo old.

We entertained them for about an hour, with the performance of two french-horns and a drum. But they ſeemed moſt pleaſed with the firing off a piſtol, which Captain Clerke had in his pocket. Before I took my leave, the large piece of cloth was rolled up, and with a few cocoa-nuts, preſented to me.

Toward noon, Poulaho returned from the place where we had left him two days before, and brought with him his ſon, a youth about twelve years of age. I had his company at dinner; but the ſon, though preſent, was not allowed to ſit down with him. It was very convenient to have him for my gueſt; for when he was preſent, which was generally the caſe while we ſtayed here, every other native was excluded from the table; and but few of them would remain in the cabin. Whereas if it happened that neither he nor Feenou were on board, the inferior chiefs would be very importunate to be of our dining party; and then we were ſo crouded that we could not ſit down to a meal with any ſatisfaction. The King was very ſoon reconciled to our manner of cookery; but ſtill, I believe, he dined thus frequently with me, more for the ſake of what we gave him to drink, than for what we ſet before him to eat: for he had taken a liking to our wine, could empty his bottle as well as moſt men, and was as cheerful over it.

In the morning of the 15th, I received a meſſage from old Toobou, that he wanted to ſee me aſhore. We found him, like an ancient patriarch, ſeated under the ſhade of

a tree, with a large piece of the cloth, made in the iſland, ſpread out at full length before him; and a number of reſpectable looking people ſitting round it. He deſired us to place ourſelves by him; and then he told Omai, that the cloth, together with a piece of red feathers, and about a dozen cocoa-nuts, were his preſent to me. I thanked him for the favour; and deſired he would go on board with me, as I had nothing on ſhore to give him in return.

Omai now left me, being ſent for by Poulaho; and ſoon after, Feenou came and acquainted me that young Fattafaihe, Poulaho's ſon, deſired to ſee me. I obeyed the ſummons, and found the Prince and Omai ſitting under a large canopy of the finer ſort of cloth; with a piece of the coarſer ſort ſpread under them, and before them, that was ſeventy-ſix yards long, and ſeven and a half broad. On one ſide was a large old boar; and on the other ſide a heap of cocoa-nuts. A number of people were ſeated round the cloth; and amongſt them, I obſerved Mareewagee, and others of the firſt rank. I was deſired to ſit down by the Prince; and then Omai informed me, that he had been inſtructed by the King to tell me, that as he and I were friends, he hoped that his ſon might be joined in this friendſhip; and that as a token of my conſent, I would accept of his preſent. I very readily agreed to the propoſal; and it being now dinner-time, I invited them all on board.

Accordingly, the young Prince, Mareewagee, old Toobou, three or four inferior chiefs, and two reſpectable old ladies of the firſt rank, accompanied me. Mareewagee was dreſſed in a new piece of cloth, on the ſkirts of which were fixed ſix pretty large patches of red feathers. This dreſs ſeemed to have been made on purpoſe for this viſit; for as ſoon as he got on board, he put it off, and preſented it to me; having, I gueſs, heard that it would be acceptable on account of the feathers. Every one of my viſitors received from me ſuch preſents as, I had reaſon to believe, they were highly ſatisfied with. When dinner came upon table, not one of them would ſit down, or eat a bit of any thing that was ſerved up. On expreſſing my ſurpriſe at this, they were all taboo, as they ſaid; which word has a very comprehenſive meaning; but in general ſignifies, that a thing is forbidden. Why they were laid under ſuch reſtraints, at preſent, was not explained. Dinner being over, and having gratified their curioſity, by ſhewing to them every part of the ſhip, I then conducted them aſhore.

As ſoon as the boat reached the beach, Feenou, and ſome others, inſtantly ſtepped out. Young Fattafaihe following them, was called back by Mareewagee, who now paid the heir apparent the ſame obeiſance, and in the ſame manner, that I had ſeen it paid to the King.

I was not ſorry to be preſent on this occaſion, as I was furniſhed with the moſt unequivocal proofs of the ſupreme dignity of Poulaho and his ſon over the other principal chiefs. Indeed, by this time, I had acquired ſome certain information about the relative ſituations of the ſeveral great men, whoſe names have been ſo often mentioned. I now knew that Mareewagee and old Toobou were brothers. Poulaho's appearance having ſatisfied us that we had been under a miſtake, in conſidering Feenou as the ſovereign of theſe iſlands, we had been, at firſt, much puzzled about his real rank; but that was, by this time, aſcertained. Feenou was one of Mareewagee's ſons, and Toobooeitoa was another.

Mr. Anderſon, with ſome others, made an excurſion into the country, which furniſhed him with the following remarks. Near the creek, which runs to the weſtward of the tent, the land is quite flat, and partly overflowed by the ſea every tide. When that retires, the ſurface is ſeen to be compoſed of coral rock, with holes of yellowiſh mud ſcattered up and down; and toward the edges, where it is firmer, are

innumerable little openings, from which iſſue as many ſmall crabs, of two or three different ſorts, which ſwarm upon the ſpot, as flies upon a carcaſe; but are ſo nimble, that, on being approached, they diſappear in an inſtant, and baffle even the natives to catch any of them.

At this place is a work of art, which ſhews that theſe people are capable of ſome deſign and perſeverance, when they mean to accompliſh any thing. This work begins on one ſide as a narrow cauſeway, which, becoming gradually broader, riſes, with a gentle aſcent, to the height of ten feet, where it is five paces broad, and the whole length ſeventy-four paces. Joined to this is a ſort of circus, whoſe diameter is thirty paces, and not above a foot or two higher than the cauſeway that joins it, with ſome trees planted in the middle. On the oppoſite ſide, another cauſeway of the ſame ſort deſcends; but this is not above forty paces long. All that we could learn reſpecting it from the natives, was, that it belonged to Poulaho, and is called Etchee.

On the 16th, in the morning, Mr. Gore and I took a walk into the country; in the courſe of which nothing remarkable appeared, but our having opportunities of ſeeing the whole proceſs of making cloth, which is the principal manufacture of theſe iſlands, as well as of many others in this ocean. In the narrative of my firſt voyage, a minute deſcription is given of this operation, as performed at Otaheite; but the proceſs here differing in ſome particulars, it may be worth while to give the following account of it.

The manufacturers, who are females, take the ſlender ſtalks or trunks of the paper mulberry, which they cultivate for that purpoſe, and which ſeldom grows more than ſix or ſeven feet in height, and about four fingers in thickneſs. From theſe they ſtrip the bark, and ſcrape off the outer rind with a muſcle-ſhell. The bark is then rolled up to deſtroy the convexity which it had round the ſtalk, and macerated in water for ſome time (they ſay, a night). After this, it is laid acroſs the trunk of a ſmall tree, ſquared, and beaten with a ſquare wooden inſtrument, about a foot long, full of coarſe grooves on all ſides, but ſometimes with one that is plain. According to the ſize of the bark, a piece is ſoon produced; but the operation is often repeated by another hand, or it is folded ſeveral times, and beat longer, which ſeems rather intended to cloſe than to divide its texture. When this is ſufficiently effected, it is ſpread out to dry; the pieces being from four to ſix, or more, feet in length, and half as broad. They are then given to another perſon, who joins the pieces, by ſmearing part of them over with the viſcous juice of a berry, called tooo, which ſerves as a glue. Having been thus lengthened, they are laid over a large piece of wood, with a kind of ſtamp, made of a fibrous ſubſtance pretty cloſely interwoven, placed beneath. They then take a bit of cloth, and dip it in a juice, expreſſed from the bark of a tree, called kokka, which they rub briſkly upon the piece that is making. This, at once, leaves a dull brown colour, and a dry gloſs upon its ſurface; the ſtamp, at the ſame time, making a ſlight impreſſion, that anſwers no other purpoſe that I could ſee, but to make the ſeveral pieces that are glued together, ſtick a little more firmly. In this manner they proceed, joining and ſtaining by degrees, till they produce a piece of cloth, of ſuch length and breadth as they want; generally leaving a border, of a foot broad, at the ſides, and longer at the ends, unſtained. Throughout the whole, if any parts of the original pieces are too thin, or have holes, which is often the caſe, they glue ſpare bits upon them, till they become of an equal thickneſs. When they want to produce a black colour, they mix the ſoot procured from an oily nut, called dooedooe, with the juice of the kokka, in different quantities, according to the propoſed depth of the tinge. They ſay, that the black ſort of cloth, which is commonly moſt glazed, makes a cold dreſs,

dreſs, but the other a warm one; and, to obtain ſtrength in both, they are always careful to join the ſmall pieces lengthwiſe, which makes it impoſſible to tear the cloth in any direction but one.

On our return from the country, we met with Feenou, and took him, and another young chief, on board to dinner. When our fare was ſet upon the table, neither of them could eat a bit; ſaying, that they were taboo avy. But after enquiring how the victuals had been dreſſed, having found that no avy (water) had been uſed in cooking a pig and ſome yams, they both ſat down, and made a very hearty meal; and, on being aſſured that there was no water in the wine, they drank of it alſo. From this we conjectured, that, on ſome account or another, they were, at this time, forbidden to uſe water; or, which was more probable, they did not like the water we made uſe of, it being taken out of one of their bathing places. This was not the only time of our meeting with people that were taboo avy; but for what reaſon, we never could tell with any degree of certainty.

Next day was fixed upon by Mareewagee for giving a grand haiva, or entertainment, to which we were all invited. For this purpoſe, a large ſpace had been cleared, before the temporary hut of this chief, near our poſt, as an area where the performances were to be exhibited. In the morning, great multitudes of the natives came in from the country, every one carrying a pole, about ſix feet long, upon his ſhoulder; and at each end of every pole a yam was ſuſpended. Theſe yams and poles were depoſited on each ſide of the area, ſo as to form two large heaps, decorated with different ſorts of ſmall fiſh, and piled up to the greateſt advantage. They were Mareewagee's preſent to Captain Clerke and me.

Every thing being thus prepared, about eleven o'clock they began to exhibit various dances, which they call mai. The muſic conſiſted, at firſt, of ſeventy men as a chorus, who ſat down; and amidſt them were placed three inſtruments, which we called drums, though very unlike them. They are large cylindrical pieces of wood, or trunks of trees, from three to four feet long, ſome twice as thick as an ordinary-ſized man, and ſome ſmaller, hollowed entirely out, but cloſed at both ends, and open only by a chink, about three inches broad, running almoſt the whole length of the drums; by which opening, the reſt of the wood is certainly hollowed, though the operation muſt be difficult. This inſtrument is called ñaffa; and, with the chink turned toward them, they ſit and beat ſtrongly upon it with two cylindrical pieces of hard wood, about a foot long, and as thick as the wriſt; by which means, they produce a rude, though loud and powerful ſound. They change the tones, by beating in the middle, or near the end.

The firſt dance conſiſted of four ranks, of twenty-four men each, holding in their hands a little thin light wooden inſtrument, about two feet long, and in ſhape not unlike a ſmall oblong paddle. With theſe, which are called pagge, they made a great many different motions; ſuch as pointing them toward the ground on one ſide, at the ſame time inclining their bodies that way, from which they were ſhifted to the oppoſite ſide in the ſame manner; then paſſing them quickly from one hand to the other, and twirling them about very dexterouſly, with a variety of other manœuvres, all which were accompanied by correſponding attitudes of the body. Their motions were at firſt ſlow, but quickened as the drums beat faſter; and they recited ſentences, in a muſical tone, the whole time, which were anſwered by the chorus; but at the end of a ſhort ſpace they all joined, and finiſhed with a ſhout; then the rear rank dividing, ſhifted themſelves very ſlowly round each end, and meeting in the front, formed the firſt rank; the whole number continuing to recite the ſentences as before. The other

ranks

ranks did the ſame ſucceſſively, till that which at firſt was the front, became the rear; and their evolution continued in the ſame manner, till the laſt rank regained its firſt ſituation. Then they began a much quicker dance, though ſlow at firſt, and ſung about ten minutes, when the whole body divided into two parts, retreated a little, and then approached, forming a ſort of circular figure, which finiſhed the dance; the drums being removed, and the chorus going off the field at the ſame time.

Three drums (which, at leaſt took two, and ſometimes three men to carry them) were now brought in, and ſeventy men ſat down as a chorus to another dance. This conſiſted of two ranks, of ſixteen perſons each, with young Toobou at their head. Theſe danced, ſung, and twirled the pagge as before; but, in general, much quicker. A motion that met with particular approbation, was one in which they held the face aſide, as if aſhamed. The back rank cloſed before the front one, and that again reſumed its place as in the two former dances. At that inſtant, two men entered very haſtily, and exerciſed the clubs which they uſe in battle. They did this, by firſt twirling them in their hands, and making circular ſtrokes before them with great force and quickneſs; but ſo ſkilfully managed, that, though ſtanding quite cloſe, they never interfered. To them ſucceeded a perſon with a ſpear, in the ſame haſty manner; looking about eagerly, as if in ſearch of ſomebody to throw it at. He then ran haſtily to one ſide of the crowd in the front, and put himſelf in a threatening attitude, as if he meant to ſtrike with his ſpear at one of them, bending the knee a little, and trembling, as it were with rage. He continued in this manner only a few ſeconds, when he moved to the other ſide, and having ſtood in the ſame poſture there for the ſame ſhort time, retreated from the ground as faſt as when he made his appearance.

The laſt dance had two drums, and conſiſted of ſixty men, who had not danced before, diſpoſed in three rows, having twenty-four in front. They divided into two bodies, with their backs to each other; formed again, ſhifted their ranks, as in the other dances; divided and retreated, making room for two champions, who exerciſed their clubs as before, and after them two others: the dancers all the time reciting ſlowly in turn with the chorus; after which they advanced, and finiſhed.

Theſe dances laſted from eleven till near three o'clock; and though they were, doubtleſs, intended to ſhew us a ſpecimen of their dexterity, vaſt numbers of their own people attended as ſpectators. Some of us computed that there were not leſs than ten or twelve thouſand within the compaſs of a quarter of a mile, drawn together, for the moſt part, by mere curioſity.

It is with regret I mention that we could not underſtand what was ſpoken, while we were able to ſee what was acted in theſe amuſements. This, doubtleſs, would have afforded us much information as to the genius and cuſtoms of theſe people. It was obſervable, that though the ſpectators always approved of the various motions, when well made, a great ſhare of the pleaſure they received ſeemed to ariſe from the ſentimental part, or what the performers delivered in their ſpeeches. However, the mere acting part, independently of the ſentences repeated, was well worth our notice, both with reſpect to the extenſive plan on which it was executed, and to the various motion, as well as the exact unity, with which they were performed. No pen can deſcribe the numerous actions and motions, the ſingularity of which was not greater than was the eaſe and gracefulneſs with which they were performed.

The whole was conducted with far better order than could have been expected in ſo large an aſſembly. Amongſt ſuch a multitude, there muſt be a number of ill-diſpoſed people; and we hourly experienced it. All our care and attention did not prevent their plundering us in every quarter; and that in the moſt daring and inſolent man-

ner. There was hardly any thing that they did not attempt to ſteal; and yet, as the crowd was always ſo great, I would not allow the ſentries to fire, leſt the innocent ſhould ſuffer for the guilty. They once, at noon-day, ventured to aim at taking an anchor from off the Diſcovery's bows; and they would certainly have ſucceeded, if the ſtook had not hooked one of the chain-plates in lowering down the ſhip's ſide, from which they could not diſengage it by hand; and tackles were things they were unacquainted with. The only act of violence they were guilty of, was the breaking the ſhoulder-bone of one of our goats, ſo that ſhe died ſoon after. This loſs fell upon themſelves, as ſhe was one of thoſe that I intended to leave upon the iſland; but of this the perſon who did it was ignorant.

Early in the morning of the 18th, an accident happened that ſtrongly marked one of their cuſtoms. A man got out of a canoe into the quarter-gallery of the Reſolution, and ſtole from thence a pewter baſon. He was diſcovered, purſued, and brought alongſide the ſhip. On this occaſion, three old women, who were in the canoe, made loud lamentations over the priſoner, beating their breaſts and faces in a moſt violent manner with the inſide of their fiſts; and all this was done without ſhedding a tear. This mode of expreſſing grief is what occaſions the mark which almoſt all this people bear on the face, over the cheek-bones.

This day, I beſtowed on Mareewagee ſome preſents, in return for thoſe we had received from him the day before; and as the entertainments which he had then exhibited for our amuſement, called upon us to make ſome exhibition in our way, I ordered a party of marines to go through their exerciſe, on the ſpot where his dances had been performed; and in the evening, played off ſome fireworks at the ſame place. Poulaho, with all the principal chiefs, and a great number of people of all denominations, were preſent. The platoon firing, which was executed tolerably well, ſeemed to give them pleaſure; but they were loſt in aſtoniſhment when they beheld our water-rockets.

In expectation of this evening ſhow, the circle of natives about our tent being pretty large, they engaged the greateſt part of the afternoon, in boxing and wreſtling. When any of them chuſes to wreſtle, he gets up from one ſide of the ring, and croſſes the ground in a ſort of meaſured pace, clapping ſmartly on the elbow-joint of one arm, which is bent, and produces a hollow ſound; that is reckoned the challenge. If no perſon comes out from the oppoſite ſide to engage him, he returns in the ſame manner and ſits down; but ſometimes ſtands clapping in the midſt of the ground, to provoke ſome one to come out. If an opponent appears, they come together with marks of the greateſt good-nature, generally ſmiling, and taking time to adjuſt the piece of cloth which is faſtened round the waiſt. They then lay hold of each other by this girdle, with a hand on each ſide; and he who ſucceeds in drawing his antagoniſt to him, immediately tries to lift him upon his breaſt, and throw him upon his back; and if he be able to turn round with him two or three times in that poſition, before he throws him, his dexterity never fails of procuring plaudits from the ſpectators. If they be more equally matched, they cloſe ſoon, and endeavour to throw each other by entwining their legs, or lifting each other from the ground; in which ſtruggles they ſhew a prodigious exertion of ſtrength, every muſcle, as it were, being ready to burſt with ſtraining. When one is thrown, he immediately quits the field, but the victors ſit down for a few ſeconds, then gets up, and goes to the ſide he came from, who proclaim the victory aloud, in a ſentence delivered ſlowly, and in a muſical cadence. When they find that they are ſo equally matched as not likely to throw each other, they leave off by mutual conſent.

The

The boxers advance ſide-ways, changing the ſide at every pace with one arm ſtretched fully out before, the other behind; and holding a piece of cord in one hand, which they wrap firmly about it when they find an antagoniſt, or elſe have done ſo before they enter. This, I imagine, they do, to prevent a diſlocation of the hand or fingers. Their blows are directed chiefly to the head; but ſometimes to the ſides; and are dealt out with great activity. One of their moſt dexterous blows is to turn round on their heel, juſt as they have ſtruck their antagoniſt, and to give him another very ſmart one with the other hand backward.

The boxing matches ſeldom laſt long; and the parties either leave off together, or one acknowledges his being beat. But they never ſing the ſong of victory in theſe caſes, unleſs one ſtrikes his adverſary to the ground; which ſhews, that of the two, wreſtling is their moſt approved diverſion. Some of our people ventured to contend with them in both exerciſes, but were always worſted.

The animals which we had brought were all on ſhore. Knowing their thieviſh diſpoſition, I thought it prudent to declare my intention of leaving ſome of them behind, and even to make a diſtribution of them previouſly to my departure.

With this view, in the evening of the 19th, I aſſembled all the chiefs before our houſe, and my intended preſents to them were marked out. To Poulaho, the King, I gave a young Engliſh bull and cow; to Mareewagee, a Cape ram and two ewes; and to Feenou, a horſe and a mare. As my deſign to make ſuch a diſtribution had been made known the day before, moſt of the people in the neighbourhood were then preſent. I inſtructed Omai to tell them that there were no ſuch animals within many months ſail of their iſland; that we had brought them, for their uſe, from that immenſe diſtance, at a vaſt trouble and expenſe; that therefore they muſt be careful not to kill any of them till they had multiplied to a numerous race; and laſtly, that they and their children ought to remember that they had received them from the men of Britain. He alſo explained to them their ſeveral uſes, and what elſe was neceſſary for them to know, or rather as far as he knew; for Omai was not very well verſed in ſuch things himſelf.

It ſoon appeared that ſome were diſſatisfied with this allotment of our animals; for early next morning one of our kids and two turkey-cocks were miſſing. I could not be ſo ſimple as to ſuppoſe that this was merely an accidental loſs; and I was determined to have them again. The firſt ſtep I took was to ſeize on three canoes that happened to be alongſide the ſhips. I then went aſhore, and having found the King, his brother, Feenou, and ſome other chiefs, in the houſe that we occupied, I immediately put a guard over them, and gave them to underſtand that they muſt remain under reſtraint, till not only the kid and the turkeys, but the other things, that had been ſtolen from us at different times, were reſtored. They concealed, as well as they could, their feelings, on finding themſelves priſoners; and having aſſured me that every thing ſhould be reſtored as I deſired, ſat down to drink their kava, ſeemingly much at their eaſe. It was not long before an axe and an iron wedge were brought to me. In the mean time ſome armed natives began to gather behind the houſe; but on a part of our guard marching againſt them, they diſperſed; and I adviſed the chiefs to give orders that no more ſhould appear. Such orders were accordingly given by them, and they were obeyed. On aſking them to go aboard with me to dinner, they readily conſented. But ſome having afterwards objected to the King's going, he inſtantly roſe up, and declared he would be the firſt man. Accordingly we came on board. I kept them there till near four o'clock, when I conducted them aſhore; and ſoon after the kid and one of the

turkey-cocks were brought back. The other, they ſaid, ſhould be reſtored the next morning. I believed this would happen, and releaſed both them and the canoes.

After the chiefs had left us, I walked out with Omai, to obſerve how the people about us fared; for this was the time of their meals. I found that in general they were at ſhort commons. Nor is this to be wondered at, ſince moſt of the yams, and other proviſions which they brought with them, were ſold to us; and they never thought of returning to their own habitations while they could find any ſort of ſubſiſtence in our neighbourhood.

In this walk we met with about half a dozen women, in one place, at ſupper. Two of the company I obſerved being fed by the others; on our aſking the reaſon, they ſaid, taboo mattee. On farther enquiry we found that one of them had, two months before, waſhed the dead corpſe of a chief; and that on this account ſhe was not to handle any food for five months. The other had performed the ſame office to the corpſe of another perſon of inferior rank, and was now under the ſame reſtriction; but not for ſo long a time.

Early the next morning the King came on board, to invite me to an entertainment, which he propoſed to give the ſame day. He had already been under the barber's hands, his head being all beſmeared with red pigment, in order to redden his hair, which was naturally of a dark brown colour. After breakfaſt I attended him to the ſhore; and we found the people very buſy, in two places, in the front of our area, fixing in an upright and ſquare poſition, thus [: :], four very long poſts, near two feet from each other. The ſpace between the poſts was afterward filled up with yams; and as they went on filling it, they faſtened pieces of ſticks acroſs, from poſt to poſt, at the diſtance of about every four feet, to prevent the poſts from ſeparating by the weight of the incloſed yams, and alſo to get up by. When the yams had reached the top of the firſt poſts, they faſtened others to them, and ſo continued till each pile was the height of thirty feet or upwards. On the top of one, they placed two baked hogs; on the top of the other, a living one; and another they tied by the legs, half way up. It was matter of curioſity to obſerve, with what facility and diſpatch theſe two piles were raiſed. Had our ſeamen been ordered to execute ſuch a work, they would have ſworn that it could not be performed without carpenters; and the carpenters would have called to their aid a dozen different ſorts of tools, and have expended, at leaſt, a hundred weight of nails; and after all it would have employed them as many days, as it did theſe people hours. But ſeamen, like moſt other amphibious animals, are always the moſt helpleſs on land. After they had completed theſe two piles, they made ſeveral other heaps of yams and bread-fruit on each ſide of the area; to which were added a turtle, and a large quantity of excellent fiſh.

I dined aſhore. The King ſat down with us; but he neither ate nor drank. I found that this was owing to the preſence of a female, who, as we afterward underſtood, had ſuperior rank to himſelf. As ſoon as this great perſonage had dined, ſhe ſtepped up to the King, who put his hands to her feet; and then ſhe retired. He immediately dipped his fingers in a glaſs of wine, and then received the obeiſance of all her followers. This was the ſingle inſtance we ever obſerved of his paying this mark of reverence to any perſon. At the King's deſire, I ordered ſome fireworks to be played off in the evening; but unfortunately being damaged, this exhibition did not anſwer expectation.

As no more entertainments were to be expected on either ſide, and the curioſity of the populace was, by this time, pretty well ſatisfied, moſt of them left us. We ſtill however

however had thieves about us; and encouraged by the negligence of our own people, we had continual inſtances of their depredations.

Some of the officers belonging to both ſhips, who had made an excurſion into the interior parts of the iſland, without my leave, and indeed, without my knowledge, returned this evening, after an abſence of two days. They had taken with them their muſkets, with the neceſſary ammunition, and ſeveral ſmall articles of the favourite commodities; all which the natives had the dexterity to ſteal from them, in the courſe of their expedition. Feenou and Poulaho, upon this occaſion, very juſtly obſerved, that if any of my people, at any time, wanted to go into the country, they ought to be acquainted with it; in which caſe they would ſend proper perſons along with them; and then they would be anſwerable for their ſafety. Though I gave myſelf no trouble about the recovery of the things ſtolen upon this occaſion, moſt of them, through Feenou's interpoſition, were recovered, except one muſket and a few other articles of inferior value. By this time alſo we had recovered the turkey-cock, and moſt of the tools and other matters that had been ſtolen from our workmen. We had now recruited the ſhips with wood and water, and had finiſhed the repairs of our ſails. However, as an eclipſe of the ſun was to happen upon the 5th of July, and it was now the 25th of June, I reſolved to defer ſailing till that time had elapſed, in order to have a chance of obſerving it.

Having therefore ſome days of leiſure before me, a party of us, accompanied by Poulaho, ſet out early next morning, in a boat, for Mooa, the village where he and the other great men uſually reſide. As we rowed up the inlet, we met fourteen canoes fiſhing in company; in one of which was Poulaho's ſon. In each canoe was a triangular net, extended between two poles; at the lower end of which was a cod to receive and ſecure the fiſh. They had already caught ſome fine mullets; and they put about a dozen into our boat. I deſired to ſee their method of fiſhing; which they readily complied with. A ſhoal of fiſh was ſuppoſed to be upon one of the banks, which they inſtantly incloſed in a long net like a ſeine, or ſet-net. This the fiſhers, one getting into the water out of each boat, ſurrounded with the triangular nets in their hands; with which they ſcooped the fiſh out of the ſeine, or caught them as they attempted to leap over it.

Leaving the Prince and his fiſhing-party, we proceeded to the bottom of the bay, and landed where we had done before, on our fruitleſs errand to ſee Mareewagee. Here we obſerved a fiataoka, or burying-place, which was almoſt cloſe to the houſe, and was much more extenſive, and ſeemingly of more conſequence, than any we had ſeen at the other iſlands. We were told that it belonged to the King. It conſiſted of three pretty large houſes, ſituated upon a riſing ground, with a ſmall one at ſome diſtance, all ranged longitudinally. They were covered and paved with fine pebbles, and the whole was incloſed by large flat ſtones of hard coral rock, properly hewn, placed on their edges; one of which ſtones meaſured twelve feet in length, two in breadth, and above one in thickneſs. Within one of theſe houſes were two rude wooden buſts of men. On enquiring what theſe images were intended for, we were told they were merely memorials of ſome chiefs who had been buried there, and not the repreſentations of any deity. In one of them was the carved head of an Otaheite canoe, which had been driven aſhore on their coaſt, and depoſited here.

After we had refreſhed ourſelves, we made an excurſion into the country, attended by one of the King's miniſters. Our train was not great, as he would not ſuffer the rabble to follow us. He alſo obliged all thoſe whom we met upon our progreſs, to ſit down till we had paſſed; which is a mark of reſpect due only to their ſovereigns. By

far the greateſt part of the country was cultivated, and planted with various ſorts of productions. We met with ſeveral large uninhabited houſes, which we were told belonged to the King. There were many public and well-beaten roads, and abundance of foot-paths leading to every part of the iſland. It is remarkable that when we were on the moſt elevated parts, at leaſt a hundred feet above the level of the ſea, we often met with the ſame coral rock which is found at the ſhore; and yet theſe very ſpots, with hardly any ſoil upon them, were covered with luxuriant vegetation. We ſaw ſome ſprings, but the water was either ſtinking or brackiſh.

When we returned from our walk, which was not till the duſk of the evening, our ſupper was ready. It conſiſted of a baked hog, ſome fiſh and yams, all excellently well cooked, after the method of theſe iſlands. As there was nothing to amuſe us after ſupper, we followed the cuſtom of the country, and lay down to ſleep, our beds being mats ſpread upon the floor, and cloth to cover us. The King, who had made himſelf very happy with ſome wine and brandy, which we had brought, ſlept in the ſame houſe, as well as ſeveral others of the natives. Long before day-break, he and they all roſe, and ſat converſing by moon-light. The converſation, as might well be gueſſed, turned wholly upon us; but it was not long before they all returned, and with them ſeveral more of their countrymen.

They now began to prepare a bowl of kava; and, leaving them ſo employed, I went to viſit old Toobou, Captain Furneaux's friend, who had a houſe hard by, which for ſize and neatneſs was exceeded by few in the place. As I had left the others, ſo I found here a company preparing a morning draught. This chief made a preſent to me of a living hog, a baked one, a quantity of yams, and a large piece of cloth. When I returned to the King, I found him, and his circle of attendants, drinking the ſecond bowl of kava.

We had ſeen the drinking of kava ſometimes at the other iſlands; but by no means ſo frequently as here, where it ſeems to be the only forenoon employment of the principal people. The kava is a ſpecies of pepper, which they cultivate for this purpoſe, and eſteem it a valuable article. It ſeldom grows to more than a man's height; it branches conſiderably, with large heart-ſhaped leaves and jointed ſtalks. The root is the only part that is uſed. They break it in pieces, ſcrape the dirt off with a ſhell, and then each begins and chews his portion, which he ſpits into a plantain-leaf. The perſon who is to prepare the liquor, collects all theſe mouthfuls, and puts them into a large wooden diſh or bowl, adding as much water as will make it of a proper ſtrength. It is then well mixed up with the hands; and ſome looſe ſtuff, of which mats are made, is thrown upon the ſurface. The immediate effect of this beverage is not perceptible on theſe people, who uſe it ſo frequently, but on ſome of ours, who ventured to try it, though ſo naſtily prepared, it had the ſame power as ſpirits have in intoxicating them; or rather, it produced that kind of ſtupefaction, which is the conſequence of uſing opium, or other ſubſtances of that kind. I have ſeen them drink it ſeven times before noon, yet it is ſo diſagreeable, or at leaſt ſeems ſo, that the greateſt part of them cannot ſwallow it without making wry faces, and ſhuddering afterward.

We now left Mooa, and ſet out to return to the ſhips. While we rowed down the lagoon or inlet, we met with two canoes coming in from fiſhing. Poulaho ordered them to be called alongſide our boat, and took from them every fiſh and ſhell they had got. Why this was done, I cannot ſay; for we had plenty of proviſions in the boat. Some of this fiſh he gave to me; and his ſervants ſold the reſt on board the ſhip.

We took a view of a curious coral rock, which ſeems to have been thrown upon the reef where it ſtands. It is elevated about ten or twelve feet above the ſurface of the ſea that ſurrounds it. The baſe it reſts upon is not above one-third of the circumference of its projecting ſummit, which I judged to be about one hundred feet, and is covered with etea and pandanus trees.

When we got on board the ſhip, I found that every thing had been quiet during my abſence, not a theft having been committed; of which Feenou and Futtafaihe, the King's brother, who had undertaken the management of his countrymen, boaſted not a little. This ſhews what power the chiefs have, when they have the will to execute it; which we were ſeldom to expect, ſince whatever was ſtolen from us, generally, if not always, was conveyed to them.

The good conduct of the natives was of ſhort duration; for the next day ſix or eight of them aſſaulted ſome of our people who were ſawing planks. They were fired upon by the ſentry; and one was ſuppoſed to be wounded, and three others taken. Theſe I kept confined all night; and did not diſmiſs them without puniſhment. After this, they behaved with a little more circumſpection, and gave us much leſs trouble. This change of behaviour was certainly occaſioned by the man being wounded; for before they had only been told the effect of fire-arms, but now they had felt it. The repeated inſolence of the natives had induced me to order the muſkets of the ſentries to be loaded with ſmall ſhot, and to authorize them to fire on particular occaſions. I took it for granted, therefore, that this man had only been wounded with ſmall ſhot. But Mr. King and Mr. Anderſon, in an excurſion into the country, met with him, and found indubitable marks of his having been wounded, but not dangerouſly, with a muſket-ball. I never could find out how this muſket happened to be charged with ball; and there were people enough ready to ſwear that its contents were only ſmall ſhot.

Mr. Anderſon's account of the excurſion, juſt mentioned, will fill up an interval of two days, during which nothing of note happened at the ſhips. "Mr. King and I went on the 30th along with Futtafaihe as viſitors to his houſe, which is at Mooa, very near that of his brother Poulaho. A ſhort time after we arrived, a pretty large hog was killed; which is done by repeated ſtrokes on the head. The hair was then ſcraped off, very dexterouſly, with the ſharp edges of pieces of ſplit bamboo; taking the entrails out at a large oval hole cut in the belly by the ſame ſimple inſtrument. Before this they had prepared an oven; which is a large hole dug in the earth, filled at the bottom with ſtones, about the ſize of the fiſt, over which a fire is made till they are red hot. They took ſome of theſe ſtones, wrapt up in leaves of the bread-fruit-tree, and filled the hog's belly, ſtuffing in a quantity of leaves, to prevent their falling out, and putting a plug of the ſame kind in the anus. The carcaſe was then placed on ſome ſticks laid acroſs the ſtones, in a ſtanding poſture, and covered with a great quantity of plantain-leaves. After which they dug up the earth all round; and having thus effectually cloſed the oven, the operation of baking required no farther interference.

In the mean time we walked about the country, but met with nothing remarkable, except a fiatooka of one houſe, ſtanding on an artificial mount, at leaſt thirty feet high. There was alſo at no great diſtance a number of etooa trees, on which clung vaſt quantities of the large ternate bats, making a diſagreeable noiſe. We could not kill any for want of muſkets; but ſome that were got at Annamooka, meaſured near three feet, when the wings were extended. On our returning to Futtafaihe's houſe, he ordered the hog, that had been dreſſed, to be produced, with ſeveral baſkets of baked

baked yams, and ſome cocoa-nuts. But we found that inſtead of his entertaining us, we were to entertain him; the property of the feaſt being entirely transferred to us, as his gueſts, and we were to diſpoſe of it as we pleaſed. The ſame perſon who cleaned the hog in the morning, now cut it up (but not before we deſired him) in a very dexterous manner, with a knife of ſplit bamboo; dividing the ſeveral parts, and hitting the joints with a quickneſs and ſkill that ſurpriſed us very much. The whole was ſet down before us, though at leaſt fifty pounds weight, until we took a ſmall piece away, and deſired that they would ſhare the reſt amongſt the people ſitting round. But it was not without a great many ſcruples they did that at laſt; and then they aſked what particular perſons they ſhould give it to. However they were very well pleaſed when they found that it was not contrary to any cuſtom of ours: ſome carrying off the portion they had received, and others eating it upon the ſpot. It was with great difficulty that we could prevail upon Futtafaihe himſelf to eat a ſmall bit.

In the evening we had a pig, dreſſed in the ſame manner as the hog, with yams and cocoa-nuts, brought for ſupper; and Futtafaihe, finding that we did not like the ſcruples they had made before to accept of any part of the entertainment, aſked us immediately to ſhare it and give it to whom we pleaſed. When ſupper was over, abundance of cloth was brought for us to ſleep in; but we were a good deal diſturbed by a ſingular inſtance of luxury, in which their principal men indulge themſelves; that of being beat while they are aſleep. Two women ſat by Futtafaihe, and performed this operation, which is called tooge tooge, by beating briſkly on his body and legs with both fiſts, as on a drum, till he fell aſleep, and continuing it the whole night, with ſome ſhort intervals. When once the perſon is aſleep, they abate a little in the ſtrength and quickneſs of beating; but reſume it, if they obſerve any appearance of his awaking. In the morning we found that Futtafaihe's women relieved each other, and went to ſleep by turns. In any other country it would be ſuppoſed that ſuch a practice would put an end to all reſt; but here it certainly acts as an opiate; and is a ſtrong proof of what habit may effect. The noiſe of this, however, was not the only thing that kept us awake: for the people, who paſſed the night in the houſe, not only converſed among each other frequently, as in the day; but all got up before it was light, and made a hearty meal on fiſh and yams, which were brought to them by a perſon who ſeemed to know very well the appointed time for this nocturnal refreſhment.

Next morning we ſet out with Futtafaihe, and walked down the eaſt ſide of the bay to the point. We found that, in travelling, Futtafaihe, exerciſed a power, though by no means wantonly, which pointed out the great authority of ſuch principal men; or is, perhaps, only annexed to thoſe of the royal family. For he ſent to one place for fiſh; to another for yams; and ſo on at other places; and all his orders were obeyed with the greateſt readineſs, as if he had been abſolute maſter of the people's property. On coming to the point, the natives mentioned ſomething of one, who they ſaid had been fired at by ſome of our people; and upon our wiſhing to ſee him, they conducted us to a houſe, where we found a man who had been ſhot through the ſhoulder, but not dangerouſly; as the ball had entered a little above the inner part of the collar-bone, and paſſed out obliquely backward. We were ſure, from the ſtate of the wound, that he was the perſon who had been fired at by one of the ſentinels three days before; though poſitive orders had been given that none of them ſhould load their pieces with any thing but ſmall ſhot. We gave ſome directions to his friends how to manage the wound, to which no application had been made; and they ſeemed pleaſed when we told them it would get well in a certain time.

I had

I had prolonged my ſtay at this iſland on account of the approaching eclipſe; but on the 2d of July, on looking at the micrometer belonging to the Board of Longitude, I found ſome of the rack-work broken, and the inſtrument uſeleſs till repaired; which there was not time to do before it was intended to be uſed. Preparing now for our departure, I got on board this day all the cattle, poultry, and other animals, except ſuch as were deſtined to remain.

The next day we took up our anchor, and moved the ſhips behind Pangimodoo, that we might be ready to take the advantage of the firſt favourable wind to get through the narrows. The King, who was one of our company this day at dinner, I obſerved, took particular notice of the plates. This occaſioned me to make him an offer of one, either of pewter or of earthenware. He choſe the firſt; and then began to tell us the ſeveral uſes to which he intended to apply it. Two of them are ſo extraordinary, that I cannot omit mentioning them. He ſaid that whenever he ſhould have occaſion to viſit any of the other iſlands, he would leave this plate behind him at Tongataboo, as a ſort of repreſentative in his abſence, that the people might pay it the ſame obeiſance they do to himſelf in perſon. He was aſked what had been uſually employed for this purpoſe before he got this plate; and we had the ſatiſfaction of learning from him, that this ſingular honour had hitherto been conferred on a wooden bowl, in which he waſhed his hands. The other extraordinary uſe to which he meant to apply it in the room of his wooden bowl was, to diſcover a thief. He ſaid that when any thing was ſtolen, and the thief could not be found out, the people were all aſſembled together before him, when he waſhed his hands in water in this veſſel; after which it was cleaned, and then the whole multitude advanced, one after another, and touched it in the ſame manner that they touch his foot, when they pay him obeiſance. If the guilty perſon touched it, he died immediately upon the ſpot; not by violence, but by the hand of Providence; and if any one refuſed to touch it, his refuſal was a clear proof that he was the man.

In the morning of the 5th, the day of the eclipſe, the weather was dark and cloudy, with ſhowers of rain, ſo that we had little hopes of an obſervation. About nine o'clock the ſun broke out at intervals for about half an hour; after which it was totally obſcured, till within a minute or two of the beginning of the eclipſe. We were all at our teleſcopes, viz. Mr. Bayly, Mr. King, Captain Clerke, Mr. Bligh, and myſelf. I loſt the obſervation by not having a dark glaſs at hand, ſuitable to the clouds that were continually paſſing over the ſun; and Mr. Bligh had not got the ſun into the field of his teleſcope; ſo that the commencement of the eclipſe was only obſerved by the other three gentlemen.

As ſoon as we knew the eclipſe to be over, we packed up the inſtruments, and ſent every thing on board that had not been already removed. As none of the natives had taken the leaſt notice or care of the three ſheep, allotted to Mareewagee, I ordered them to be carried back to the ſhips. I was apprehenſive that if I had left them here, they ran great riſk of being deſtroyed by dogs. That animal did not exiſt upon this iſland; when I firſt viſited it in 1773; but I now found they had got a good many, partly from the breed then left by myſelf, and partly from ſome imported ſince that time, from an iſland not very remote, called Feejee.

The general appearance of the country conveys to the ſpectator an idea of the moſt exuberant fertility, whether we reſpect the places improved by art, or thoſe ſtill in a natural ſtate. At a diſtance the ſurface ſeems entirely clothed with trees of various ſizes; the tall cocoa-palms are far from being the ſmalleſt ornament to any country that produces them. The bogoo, which is a ſpecies of fig, with narrow pointed leaves,

is the largeſt-ſized tree of the iſland; the baſis of which, as far as we know, is entirely a coral rock.

Of cultivated fruits, the principal are the plantains; of which fruit they have fifteen different ſorts or varieties; bread-fruit; two ſorts of fruit found at Otaheite, and known there under the names of jambo and eeve, the latter a kind of plum; and vaſt numbers of ſhadocks, which, however, are found as often in a natural ſtate as planted. Beſides vaſt numbers of cocoa-nut trees, they have three other ſorts of palms. There is plenty of excellent ſugar-cane, which is cultivated; gourds; bamboo; turmeric; and a ſpecies of fig, about the ſize of a ſmall cherry, called matte, which, though wild, is ſometimes eaten. The catalogue of uncultivated plants is too large to be enumerated.

The only quadrupeds, beſides hogs, are a few rats and ſome dogs. Fowls, which are of a large breed, are domeſticated here.

Amongſt the birds are parrots, ſomewhat ſmaller than the common grey ones: parroquets, not larger than a ſparrow, of a fine yellowiſh green, with bright azure on the crown of the head, and the throat and belly red.

There are owls about the ſize of our common ſort, but of a finer plumage; the cuckoos, mentioned in Palmerſton's Iſland; king-fiſhers, about the ſize of a thruſh, of a greeniſh blue, with a white ring about the neck. The other land-birds are rails, of a variegated colour; large violet-coloured coots, with red bald crowns; two ſorts of fly-catchers; a very ſmall ſwallow; and three ſorts of pigeons.

Of water-fowl, and ſuch as frequent the ſea, are ducks; blue and white herons; tropic birds; common noddies; white terns; a new ſpecies of a leaden colour, with a black creſt; a ſmall bluiſh curlew; and a large plover ſpotted with yellow. Beſides the large bats, mentioned before, there is alſo the common ſort.

The only noxious or diſguſting animals of the reptile or inſect tribe, are ſea-ſnakes, three feet long, with black and white circles alternately, often found on ſhore; ſome ſcorpions and centipedes.

The ſea abounds with fiſh, though the variety is leſs than might be expected. The moſt frequent ſorts are mullets; ſeveral ſorts of parrot-fiſh; ſilver fiſh, old wives; ſome beautifully ſpotted ſoles; alſo ſharks; and ſome curious devil-fiſh.

The many reefs and ſhoals on the north ſide of the iſland, afford ſhelter for an endleſs variety of ſhell-fiſh; ſuch as the true hammer-oyſter; panamas; cones; and a ſort of gigantic cockle. There are likewiſe ſeveral ſorts of ſea-eggs, and many very fine ſtar-fiſh; beſides a conſiderable variety of corals.

On July 26th we were ready to ſail; but the wind being eaſterly, we were under a neceſſity of waiting two or three days. On the 8th, in the morning, I walked out and viſited ſeveral chiefs; all of them were taking their morning draught or had already taken it. The King I found aſleep in a ſmall retired hut, with two women tapping on his breech. About eleven o'clock he aroſe, and then ſome fiſh and yams, which taſted as if they had been ſtewed in cocoanut milk, were brought to him. Of theſe he ate a large portion, and lay down once more to ſleep. I now left him, and carried to the Prince a preſent of cloth, beads, and other articles, which I had brought with me from the ſhip for the purpoſe. There was a ſufficient quantity of cloth to make him a complete ſuit; and he was immediately decked out with it. Proud of his dreſs, he firſt went to ſhew himſelf to his father; and then conducted me to his mother; with whom were about ten or a dozen other women of a reſpectable appearance. Here the Prince changed his apparel, and made me a preſent of two pieces of the cloth manufactured in the iſland. By this time it was paſt noon, when by appointment

I repaired

I repaired to the palace to dinner. Several of our gentlemen were invited to the feaſt, which was preſently ſerved up, and conſiſted of two pigs and yams. I rouſed the drowſy monarch to partake of what he had provided for our entertainment. In the mean time two mullets and ſome ſhell-fiſh were brought to him, as I ſuppoſed, for his ſeparate portion. But he joined it to our fare, ſat down with us, and made a hearty meal.

On the 10th, at eight o'clock in the morning, we weighed anchor, and with a ſteady gale at ſouth-eaſt, turned through the channel, between the ſmall iſles called Makkahaa and Monooaſai, it being much wider than the channel between the laſt-mentioned iſland and Pangimodoo. Finding that we could not get to ſea before it was dark, I came to an anchor, under the ſhore of Tongataboo, in forty-five fathoms water.

We remained at this ſtation till eleven o'clock the next day, when we weighed, and plied to the eaſtward. But it was ten at night before we weathered the eaſt end of the iſland, and were enabled to ſtretch away for Middleburgh, or Eooa, (as it is called by the inhabitants,) where we anchored at eight o'clock the next morning.

We had no ſooner anchored than Taoofa, the chief, and ſeveral other natives, viſited us on board, and ſeemed to rejoice much at our arrival. This Taoofa knew me when I was here during my laſt voyage; conſequently we were not ſtrangers to each other. In a little time I went aſhore with him, in ſearch of freſh water; the procuring of which was the chief object that brought me to Eooa. I was firſt conducted to a brackiſh ſpring, between low and high water-mark, amongſt rocks, in the cove where we landed. Finding that we did not like this, our friends took us a little way into the iſland; where, in a deep chaſm, we found very good water. But rather than undertake the tedious taſk of bringing it down to the ſhore, I reſolved to reſt contented with the ſupply the ſhips had got at Tongataboo.

I put aſhore, at this iſland, the ram and two ewes, of the Cape of Good Hope breed; intruſting them to the care of Taoofa, who ſeemed proud of his charge. Eooa, not having as yet got any dogs upon it, ſeems to be a more proper place than Tongataboo for the rearing of ſheep.

As we lay at anchor, this iſland bore a very different aſpect from any we had lately ſeen, and formed a moſt beautiful landſcape.

The 13th, in the afternoon, a party of us made an excurſion to the higheſt part of the iſland, which was a little to the right of our ſhips, in order to have a full view of the country. About half-way up we croſſed a deep valley, the bottom and ſides of which, though compoſed of hardly any thing but coral rock, were clothed with trees. We were now about two or three hundred feet above the level of the ſea, and yet even here the coral was perforated into all the holes and inequalities which uſually diverſify the ſurface of this ſubſtance within the reach of the tide.

From the elevation to which we had aſcended, we had a full view of the whole iſland, except a part of the ſouth point. The plains and meadows, of which there are here ſome of great extent, lie all on the north-weſt ſide; and, as they are adorned with tufts of trees, intermixed with plantations, they form a very beautiful landſcape, in every point of view. While I was ſurveying this delightful proſpect, I could not help flattering myſelf with the pleaſing idea that ſome future navigators may, from the ſame ſtation, behold theſe meadows ſtocked with cattle, brought to theſe iſlands by the ſhips of England; and that the completion of this ſingle benevolent purpoſe, independently of all other conſiderations, would ſufficiently mark to poſterity that our voyages had not been uſeleſs to the general intereſts of humanity.

Omai, who was a great favourite, was tempted with the offer of being made chief of this iſland, if he would have ſtaid amongſt them; and it is not clear to me, that he would not have been glad to ſtay, if the ſcheme had met with my approbation. I own I did diſapprove of it; but not becauſe I thought that Omai would do better for himſelf in his own native iſle.

On returning from my country expedition, we were informed that a party of the natives had, in the circle where our people traded, ſtruck one of their own countrymen with a club, which laid bare, or, as others ſaid, fractured his ſkull, and then broke his thigh with the ſame. On my aſking the reaſon of ſo ſevere a treatment, we were informed, that he had been diſcovered in a ſituation rather indelicate with a woman who was taboo'd. We, however, underſtood that ſhe was no otherwiſe taboo'd, than by belonging to another perſon, and rather ſuperior in rank to her gallant. From this circumſtance we had an opportunity of obſerving how theſe people treat ſuch infidelities. But the female ſinner has by far the ſmaller ſhare of puniſhment for her miſdemeanour; as they told us, that ſhe would only receive a ſlight beating.

The next morning, I planted a pine-apple, and ſowed the ſeeds of melons, and other vegetables in the chief's plantation. I had ſome encouragement indeed to flatter myſelf that my endeavours of this kind would not be fruitleſs; for this day there was ſerved up at my dinner a diſh of turnips, being the produce of the ſeeds I had left during my laſt voyage.

I had fixed on the 15th for ſailing, till Taoofa preſſed me to ſtay a day or two longer, to receive a preſent he had prepared for me.

Accordingly, the next day, July 16th, I received the chief's preſent, conſiſting of two ſmall heaps of yams and ſome fruit, which ſeemed to be collected by a kind of contribution, as at the other iſles. It was intended to have finiſhed the day with the bomai, or night-dance; but an accident prevented any of us from ſtaying aſhore to ſee it. One of my people, walking a very little way, was ſurrounded by twenty or thirty of the natives, who knocked him down, and ſtripped him of every thing he had on his back. On hearing of this, I immediately ſeized two canoes, and a large hog; and inſiſted on Taoofa's cauſing the cloaths to be reſtored, and on the offenders being delivered up to me. The chief ſeemed much concerned at what had happened; and forthwith took the neceſſary ſteps to ſatisfy me. It was not long before one of the offenders was delivered up, and a ſhirt and a pair of trowſers reſtored.

The next morning, I landed again, having provided myſelf with a preſent for Taoofa, in return for what he had given me. The remainder of the cloaths were now brought in; but as they had been torn off the man's back by pieces, they were not worth carrying on board. Taoofa, on receiving my preſent, ſhared it with three or four other chiefs, keeping only a ſmall part for himſelf. I remained with them till they had finiſhed their bowl of kava; and having then paid for the hog, which I had taken the day before, returned on board with Taoofa, and one of Poulaho's ſervants, by whom I ſent as a parting mark of my eſteem and regard for that chief, a piece of bar iron, being as valuable a preſent as any I could make.

Soon after we weighed; when Taoofa, and a few other natives that were in the ſhip, left us. On heaving up the anchor, we found that the cable had ſuffered conſiderably by the rocks.

Thus we took leave of the Friendly iſlands, after a ſtay of near three months; during which time we lived together in the moſt cordial friendſhip. Some accidental differences, it is true, now and then happened, owing to their great propenſity to thieving;

thieving; but too often encouraged by the negligence of our own people. The time employed amongſt them was not thrown away. We expended very little of our ſea proviſions; ſubſiſting in general upon the produce of the iſland while we ſtayed, and carrying away with us a quantity of refreſhments ſufficient to laſt till our arrival at another ſtation, where we could depend upon a freſh ſupply. I was not ſorry, beſides, to have had an opportunity of bettering the condition of theſe good people, by leaving the uſeful animals before-mentioned among them; and at the ſame time, thoſe deſigned for Otaheite received freſh ſtrength in the paſtures of Tongataboo.

But beſides the immediate advantages which both the natives of the Friendly iſlands, and ourſelves, received by this viſit, future navigators from Europe, if any ſuch ever tread our ſteps, will profit by the knowledge I acquired of the geography of this part of the Pacific Ocean; and the more philoſophical reader, who loves to view human nature in new ſituations, and to ſpeculate on ſingular, but faithful, repreſentations of the perſons, the cuſtoms, the arts, the religion, the government, and the language of uncultivated man, in remote and freſh diſcovered quarters of the globe, will perhaps find matter of amuſement, if not of inſtruction, in the information which I have been enabled to convey to him concerning the inhabitants of this Archipelago. I ſhall ſuſpend my narrative of the progreſs of the voyage, while I faithfully relate what I had opportunities of collecting on theſe ſeveral topics.

We found, by our experience, that the beſt articles for traffic at theſe iſlands are iron tools in general. Axes and hatchets; nails, from the largeſt ſpike down to ten-penny ones; raſps, files, and knives, are much ſought after. Red cloth, and linen, both white and coloured, looking-glaſſes and beads are alſo in eſtimation, but of the latter, thoſe that are blue, are preferred to all others, and white ones are thought the leaſt valuable. A ſtring of large blue beads would at any time purchaſe a hog. But it muſt be obſerved, that ſuch articles as are merely ornaments, may be highly eſteemed at one time, and not ſo at another. When we firſt arrived at Annamooka, the people there would hardly take them in exchange even for fruit; but when Feenou came, this great man ſet the faſhion, and brought them into vogue, till they roſe in their value to what I have juſt mentioned.

In return for the favourite commodities which I have enumerated, all the refreſhments may be procured that the iſlands produce. Theſe are, hogs, fowls, fiſh, yams, bread-fruit, plantains, cocoa-nuts, ſugar-cane, and, in general, every ſuch ſupply as can be met with at Otaheite, or any of the Society iſlands. The yams of the Friendly iſlands are excellent, and, when grown to perfection, keep very well at ſea. But their pork, bread-fruit, and plantains, though far from deſpicable, are nevertheleſs much inferior in quality to the ſame articles at Otaheite, and its neighbourhood.

According to the information that we received there, this Archipelago is very extenſive: above one hundred and fifty iſlands were reckoned up to us by the natives, who made uſe of bits of leaves to aſcertain their number.

Feejee, as we were told, lies three days' ſail from Tongataboo, in the direction of north-weſt-by-weſt. It was deſcribed to us as a high but very fruitful iſland; abounding with hogs, dogs, fowls, and all the kinds of fruit and roots that are found in any of the others; and as much larger than Tongataboo. Feejee and Tongataboo frequently make war upon each other. The people of Feejee are formidable on account of the dexterity with which they uſe their bows and ſlings; but much more ſo on account of the ſavage practice of eating their enemies whom they kill in battle.

Now that I am again led to ſpeak of cannibals, let me aſk thoſe who maintain that the want of food firſt brings men to feed on human fleſh, what is it that induceth

the Feejee people to this practice in the midſt of plenty? It is deteſted very much by thoſe of Tongataboo, who cultivate the friendſhip of their ſavage neighbours of Feejee, apparently out of fear; though they ſometimes venture to ſkirmiſh with them, on their own ground, and carry off red feathers, as their booty, which are in great plenty there, and, as has been frequently mentioned, are in great eſtimation amongſt our Friendly iſlanders. It appeared to me, that the Feejee men, whom we now ſaw, were much reſpected here; they ſeem to excel the inhabitants of Tongataboo in ingenuity, if we might judge from ſeveral ſpecimens of their ſkill in workmanſhip which we ſaw; ſuch as clubs and ſpears, which were carved in a maſterly manner; cloth beautifully chequered; variegated mats; earthen pots; and ſome other articles; all which had a caſt of ſuperiority in the execution.

I have mentioned that Feejee lies three days' ſail from Tongataboo, becauſe theſe people have no other method of meaſuring the diſtance from iſland to iſland, but by expreſſing the time required to make the voyage in one of their canoes. In order to aſcertain this with ſome preciſion, or at leaſt to form ſome judgment how far theſe canoes can ſail in a moderate gale in any given time, I went on board one of them, when under ſail, and by ſeveral trials with the log, found that ſhe went ſeven knots, or miles in an hour, cloſed hauled, in a gentle gale. From this I judge that they will ſail, on a medium, with ſuch breezes as generally blow in their ſeas, about ſeven or eight miles in an hour.

In our inquiries we found poor Omai very deficient as an interpreter; for unleſs the object or thing we wanted to inquire about was actually before us, it was difficult to gain a tolerable knowledge of it; for having no curioſity, he never gave himſelf the trouble to make remarks for himſelf; and when he was diſpoſed to explain matters to us, his ideas appeared to be ſo limited, and perhaps ſo different from ours, that his accounts were often ſo confuſed as to perplex, inſtead of inſtructing us. Add to this, that it was very rare that we found amongſt the natives, a perſon who united the ability and the inclination to give us the information we wanted. Under theſe diſadvantages, it is not ſurpriſing that we ſhould not be able to bring away with us ſatisfactory accounts of many things; but ſome of us endeavoured to remedy thoſe diſadvantages by diligent obſervation; and I am indebted to Mr. Anderſon for a conſiderable ſhare of what follows.

The natives of the Friendly iſlands ſeldom exceed the common ſtature (though we have meaſured ſome who were above ſix feet), but are very ſtrong and well made; eſpecially as to their limbs. They are generally broad about the ſhoulders; and though the muſcular diſpoſition of the men, which ſeems a conſequence of much action, rather conveys the appearance of ſtrength than of beauty, there are ſeveral to be ſeen who are really handſome.

We met with hundreds of truly European faces, and many genuine Roman noſes amongſt them. Their eyes and teeth are good; but the laſt neither ſo remarkably white, nor ſo well ſet as is often found amongſt Indian nations.

The women are not ſo much diſtinguiſhed from the men by their features as by their general form, which is for the moſt part deſtitute of that ſtrong fleſhy firmneſs that appears in the latter. Though the features of ſome are ſo delicate, as not only to be a true index of their ſex, but to lay claim to a conſiderable ſhare of beauty and expreſſion, for the bodies and limbs of moſt of the females are well proportioned; and ſome abſolutely perfect models of a beautiful figure. But the moſt remarkable diſtinction in the women, is the uncommon ſmallneſs and delicacy of their fingers, which may be put in competition with the fineſt in Europe.

The general colour is a caſt deeper than the copper brown; but ſeveral of the men and women have a true olive complexion; and ſome of the laſt are even a great deal fairer. We ſaw a man and boy at Hapaee, and a child at Annamooka, perfectly white. Such have been found amongſt all black nations; but I apprehend that their colour is rather a diſeaſe than a natural phenomenon.

There are, upon the whole, few natural defects or deformities to be found amongſt them. The moſt common of which is the tetter, or ring-worm, that ſeems to affect almoſt one half of them, and leaves whitiſh ſerpentine marks every where behind it; but this is of leſs conſequence than another which is very frequent, and appears on every part of the body. I had the mortification to learn that all the care I took, when I firſt viſited theſe iſlands, to prevent the venereal diſeaſe from being communicated to the inhabitants, had proved ineffectual. What is extraordinary, they do not ſeem to regard it much; and as we ſaw few ſigns of its deſtroying effects, probably the climate, and the way of living of theſe people, greatly abate its virulence. There are two other complaints frequent amongſt them; one of which is an indolent firm ſwelling, that affects the legs and arms, and increaſes them to an extraordinary ſize in their whole length. The other is a tumour of the ſame ſort, in the teſticles, which ſometimes exceeds the ſize of the two fiſts. But in other reſpects they may be conſidered as uncommonly healthy; not a ſingle perſon having been ſeen, during our ſtay, confined to the houſe by ſickneſs of any kind. On the contrary, their ſtrength and activity are every way anſwerable to their muſcular appearance; and they exert both, in their uſual employment and in their diverſions, in ſuch a manner, that there can be no doubt of their being, as yet, little debilitated by the numerous diſeaſes that are the conſequence of indolence, and an unnatural method of life.

The graceful air and firm ſtep with which theſe people walk, are not the leaſt obvious proofs of their perſonal accompliſhments.

Their countenances very remarkably expreſs the abundant mildneſs, or good-nature, which they poſſeſs; and are entirely free from that ſavage keenneſs which marks nations in a barbarous ſtate. They are frank, cheerful, and good-humoured, though ſometimes, in the preſence of their chiefs, they put on a degree of gravity, and ſuch a ſerious air as becomes ſtiff and awkward, and has an appearance of reſerve.

Their peaceable diſpoſition is ſufficiently evinced from the friendly reception all ſtrangers have met with who have viſited them. Inſtead of offering to attack them openly or clandeſtinely, as has been the caſe with moſt of the inhabitants of theſe ſeas, they have never appeared in the ſmalleſt degree hoſtile; but on the contrary, like the moſt civilized people, have courted an intercourſe with their viſitors by bartering, which is the only medium that unites all nations in a ſort of friendſhip. Upon the whole, they ſeem poſſeſſed of many of the moſt excellent qualities that adorn the human mind; ſuch as induſtry, ingenuity, perſeverance, affability, and perhaps other virtues which our ſhort ſtay with them might prevent our obſerving.

The only defect ſullying their character, that we know of, is a propenſity to thieving; to which we found thoſe of all ages, and both ſexes, addicted, and to an uncommon degree. Great allowances ſhould be made for the foibles of theſe poor natives of the Pacific Ocean, whoſe minds we overpowered with the glare of objects, equally new to them, as they were captivating. The thefts ſo frequently committed by the natives, of what we had brought along with us, may be ſaid to ariſe ſolely from an intenſe curioſity or deſire to poſſeſs ſomething which they had not been accuſtomed to before, and belonging to a ſort of people ſo different from themſelves. That I have aſſigned the true motive for their propenſity to this practice, appears from their ſtealing

every

every thing indiſcriminately at firſt ſight, before they could have the leaſt conception of converting their prize to any one uſeful purpoſe. Upon the whole, the pilfering diſpoſition of theſe iſlanders, though certainly diſagreeable and troubleſome to ſtrangers, was the means of affording us ſome information as to the quickneſs of their intellects. Their ſmall thefts were committed with much dexterity; and thoſe of greater conſequence upon a plan ſuited to the importance of the objects.

Their hair is in general ſtraight, thick, and ſtrong; though a few have it buſhy or frizzled. The natural colour, I believe, almoſt without exception, is black; but the greateſt part of the men, and ſome of the women, have it ſtained of a brown or purple colour, and a few of an orange caſt.

When I firſt viſited theſe iſlands, I thought it had been an univerſal cuſtom for both men and women to wear the hair ſhort; but during our preſent longer ſtay we ſaw a great many exceptions. Some have it cut off on one ſide of the head only; others have it entirely cut off, except a ſingle lock; the women in general wear it ſhort. The men have their beards cut ſhort; and both men and women ſtrip the hair from the arm-pits. The men are ſtained from about the middle of the belly to about half way down the thighs, with a deep blue colour. The women have only a few ſmall lines or ſpots, thus imprinted, on the inſide of their hands. Their Kings, as a mark of diſtinction, are exempted from this cuſtom.

The men are all circumciſed, or rather ſuperciſed, as the operation conſiſts in cutting off only a ſmall piece of the foreſkin at the upper part; which, by that means, is rendered incapable ever after of covering the glans. This is all they aim at, as they ſay the operation is practiſed from a notion of cleanlineſs.

The dreſs of both men and women is the ſame; and conſiſts of a piece of cloth or matting (but moſtly the former), about two yards wide, and two and a half long; at leaſt ſo long as to go once and a half round the waiſt, to which it is confined by a girdle or cord. It is double before, and hangs down like a petticoat, as low as the middle of the leg. The upper part of the garment above the girdle is platted into ſeveral folds, ſo that, when unfolded, there is cloth ſufficient to draw up and wrap round the ſhoulders, which is very ſeldom done. The inferior ſort are ſatisfied with ſmall pieces; and very often wear nothing but a covering made of leaves of plants, or the maro, which is a narrow piece of cloth, or matting, like a ſaſh. This they paſs between the thighs and wrap round the waiſt; but the uſe of it is chiefly confined to the men.

The ornaments worn by both ſexes are necklaces, made of the fruit of the pandanus, and various ſweet ſmelling flowers, which go under the general name of kahulla. Others are compoſed of ſmall ſhells, the wing and leg bones of birds, ſhark's teeth, and other things; all which hang looſe upon the breaſt; rings of tortoiſe-ſhell on the fingers; and a number of theſe joined together as bracelets on the wriſt.

The lobes of the ears (though moſt frequently, only one) are ſometimes perforated with two holes, in which they wear cylindrical bits of ivory about three inches long.

Cleanlineſs induces them to bathe in the ponds, which ſeem to ſerve for no other purpoſe. They are ſenſible that ſalt water hurts their ſkin, and when neceſſity obliges them to bathe in the ſea, they commonly have ſome cocoa-nut ſhells, filled with freſh water, poured over them, to waſh it off. People of ſuperior rank uſe cocoa-nut oil, which improves the appearance of the ſkin very much.

The employment of the women is of the eaſy kind, and, for the moſt part, ſuch as may be executed in the houſe. The manufacturing their cloth is wholly conſigned to their care. Having already deſcribed the proceſs, I ſhall only add that they have this

cloth

cloth of different degrees of fineneſs. Of the better ſort they have ſome that is ſtriped and chequered, and of other patterns differently coloured. But how theſe colours are laid on, I cannot ſay, as I never ſaw any of this ſort made. It will reſiſt water for ſome time; but that which has the ſtrongeſt glaze will reſiſt longeſt.

The manufacture next in conſequence, and alſo within the department of the women, is that of their mats, which excel every thing I have ſeen at any other place, both as to their texture and their beauty. There are many other articles of leſs note, that employ the ſpare time of their females; as combs, of which they make vaſt numbers; and little baſkets with ſmall beads; but all finiſhed with ſuch neatneſs and taſte in the diſpoſition of the various parts, that a ſtranger cannot help admiring their aſſiduity and dexterity.

The province allotted to the men, as might be expected, is far more laborious and extenſive than that of the women. Agriculture, architecture, boat-building, fiſhing, and other things that relate to navigation, are the objects of their care. Cultivated roots and fruits being their principal ſupport, this requires their conſtant attention to agriculture, which they purſue very diligently, and ſeem to have brought almoſt to as great perfection as circumſtances will permit. In planting the plantains and yams, they obſerve ſo much exactneſs, that, which-ever way you look, the rows preſent themſelves regular and complete.

The cocoa-nut and bread-fruit trees are ſcattered about without any order, and ſeem to give them no trouble after they have attained a certain height.

It is remarkable, that theſe people, who in many things diſplay much taſte and ingenuity, ſhould ſhew little of either in building their houſes. Thoſe of the lower people are poor huts, and very ſmall; thoſe of the better ſort are larger and more comfortable. The dimenſions of one of a middling ſize, are about thirty feet long, twenty broad, and twelve high. Their houſe is, properly ſpeaking, a thatched roof or ſhed, ſupported by poſts and rafters, diſpoſed in a very judicious manner. The floor is raiſed with earth, ſmoothed, and covered with ſtrong, thick matting, and kept very clean. A thick ſtrong mat, about two and one half, or three feet broad, bent into the form of a ſemicircle, and ſet upon its edge, with the ends touching the ſide of the houſe, in ſhape reſembling the fender of a fire-hearth, incloſes a ſpace for the maſter and miſtreſs of the family to ſleep in. The reſt of the family ſleep upon the floor, wherever they pleaſe to lie down; the unmarried men and women apart from each other. Or if the family be large, there are ſmall huts adjoining, to which the ſervants retire in the night; ſo that privacy is as much obſerved here, as one could expect. The cloaths that they wear in the day, ſerve for their covering in the night. Their whole furniture conſiſts of a bowl or two, in which they make kava; a few gourds; cocoa-nut ſhells; and ſome ſmall wooden ſtools, which ſerve them for pillows.

They make amends for the defects of their houſes by their great attention to and dexterity in naval architecture, if I may be allowed to give it that name: but I refer to the narrative of my laſt voyage for an account of their canoes and their manner of building and navigating them.

The only tools which they uſe to conſtruct their boats, which are very dexterouſly made, are hatchets, or rather thick adzes, of a ſmooth black ſtone that abounds at Toofoa; augres made of ſhark's teeth, fixed on ſmall handles, and raſps of a rough ſkin of a fiſh, faſtened on flat pieces of wood, thinner on one ſide, which alſo have handles.

The cordage is made from the fibres of the cocoa-nut huſk, which, though not more than nine or ten inches long, they plait, about the ſize of a quill, or leſs, to any length

that

that they pleaſe, and roll it up in balls, from which the larger ropes are made by twiſting ſeveral of theſe together. The lines that they fiſh with, are as ſtrong and even as the beſt cord we make, reſembling it almoſt in every reſpect. Their other fiſhing implements are large and ſmall hooks made of pearl-ſhell.

Their weapons are clubs of different ſorts (in the ornamenting of which they ſpend much time), ſpears, and darts. They have alſo bows and arrows; but theſe ſeemed to be deſigned only for amuſement, ſuch as ſhooting at birds, and not for military purpoſes. The ſtools are about two feet long, but only four or five inches high, and near four broad, bending downward in the middle, with four ſtrong legs, and circular feet; the whole made of one piece of black or brown wood, neatly poliſhed, and ſometimes inlaid with bits of ivory.

Yams, plantains, and cocoa-nuts, compoſe the greateſt part of their vegetable diet. Of their animal food, the chief articles are hogs, fowls, fiſh, and all ſorts of ſhell-fiſh; but the lower people eat rats. The two firſt vegetable articles, with bread-fruit, are what may be called the baſis of their food, at different times of the year, with fiſh and ſhell-fiſh; for hogs, fowls, and turtle, ſeem only to be occaſional dainties, reſerved for their chiefs.

Their food is, generally, dreſſed by baking, and they have the art of making, from different kinds of fruit, ſeveral diſhes which moſt of us eſteemed very good. The generality of them lay their victuals upon the firſt leaf they meet with, however dirty it may be; but when food is ſerved up to the chiefs, it is commonly laid upon green plantain leaves. The women are not excluded from eating with the men; but there are certain ranks or orders amongſt them that can neither eat nor drink together. This diſtinction begins with the King; but where it ends I cannot ſay.

They ſeem to have no ſet time for meals. They go to bed as ſoon as it is dark, and riſe with the dawn in the morning.

Their private diverſions are chiefly ſinging, dancing, and muſic, performed by the women. The dancing of the men has a thouſand different motions with the hands, to which we are entire ſtrangers; and they are performed with an eaſe and grace which are not to be deſcribed but by thoſe who have ſeen them.

Whether their marriages be made laſting by any kind of ſolemn contract, we could not determine with preciſion; but it is certain that the bulk of the people ſatisfied themſelves with one wife. The chiefs, however, have commonly ſeveral women; though ſome of us were of opinion that there was only one that was looked upon as the miſtreſs of the family.

As female chaſtity, at firſt ſight, ſeemed to be held in no great eſtimation, we expected to have found frequent breaches of their conjugal fidelity; but we did them great injuſtice. I do not know that a ſingle inſtance happened during our whole ſtay. Neither are thoſe of the better ſort that are unmarried, more free of their favours. It is true, there was no want of thoſe of a different character: but they appeared to be of the loweſt claſs, and ſuch of them as permitted familiarities to our people, were proſtitutes by profeſſion.

Nothing can be a greater proof of the humanity of theſe people than the concern they ſhew for the dead. To uſe a common expreſſion, their mourning is not in words but deeds. They beat their teeth with ſtones, ſtrike a ſhark's tooth into the head until the blood flows in ſtreams, and thruſt ſpears into the inner part of the thigh, into their ſides below the arm-pits, and through the cheeks into the mouth. All theſe operations convey an idea of ſuch rigorous diſcipline, as muſt require either an uncommon degree of affection, or the groſſeſt ſuperſtition to exact. It ſhould be obſerved

obſerved, however, that the more painful operations are only practiſed on account of the death of thoſe moſt nearly connected. The common people are interred in no particular ſpot.

Their long and general mourning proves that they conſider death as a very great evil. And this is confirmed by a very odd cuſtom which they practiſe to avert it. They ſuppoſe that the Deity will accept of the little finger, as a ſort of ſacrifice efficacious enough to procure the recovery of their health. They cut it off with one of their ſtone hatchets. There was ſcarcely one in ten of them whom we did not find thus mutilated, in one or both hands; which has a diſagreeable effect, eſpecially as they ſometimes cut ſo cloſe that they encroach upon the bone of the hand which joins to the amputated finger *.

They ſeem to have little conception of future puniſhment. They believe however that they are juſtly puniſhed upon earth; and conſequently uſe every method to render their divinities propitious. The ſupreme author of moſt things they call Kollafootonga; who they ſay is a female, reſiding in the ſky, and directing the thunder, wind, rain, and in general all the changes of weather. They believe that when ſhe is angry with them, the productions of the earth are blaſted; that many things are deſtroyed by lightning; and that they themſelves are afflicted with ſickneſs and death as well as their hogs and other animals.

When this anger abates, they ſuppoſe that every thing is reſtored to its natural order. They alſo admit a plurality of deities, though all inferior to Kollafootonga. Amongſt them they mention Toofooaboolootoo, god of the clouds and fog; Talleteboo and ſome others reſiding in the heavens. The firſt in rank and power, who has the government of the ſea and its productions, is called Futtafaihe, who they ſay is a male, and has for his wife Fykava Kajeea. But their notions of the power, and other attributes of theſe beings, are ſo very abſurd, that they ſuppoſe they have no farther concern with them after death.

They have, however, very proper ſentiments about the immateriality and the immortality of the ſoul. They call it life, the living principle, or, what is more agreeable to their notions of it, an Otooa; that is, a divinity, or inviſible being.

Of the nature of their government, we know no more than the general outline. Some of them told us, that the power of the King is unlimited, and that the life and property of the ſubject are at his diſpoſal; and we ſaw inſtances enough to prove that the lower order of people have no property, nor ſafety for their perſons, but at the will of the chiefs to whom they reſpectively belong.

When any one wants to ſpeak with the King, or chief, he advances and ſits down before him with his legs acroſs; which is a poſture to which they are ſo much accuſtomed, that any other mode of ſitting is diſagreeable to them †.

To ſpeak to the King ſtanding, would be accounted here as a ſtriking mark of rudeneſs.

Though ſome of the more potent chiefs may vie with the King in point of actual poſſeſſions, they fall very ſhort in rank and in certain remarks of reſpect, which the collective body have agreed to pay the monarch. It is a particular privilege annexed to his ſovereignty, not to be punctured nor circumciſed as all his ſubjects are. When-

* It may not be improper to mention here, on the authority of Captain King, that it is common for the inferior people to cut off a joint of their little finger, on account of the ſickneſs of the chiefs to whom they belong.

† This is peculiar to the men, the women always ſitting with both legs thrown a little on one ſide. We owe this remark to Captain King.

ever he walks out, every one whom he meets muſt ſit down till he has paſſed. No one is allowed to be over his head; on the contrary, all muſt come under his feet; for there cannot be a greater outward mark of ſubmiſſion, than that which is paid to the ſovereign, and other great people of theſe iſlands, by their inferiors. The method is this; the perſon who is to pay obeiſance, ſquats down before the chief, and bows the head to the ſole of his foot; which, when he ſits, is ſo placed that it cannot eaſily be come at; and having tapped or touched it with the under and upper ſide of the fingers of both hands, he riſes up, and retires. The hands after this application of them to the chief's feet, are in ſome caſes rendered uſeleſs for a time; for until they be waſhed they muſt not touch any kind of food. When the hands are in this ſtate, they call it Taboo Rema. Taboo, in general, ſignifies forbidden, and Rema is their word for hand.

Taboo, as I have before obſerved, is a word of an extenſive ſignification. Human ſacrifices are called Tangata taboo and when any thing is forbidden to be eat, or made uſe of, they ſay that is Taboo.

The language of the Friendly Iſlands has the greateſt affinity imaginable to that of New Zealand, of Wateeoo, and Mangeea; and conſequently to that of Otaheite, and the Society Iſlands.

Having now concluded my remarks on theſe iſlands and people, I ſhall take my leave of them.

*** The voyage to the north-weſt coaſt of America belongs to another diviſion of this work.

PART III.

Captain King's Journal of the Tranſactions on returning to the Sandwich Iſlands, together with a minute account of Captain Cook's Death, from January 1779 to March following.

KARAKAKOOA Bay is ſituated on the weſt ſide of the iſland of Owhyhee, in a diſtrict called Akona. It is about a mile in depth, and bounded by two low points of land at the diſtance of half a league, and bearing ſouth-ſouth-eaſt north-north-weſt from each other. On the north point, which is flat and barren, ſtands the village of Kowrowa; and in the bottom of the bay, near a grove of tall cocoa-nut trees, there is another village of a more conſiderable ſize, called Kakooa. This bay appearing to Captain Cook a proper place to refit the ſhips, and lay in an additional ſupply of water and proviſions, we moored on the north ſide.

As ſoon as the inhabitants perceived our intention of anchoring in the bay, they came off from the ſhore in aſtoniſhing numbers, and expreſſed their joy by ſinging and ſhouting, and exhibiting a variety of wild and extravagant geſtures. The ſides, the decks, and rigging of both ſhips were ſoon completely covered with them; and a multitude of women and boys, who had not been able to get canoes, came ſwimming round us in ſhoals; many of whom, not finding room on board, remained the whole day playing in the water.

Among the chiefs that came on board the Reſolution, was a young man called P[illegible] whom we ſoon perceived to be a perſon of great authority. On preſenting himſ[elf] Captain Cook, he told him that he was Jakanee* to the King of the iſland, wh[o]

* We afterward met with ſeveral others of the ſame denomination; but whether it be an offi[ce] or ſome degree of affinity, we could never learn with certainty.

at that time engaged on a military expedition at Mowee, and was expected to return within three or four days. A few preſents from Captain Cook attached him entirely to our intereſts, and he became exceedingly uſeful to us in the management of his countrymen, as we had ſoon occaſion to experience: for we had not been long at anchor, when it was obſerved that the Diſcovery had ſuch a number of people hanging on one ſide, as occaſioned her to heel conſiderably; and that the men were unable to keep off the crowds which continued preſſing into her. Captain Cook, being apprehenſive that ſhe might ſuffer ſome injury, pointed out the danger to Pareea, who immediately went to their aſſiſtance, cleared the ſhip of its incumbrances, and drove away the canoes that ſurrounded her.

The authority of the chiefs over the inferior people appeared from this incident, to be of the moſt deſpotic kind. A ſimilar inſtance of it happened the ſame day on board the Reſolution, where the crowd being ſo great as to impede the neceſſary buſineſs of the ſhip, we were obliged to have recourſe to the aſſiſtance of Kaneena, another of their chiefs, who had likewiſe attached himſelf to Captain Cook. The inconvenience we laboured under being made known, he immediately ordered his countrymen to quit the veſſel; and we were not a little ſurpriſed to ſee them jump overboard without a moment's heſitation; all, except one man, who loitered behind, and ſhewing ſome unwillingneſs to obey, Kaneena took him up in his arms, and threw him into the ſea.

Both theſe chiefs were men of ſtrong and well proportioned bodies, and of countenances remarkably pleaſing, Kaneena, eſpecially, was one of the fineſt men I ever ſaw. He was about ſix feet high, had regular and expreſſive features, with lively dark eyes; his carriage was eaſy, firm, and graceful.

The inhabitants had hitherto behaved with great fairneſs and honeſty, but we now found the caſe exceedingly altered. The immenſe crowd of iſlanders, which blocked up every part of the ſhips, not only afforded frequent opportunity of pilfering without riſk of diſcovery, but our inferiority in number held forth a proſpect of eſcaping with impunity in caſe of detection. Another circumſtance, to which we attributed this alteration in their behaviour, was the preſence and encouragement of their chiefs; for generally tracing the booty into the poſſeſſion of ſome men of conſequence, we had the ſtrongeſt reaſon to ſuſpect that theſe depredations were committed at their inſtigation.

Soon after the Reſolution had got into her ſtation, our two friends, Pareea and Kaneena, brought on board a third chief, named Koah, who, we were told, was a prieſt, and had been, in his youth, a diſtinguiſhed warrior. He was a little old man, of an emaciated figure; his eyes exceedingly ſore and red, and his body covered with a white leprous ſcurf, the effects of an immoderate uſe of the Ava. Being led into the cabin, he approached Captain Cook with great veneration, and threw over his ſhoulders a piece of red cloth, which he had brought along with him. Then ſtepping a few paces back, he made an offering of a ſmall pig, which he held in his hand, whilſt he pronounced a diſcourſe that laſted for a conſiderable time. This ceremony was frequently repeated during our ſtay at Owhyhee, and appeared to us, from many circumſtances, to be a ſort of religious adoration. Their idols we found always arrayed with red cloth, in the ſame manner as was done to Captain Cook; and a ſmall pig was their uſual offering to the Eatooas. Their ſpeeches, or prayers, were uttered too with a readineſs and volubility that indicated them to be according to ſome formularly.

When this ceremony was over, Koah dined with Captain Cook, eating plentifully of what was ſet before him; but, like the reſt of the inhabitants of the iſlands in theſe

ſeas, could ſcarcely be prevailed on to taſte a ſecond time our wine or ſpirits. In the evening Captain Cook, attended by Mr. Bayly and myſelf, accompanied him on ſhore. We landed at the beach, and were received by four men who carried wands tipt with dog's hair, and marched before us, pronouncing with a loud voice a ſhort ſentence, in which we could only diſtinguiſh the word Orono.* The crowd which had been collected on the ſhore, retired at our approach; and not a perſon was to be ſeen, except a few lying proſtrate on the ground, near the huts of the adjoining village.

Before I proceed to relate the adoration that was paid to Captain Cook, and the peculiar ceremonies with which he was received on this fatal iſland, it will be neceſſary to deſcribe a Morai, or burying-place, ſituated at the ſouth ſide of the beach at Kakooa. It was a ſquare ſolid pile of ſtones, about forty yards long, twenty broad, and fourteen in height. The top was flat and well paved, and ſurrounded by a wooden rail, on which were fixed the ſkulls of the captives ſacrificed on the death of their chiefs. In the centre of the area, ſtood a ruinous old building of wood, connected with the rail on each ſide, by a ſtone wall, which divided the whole ſpace into two parts. On the ſide next the country were five poles, upward of twenty feet high, ſupporting an irregular kind of ſcaffold; on the oppoſite ſide, toward the ſea, ſtood two ſmall houſes, with a covered communication.

We were conducted by Koah to the top of this pile by an eaſy aſcent, leading from the beach to the north-weſt corner of the area. At the entrance we ſaw two large wooden images, with features violently diſtorted, and a long piece of carved wood, of a conical form inverted, riſing from the top of their heads; the reſt was without form, and wrapped round with red cloth. We were here met by a tall young man with a long beard, who preſented Captain Cook to the images; and, after chanting a kind of hymn, in which he was joined by Koah, they led us to that end of the Morai where the five poles were fixed. At the foot of them were twelve images ranged in a ſemicircular form, and before the middle figure ſtood a high ſtand or table, on which lay a putrid hog, and under it pieces of ſugar-cane, cocoa-nuts, bread-fruit, plantains, and ſweet potatoes. Koah having placed the captain under this ſtand, took down the hog, and held it toward him; and after having a ſecond time addreſſed him in a long ſpeech, pronounced with much vehemence and rapidity, he let it fall on the ground, and led him to the ſcaffolding, which they began to climb together, not without great riſk of falling. At this time we ſaw, coming in ſolemn proceſſion, at the entrance of the top of the Morai, ten men carrying a live hog, and a large piece of red cloth. Being advanced a few paces, they ſtopped, and proſtrated themſelves; and Kaireekea, the young man above-mentioned, went to them, and receiving the cloth, carried it to Koah, who wrapped it round the captain, and afterward offered him the hog, which was brought by Kaireekeea with the ſame ceremony.

Whilſt Captain Cook was aloft, in this awkward ſituation, ſwathed round with red cloth, and with difficulty keeping his hold amongſt the pieces of rotten ſcaffolding, Kaireekea and Koah began their office, chanting ſometimes in concert, and ſometimes alternately. This laſted a conſiderable time; at length Koah let the hog drop, when he and the captain deſcended together. He then led him to the images before mentioned, and having ſaid ſomething to each in a ſneering tone, ſnapped his fingers at them as he paſſed, he brought him to that in the centre, which, from its being covered

* Captain Cook generally went by this name amongſt the natives of Owhyhee; but we could never learn its preciſe meaning. Sometimes they applied it to an invitible being, who they ſaid lived in the heavens. We alſo found that it was a title belonging to a perſonage of great rank and power in the iſland, who reſembles pretty much the Delai Lama of the Tartars, and the eccleſiaſtical Emperor of Japan.

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with red cloth, appeared to be in greater eſtimation than the reſt. Before this figure he proſtrated himſelf, and kiſſed it; deſiring Captain Cook to do the ſame; who ſuffered himſelf to be directed by Koah throughout the whole of this ceremony. We were now led back into the other diviſion of the Morai, where there was a ſpace ten or twelve feet ſquare, ſunk about three feet below the level of the area. Into this we deſcended, and Captain Cook was ſeated between two wooden idols, Koah ſupporting one of his arms, whilſt I was deſired to ſupport the other. At this time arrived a ſecond proceſſion of natives, carrying a baked hog, and a pudding, ſome bread-fruit, cocoa-nuts, and other vegetables. When they approached us, Kaireekeea put himſelf at their head, and preſenting the pig to Captain Cook in the uſual manner, began the ſame kind of chant as before, his companions making regular reſponſes. We obſerved that after every reſponſe their parts became gradually ſhorter, till, towards the cloſe, Kaireekeea's conſiſted of only two or three words, which the reſt anſwered by the word Orono.

When this offering was concluded, which laſted a quarter of an hour, the natives ſat down fronting us, and began to cut up the baked hog, to peel the vegetables, and break the cocoa-nuts; whilſt others employed themſelves in brewing the ava; which is done by chewing it in the ſame manner as at the Friendly Iſlands. Kaireekeea then took part of the kernel of a cocoa-nut, which he chewed, and wrapped it in a piece of cloth, rubbed with it the captain's face, head, hands, arms, and ſhoulders. The ava was then handed round, and after we had taſted it, Koah and Pareea began to pull the fleſh of the hog in pieces, and to put it into our mouths. I had no great objection to be fed by Pareea, who was very cleanly in his perſon; but Captain Cook, who was ſerved by Koah, recollecting the putrid hog, could not ſwallow a morſel; and his reluctance, as may be ſuppoſed, was not diminiſhed, when the old man, according to his own mode of civility, had chewed it for him.

When this laſt ceremony was finiſhed, which Captain Cook put an end to as ſoon as he decently could, we quitted the Morai, after diſtributing amongſt the people ſome pieces of iron and other trifles, with which they ſeemed highly gratified. The men with wands conducted us to the boats, repeating the ſame words as before. The people again retired, and the few that remained, proſtrated themſelves as we paſſed along the ſhore. We immediately went on board, our minds full of what we had ſeen, and extremely well ſatisfied with the good diſpoſitions of our new friends. The meaning of the various ceremonies, with which we had been received, and which, on account of their novelty and ſingularity, have been related at length, can only be the ſubject of conjectures, and thoſe uncertain and partial: they were, however, without doubt, expreſſive of high reſpect on the part of the natives; and, as far as related to the perſon of Captain Cook, they ſeemed approaching to adoration.

The next morning, I went on ſhore with a guard of eight marines, including the corporal and lieutenant, having orders to erect the obſervatory in ſuch a ſituation as might beſt enable me to ſuperintend and protect the waterers, and the other working parties that were to be on ſhore. As we were viewing a ſpot conveniently ſituated for this purpoſe in the middle of the village, Pareea, who was always ready to ſhew both his power and his good-will, offered to pull down ſome houſes that would have obſtructed our obſervations. However, we thought it proper to decline this offer, and fixed on a field of ſweet potatoes adjoining to the Morai, which was readily granted us; and the prieſts, to prevent the intruſion of the natives, immediately conſecrated the place, by fixing their wands round the wall by which it was incloſed.

No canoes ever preſumed to land near us; the natives ſat on the wall, but none offered to come within the tabooed ſpace, till they had obtained our permiſſion. But though the men, at our requeſt, would come acroſs the field with proviſions, yet not all our endeavours could prevail on the women to approach us. Preſents were tried, but without effect; Pareea and Koah were tempted to bring them, but in vain; we were invariably anſwered, that the Eatooa and Terreeoboo (which was the name of their king) would kill them. This circumſtance afforded no ſmall matter of amuſement to our friends on board, where the crowds of people, and particularly of women, that continued to flock thither, obliged them almoſt every hour to clear the veſſel, in order to have room to do the neceſſary duties of the ſhip. On theſe occaſions, two or three hundred women were frequently made to jump into the water at once, where they continued ſwimming and playing about, till they again could procure admittance.

From the 19th to the 24th, when Pareea and Koah left us to attend Terreeoboo, who had landed on ſome other part of the iſland, nothing very material happened on board. The caulkers were ſet to work on the ſides of the ſhips, and the rigging was carefully overhauled and repaired. The ſalting of hogs for ſea-ſtore was alſo a conſtant, and one of the principal objects of Captain Cook's attention.

We had not been long ſettled at the obſervatory, before we diſcovered, in our neighbourhood, the habitations of a ſociety of prieſts, whoſe regular attendance at the Morai had excited our curioſity. Their huts ſtood round a pond of water, and were ſurrounded by a grove of cocoa-nut trees, which ſeparated them from the beach and the reſt of the village, and gave the place an air of religious retirement. On my acquainting Captain Cook with theſe circumſtances, he reſolved to pay them a viſit; and, as he expected, was received in the ſame manner as before.

On his arrival at the beach, he was conducted to a ſacred building called Harre-no-Orono, or the houſe of Orono, and ſeated before the entrance, at the foot of a wooden idol, of the ſame kind with thoſe on the Morai. I was here again made to ſupport one of his arms, and after wrapping him in red cloth, Kaireekeea, accompanied by twelve prieſts, made an offering of a pig with the uſual ſolemnities. The pig was then ſtrangled, and a fire being kindled, it was thrown into the embers, and after the hair was ſinged off, it was again preſented with a repetition of the chanting, in the manner before deſcribed. The dead pig was then held for a ſhort time under the captain's noſe, after which it was laid with a cocoa-nut at his feet, and the performers ſat down. The ava was then brewed, and handed round; a fat hog ready dreſſed was brought in, and we were fed as before.

During the reſt of the time we remained in the bay, whenever Captain Cook came on ſhore he was attended by one of theſe prieſts, who went before him, giving notice that the Orono had landed, and ordered the people to proſtrate themſelves. The ſame perſon alſo conſtantly accompanied him on the water, ſtanding in the bow of the boat, with a wand in his hand, and giving notice of his approach to the natives, who were in canoes, on which they immediately left off paddling, and lay down on their faces till he had paſſed. Whenever he ſtopped at the obſervatory, Kaireekeea and his brethren immediately made their appearance with hogs, cocoa-nuts, bread-fruit, &c. and preſented them with the uſual ſolemnities. It was on theſe occaſions that ſome of the inferior chiefs frequently requeſted to be permitted to make an offering to the Orono. When this was granted, they preſented the hog themſelves, generally with evident marks of fear in their countenances, whilſt Kaireekeea and the prieſts chanted their accuſtomed hymns.

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The civilities of this ſociety were not, however, confined to mere ceremony and parade. Our party on ſhore received from them, every day, a conſtant ſupply of hogs and vegetables, more than ſufficient for our ſubſiſtence; and ſeveral canoes loaded with proviſions were ſent to the ſhips with the ſame punctuality. No return was ever demanded, or even hinted at in the moſt diſtant manner. Their preſents were made with a regularity more like the diſcharge of a religious duty, than the effect of mere liberality; and when we enquired at whoſe charge all this munificence was diſplayed, we were told it was at the expence of a great man called Kaoo, the chief of the prieſts, and grandfather to Kaireekeea, who was at that time abſent attending the King of the iſland.

As every thing relating to the character and behaviour of this people muſt be intereſting to the reader, on account of the tragedy that was afterwards acted here, it will be proper to acquaint him, that we had not always ſo much reaſon to be ſatisfied with the conduct of the warrior chiefs, or earees, as with that of our prieſts. In all our dealings with the former, we found them ſufficiently attentive to their own intereſts; and beſides their habit of ſtealing, which may admit of ſome excuſe, from the univerſality of the practice amongſt the iſlanders of theſe ſeas, they make uſe of other artifices equally diſhonourable. I ſhall only mention one inſtance, in which we diſcovered with regret our friend Koah to be a party principally concerned. As the chiefs, who brought us preſents of hogs, were always ſent back handſomely rewarded, we had generally a greater ſupply than we could make uſe of. On theſe occaſions, Koah, who never failed in his attendance on us, uſed to beg ſuch as we did not want, and they were always given to him. It one day happened that a pig was preſented us, by a man whom Koah himſelf introduced as a chief, who was deſirous of paying his reſpects, and we recollected the pig to be the ſame that had been given to Koah juſt before. This leading us to ſuſpect ſome trick, we found, on further inquiry, the pretended chief to be an ordinary perſon; and on connecting this with other circumſtances, we had reaſon to ſuſpect that it was not the firſt time we had been the dupes of the like impoſition.

Things continued in this ſtate till the 24th, when we were a good deal ſurprized to find that no canoes were ſuffered to put off from the ſhore, and that the natives kept cloſe to their houſes. After ſeveral hours ſuſpence, we learned that the bay was tabooed, and all intercourſe with us interdicted, on account of the arrival of Terreeoboo. As we had not foreſeen an accident of this ſort, the crews of both ſhips were obliged to paſs the day without their uſual ſupply of vegetables. The next morning, therefore, they endeavoured, both by threats and promiſes, to induce the natives to come alongſide; and as ſome of them were at laſt venturing to put off, a chief was obſerved attempting to drive them away. A muſquet was immediately fired over his head, to make him deſiſt, which had the deſired effect; and refreſhments were ſoon after purchaſed as uſual. In the afternoon, Terreeoboo arrived, and viſited the ſhips in a private manner, attended only by one canoe, in which were his wife and children. He ſtayed on board till near ten o'clock, when he returned to the village of Kowrowa.

The next day, about noon, the King, in a large canoe, attended by two others, ſet out from the village, and paddled toward the ſhip in great ſtate. Their appearance was grand and magnificent. In the firſt canoe was Terreeoboo and his chiefs dreſſed in their rich feathered cloaks and helmets, and armed with long ſpears and daggers; in the ſecond came the venerable Kaoo, the chief of the prieſts, and his brethren, with their idols diſplayed on red cloth. Theſe idols were buſts of a gigantic ſize, made of wicker-work, and curiouſly covered with ſmall feathers of various colours, wrought

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in the ſame manner with their cloaks. Their eyes were made of large pearl oyſters, with a black nut fixed in the centre; their mouths were ſet with a double row of the fangs of dogs, and together with the reſt of their features, were ſtrangely diſtorted. The third canoe was filled with hogs and various ſorts of vegetables. As they went along, the prieſts in the centre canoe ſung their hymns with great ſolemnity; and after paddling round the ſhips, inſtead of going on board as was expected, they made toward the ſhore at the beach where we were ſtationed.

As ſoon as I ſaw them approaching, I ordered out our little guard to receive the King; and Captain Cook, perceiving that he was going on ſhore, followed him, and arrived nearly at the ſame time. We conducted them into the tent, where the had ſcarcely been ſeated, when the King roſe up, and in a very graceful manner threw over the captain's ſhoulders the cloak he himſelf wore, put a feathered helmet upon his head, and a curious fan into his hand, He alſo ſpread at his feet five or ſix other cloaks, all exceedingly beautiful, and of the greateſt value. His attendants then brought four very large hogs, with ſugar-canes, cocoa-nuts, and bread-fruit; and this part of the ceremony was concluded by the King's exchanging names with Captain Cook, which, amongſt all the iſlanders of the Pacific Ocean, is eſteemed the ſtrongeſt pledge of friendſhip. A proceſſion of prieſts, with a venerable old perſonage at their head, now appeared, followed by a long train of men leading large hogs, and others carrying plantains, ſweet potatoes, &c. By the looks and geſtures of Kaireekeea, I immediately knew the old man to be the chief of the prieſts before mentioned, on whoſe bounty we had ſo long ſubſiſted. He had a piece of red cloth in his hands, which he wrapped round Captain Cook's ſhoulders, and afterward preſented him with a ſmall pig in the uſual form. A ſeat was then made for him, next to the King, after which, Kaireekeea and his followers began their ceremonies, Kaoo and the chiefs joined in the reſponſes.

As ſoon as the formalities of the meeting were over, Captain Cook carried Terreeoboo, and as many chiefs as the pinnace could hold, on board the Reſolution. They were received with every mark of reſpect that could be ſhewn them; and Captain Cook, in return for the feathered cloak, put a linen ſhirt on the King, and girt his own hanger round him. The ancient Kaoo, and about half a dozen more old chiefs, remained on ſhore, and took up their abode at the prieſts' houſes. During all this time not a canoe was ſeen in the bay, and the natives either kept within their huts, or lay proſtrate on the ground. Before the King left the Reſolution, Captain Cook obtained leave for the natives, to come and trade with the ſhips as uſual; but the women, for what reaſon we could not learn, ſtill continued under the effects of the taboo, that is, were forbidden to ſtir from home, or to have any communication with us.

The quiet and inoffenſive behaviour of the natives having taken away every apprehenſion of danger, we did not heſitate to truſt ourſelves amongſt them at all times, and in all ſituations. The officers of both ſhips went daily up the country in ſmall parties, or even ſingly, and frequently remained out the whole night. It would be endleſs to recount all the inſtances of kindneſs and civility which we received upon thoſe occaſions. Wherever we went, the people flocked about us, eager to offer every aſſiſtance in their power, and highly gratified if their ſervices were accepted. Various little arts were practiſed to attract our notice, or to delay our departure. The boys and girls ran before, as we walked through their villages, and ſtopped us at every opening, where there was room to form a groupe for dancing. At one time we were invited to accept a draught of cocoa-nut milk, or ſome other refreſhment, under the

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ſhade of their huts; at another, we were ſeated within a circle of young women who exerted all their ſkill and agility to amuſe us with ſongs and dances.

The ſatisfaction we derived from their gentleneſs and hoſpitality, was, however, frequently interrupted by that propenſity to ſtealing, which they have in common with all the other iſlanders of theſe ſeas. This circumſtance was the more diſtreſſing, as it ſometimes obliged us to have recourſe to acts of ſeverity, which we ſhould willingly have avoided, if the neceſſity of the caſe had not abſolutely called for them. Some of their moſt expert ſwimmers were one day diſcovered under the ſhips, drawing out the filling nails of the ſheathing, which they performed very dexterouſly by means of a ſhort ſtick, with a flint ſtone fixed in the end of it. To put a ſtop to this practice, which endangered the very exiſtence of the veſſels, we at firſt fired ſmall ſhot at the offenders; but they eaſily got out of our reach by diving under the ſhip's bottom. It was therefore found neceſſary to make an example, by flogging one of them on board the Diſcovery.

The head of the Reſolution's rudder being found exceedingly ſhaken, and moſt of the pintles either looſe or broken, it was unhung, and ſent on ſhore on the 27th, in the morning, to undergo a thorough repair. At the ſame time the carpenters were ſent into the country, under conduct of ſome of Kaoo's people, to cut planks for the head rail-work, which was alſo entirely decayed and rotten.

On the 28th, Captain Clerke, whoſe ill health confined him for the moſt part on board, paid Terreeoboo his firſt viſit at his hut on ſhore. He was received with the ſame formalities as were obſerved with Captain Cook; and, on his coming away, though the viſit was quite unexpected, he received a preſent of thirty large hogs, and as much fruit and roots as his crew could conſume in a week.

As we had not yet ſeen any thing of their ſports or athletic exerciſes, the natives, at requeſt of ſome of our officers, entertained us this evening with a boxing-match. Though theſe games were much inferior, as well in point of ſolemnity and magnificence, as in the ſkill and powers of the combatants, to what we had ſeen exhibited at the Friendly iſlands, yet, as they differed in ſome particulars, it may not be improper to give a ſhort account of them. We found a vaſt concourſe of people aſſembled on a level ſpot of ground, at a little diſtance from our tents. A long ſpace was left vacant in the midſt of them, at the upper end of which ſat the judges, under three ſtandards, from which hung ſlips of cloth of various colours, the ſkins of two wild geeſe, a few ſmall birds, and bunches of feathers. When the ſports were ready to begin, the ſignal was given by the judges, and immediately two combatants appeared. They came forward ſlowly, lifting up their feet very high behind, and drawing their hands along the ſoles. As they approached they frequently eyed each other from head to foot, in a contemptuous manner, caſting ſeveral arch looks at the ſpectators, ſtraining their muſcles, and uſing a variety of affected geſtures. Being advanced within reach of each other, they ſtood with both arms held out ſtraight before their faces, at which part all their blows were aimed. They ſtruck in, what appeared to our eyes, an awkward manner, with a full ſwing of the arm; made no attempt to parry, but eluded their adverſary's attack by an inclination of the body, or by retreating. The battle was quickly decided; for if either of them was knocked down, or even fell by accident, he was conſidered as vanquiſhed; and the victor expreſſed his triumph by a variety of geſtures, which uſually excited, as was intended, a loud laugh among the ſpectators. He then waited for a ſecond antagoniſt; and if again victorious, for a third; till he was at laſt, in his turn, defeated. As theſe games were given at our deſire, we found it was univerſally expected that we

ſhould have borne our part in them; but our people, though much preſſed by the natives, turned a deaf ear to their challenge, remembering full well the blows they got at the Friendly iſlands.

This day died William Watman, a ſeaman of the gunner's crew; an event which I mention the more particularly, as death had hitherto been very rare amongſt us. He was an old man, and much reſpected on account of his attachment to Captain Cook. He had formerly ſerved as a marine twenty-one years; after which he entered as a ſeaman on board the Reſolution in 1772, and ſerved with Captain Cook in his voyage toward the ſouth pole. At their return, he was admitted into Greenwich Hoſpital, through the captain's intereſt, at the ſame time with himſelf; and being reſolved to follow throughout the fortunes of his benefactor, he alſo quitted it along with him, on his being appointed to the command of the preſent expedition.

At the requeſt of the King of the iſland, he was buried on the Morai, and the ceremony was performed with as much ſolemnity as our ſituation permitted. Old Kaoo and his brethren were ſpectators, and preſerved the moſt profound ſilence and attention, whilſt the ſervice was reading. When we began to fill up the grave, they approached it with great reverence, threw in a dead pig, ſome cocoa-nuts, and plantains; and for three nights afterward they ſurrounded it, ſacrificing hogs, and performing their uſual ceremonies of hymns and prayers, which continued till day-break.

At the head of the grave was erected a poſt, and nailed upon it a ſquare piece of board, on which was inſcribed the name of the deceaſed, his age, and the day of his death. This they promiſed not to remove; and we have no doubt, but that it will be ſuffered to remain, as long as the frail materials of which it is made will permit.

The ſhips being in great want of fuel, the captain deſired me, on the 2d of February, to treat with the prieſts, for the purchaſe of the rail that ſurrounded the top of the Morai. I muſt confeſs, I had at firſt ſome doubt about the decency of this propoſal, and was apprehenſive that even the bare mention of it might be conſidered by them, as a piece of ſhocking impiety. In this however I found myſelf miſtaken. Not the ſmalleſt ſurpriſe was expreſſed at the application, and the wood was readily given, even without ſtipulating for any thing in return. Whilſt the ſailors were taking it away, I obſerved one of them carrying off a carved image; and, on further inquiry, I found that they had conveyed to the boats the whole * ſemicircle. Though this was done in the preſence of the natives, who had not ſhewn any mark of reſentment at it, but had even aſſiſted them in the removal, I thought it proper to ſpeak to Kaoo on the ſubject; who appeared very indifferent about the matter, and only deſired that we would reſtore the centre image I have mentioned before, which he carried into one of the prieſt's houſes.

Terreeoboo, and his chiefs, had for ſome days paſt been very inquiſitive about the time of our departure. This circumſtance had excited in me a great curioſity to know what opinion this people had formed of us, and what were their ideas reſpecting the cauſe and objects of our voyage. I took ſome pains to ſatisfy myſelf on theſe points; but could never learn any thing further than that they imagined we came from ſome country where proviſions had failed; and that our viſit to them was merely for the purpoſe of filling our bellies. Indeed, the meagre appearance of ſome of our crew, the hearty appetites with which we ſat down to their freſh proviſions, and our great anxiety to purchaſe and carry off as much as we were able, led them naturally

* See deſcription of the *Morai*, in page 700.

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enough to ſuch a concluſion. To theſe may be added, a circumſtance which puzzled them exceedingly, our having no women with us; together with our quiet conduct, and unwarlike appearance. It was ridiculous enough to ſee them ſtroking the ſides, and patting the bellies, of the ſailors (who were certainly much improved in the ſleekneſs of their looks, during our ſhort ſtay in the iſland), and telling them, partly by ſigns, and partly by words, that it was time for them to go; but if they would come again the next bread-fruit ſeaſon, they ſhould be better able to ſupply their wants. We had now been ſixteen days in the bay; and if our enormous conſumption of hogs and vegetables be conſidered, it need not be wondered that they ſhould wiſh to ſee us take our leave. On our telling Terreeoboo we ſhould leave the iſland on the next day but one, we obſerved that a ſort of proclamation was immediately made through the villages, to require the people to bring in their hogs and vegetables, for the King to preſent to the Orono on his departure.

The next day being fixed for our departure, Terreeoboo invited Captain Cook and myſelf to attend him, on the 3d, to the place were Kahoo reſided. On our arrival we found the ground covered with parcels of cloth; a vaſt quantity of red and yellow feathers, tied to the fibres of cocoa-nut huſk; and a great number of hatchets, and other pieces of iron-ware, that had been got in barter from us. At a little diſtance from theſe lay an immenſe quantity of vegetables of every kind, and near them was a very large herd of hogs. At firſt we imagined the whole to be intended as a preſent for us, till Kaireekeea informed me that it was a gift, or tribute, from the people of that diſtrict to the King; and, accordingly, as ſoon as we were ſeated, they brought all the bundles, and laid them ſeverally at Terreeoboo's feet, who gave all the hogs and vegetables, and two-thirds of the cloth, to Captain Cook and myſelf. We were aſtoniſhed at the value and magnitude of this preſent, which far exceeded every thing of the kind we had ſeen, either at the Friendly or Society iſlands.

The ſame day we quitted the Morai, and got the tents and aſtronomical inſtruments on board. The charm of the taboo was now removed; and we had no ſooner left the place, than the natives ruſhed in, and ſearched eagerly about, in expectation of finding ſomething of value that we might have left behind. Here, I hope, I may be permitted to relate a trifling occurrence, in which I was principally concerned. Having had the command of the party on ſhore, during the whole time we were in the bay, I had an opportunity of becoming well acquainted with the natives.

I ſpared no endeavours to conciliate their affections and gain their eſteem; and had the good fortune to ſucceed ſo far, that, when the time of our departure was made known, I was ſtrongly ſolicited to remain behind, not without offers of the moſt flattering kind. When I excuſed myſelf, by ſaying that Captain Cook would not give his conſent, they propoſed that I ſhould retire into the mountains, where they ſaid they would conceal me, till after the departure of the ſhips; and on my aſſuring them, that the captain would not leave the bay without me, Terreeoboo and Kaoo waited upon Captain Cook, whoſe ſon they ſuppoſed I was, with a formal requeſt that I might be left behind. The captain, to avoid giving a poſitive refuſal to an offer ſo kindly intended, told them that he could not part with me at that time, but that he ſhould return to the iſland next year, and would then endeavour to ſettle the matter to their ſatisfaction.

Early in the morning of the 4th of February, we unmoored and ſailed out of the bay, with the Diſcovery in company, and were followed by a great number of canoes. Captain Cook's deſign was to finiſh the ſurvey of Owhyhee, before he viſited the

other iſlands, in hopes of meeting with a road better ſheltered than the bay we had juſt left.

We had calm weather this and the following day, which made our progreſs to the northward very ſlow. We were accompanied by a great number of the natives in their canoes. In the morning of the 6th, having paſſed the weſternmoſt point of the iſland, we found ourſelves abreaſt of a deep bay, called by the natives Toe-yah-yah. We had great hopes that this bay would furniſh us with a ſafe and commodious harbour, as we ſaw to the north-eaſt, ſeveral fine ſtreams of water. Theſe obſervations agreeing with the accounts given us by Koah, who accompanied Captain Cook, and had changed his name, out of compliment to us, into Britannee, the pinnace was hoiſted out, and the maſter, with Britannee, for his guide, was ſent to examine the bay, whilſt the ſhips worked up after them.

In the afternoon the weather became gloomy, and the guſts of wind that blew off the land were ſo violent, as to make it neceſſary to take in all the ſails, and bring to, under the mizen ſtay-ſail.

The maſter reported to Captain Cook, that the place would by no means anſwer our purpoſe, and that Britannee had contrived to ſlip away, being afraid of returning, as we imagined, becauſe his information had not proved true.

In the afternoon of the 7th, though the weather was ſtill ſqually, we ſtood in for the land, and being about three leagues from it we ſaw a canoe, with two men paddling towards us, which we immediately conjectured had been driven off the ſhore by the late boiſterous weather, and therefore ſtopped the ſhip's way in order to take them in. Theſe poor wretches were ſo entirely exhauſted with fatigue, that, had not one of the natives on board, obſerving their weakneſs, jumped into the canoe to their aſſiſtance, they would ſcarcely have been able to faſten it to the rope we had thrown out for that purpoſe. It was with difficulty we got them up the ſhip's ſide, together with a child, about four years old, which they had laſhed under the thwarts of the canoe, where it had lain with only its head above water. They told us, they had left the ſhore the morning before, and had been from that time without food or water. The uſual precautions were taken in giving them victuals, and the child being committed to the care of one of the women, we found them all next morning perfectly recovered.

At midnight on the 7th, a gale of wind came on, which obliged us to double-reef the topſails, and get down to top-gallant yards. On the 8th at daybreak, we found that the foremaſt had given away. This accident induced Captain Cook to return to Karakakoa bay. On the 10th, the weather became moderate, and a few canoes came off to us, from which we learnt that the late ſtorms had done much miſchief, and that ſeveral large canoes had been loſt. During the remainder of the day we kept beating to windward, and before night we were within a mile of the bay; but not chuſing to run on while it was dark, we ſtood off and on till day-light next morning, when we dropt anchor nearly in the ſame place as before.

We were employed the whole of the 11th and part of the 12th, in getting out the foremaſt, and ſending it with the carpenters on ſhore. Beſides the damage which the head of the maſt had ſuſtained, we found the heel exceedingly rotten, having a large hole up the middle of it capable of holding four or five cocoa-nuts. As theſe repairs were likely to take up ſeveral days, Mr. Bayly and myſelf got the aſtronomical apparatus on ſhore the 12th, and pitched our tents on the Morai, having with us a guard of a corporal and ſix marines. We renewed our friendly correſpondence with the prieſts, who, for the greater ſecurity of the workmen and their tools, tabooed

the place where the maſt lay, ſticking their wands round it as before. The ſail-makers were alſo ſent on ſhore, to repair the damages which had taken place in their department during the late gales. They were lodged in a houſe adjoining to the Morai that was lent us by the prieſts. Such were our arrangements on ſhore. I ſhall now proceed to the account of thoſe other tranſactions with the natives, which led by degrees to the fatal cataſtrophe of the 14th.

Upon coming to anchor, we were ſurprized to find our reception very different from what it had been on our firſt arrival; no ſhouts, no buſtle, no confuſion; but a ſolitary bay, with only here and there a canoe ſtealing cloſe along the ſhore. The impulſe of curioſity, which had before operated to ſo great a degree, might now indeed be ſuppoſed to have ceaſed; but the hoſpitable treatment we had invariably met with, and the friendly footing on which we parted, gave us ſome reaſon to expect that they would again have flocked about us with great joy on our return.

We were forming various conjectures upon the occaſion of this extraordinary appearance, when our anxiety was at length relieved by the return of a boat which had been ſent on ſhore, and brought us word that Terreeoboo was abſent, and had left the bay under the taboo. Though this account appeared very ſatisfactory to moſt of us, yet others were of opinion, or rather, perhaps, have been led by ſubſequent events to imagine, that there was ſomething at this time very ſuſpicious in the behaviour of the natives; and that the interdiction of all intercourſe with us, on pretence of the King's abſence, was only to give him time to conſult the chiefs in what manner it might be proper to treat us. Whether theſe ſuſpicions were well founded, or the account given us by the natives was the truth, we were never able to aſcertain. For though it is not improbable that our ſudden return, for which they could ſee no apparent cauſe, and the neceſſity of which we afterward found it very difficult to make them comprehend, might occaſion ſome alarm; yet the unſuſpicious conduct of Terreeoboo, who, on this ſuppoſed arrival, the next morning came immediately to viſit Captain Cook, and the conſequent return of the natives to their former friendly intercourſe with us, are ſtrong proofs that they neither meant, nor apprehended, any change of conduct.

In ſupport of this opinion, I may add the account of another accident, preciſely of the ſame kind, which happened to us on our firſt viſit, the day before the arrival of the King. A native had ſold a hog on board the Reſolution, and taken the price agreed on, when Pareea, paſſing by, adviſed the man not to part with the hog, without the advanced price. For this he was ſharply ſpoken to, and puſhed away; and the taboo being ſoon after laid on the bay, we had at firſt no doubt but that it was in conſequence of the offence given to the chief. Both theſe accidents ſerve to ſhew how very difficult it is to draw any certain concluſion from the actions of people with whoſe cuſtoms, as well as language, we are ſo imperfectly acquainted: at the ſame time, ſome idea may be formed from them of the difficulties, at the firſt view perhaps not very apparent, which thoſe have to encounter, who, in all their tranſactions with theſe ſtrangers, have to ſteer their courſe amidſt ſo much uncertainty, where a trifling error may be attended with even the moſt fatal conſequences. However true or falſe our conjectures may be, things went on in their uſual quiet courſe till the afternoon of the 13th.

Toward the evening of that day, the officer who commanded the watering party of the Diſcovery, came to inform me, that ſeveral chiefs had aſſembled at the well near the beach, driving away the natives, whom he had hired to aſſiſt the ſailors in rolling down

down the caſks to the ſhore. He told me at the ſame time, that he thought their behaviour extremely ſuſpicious, and that they meant to give him ſome farther diſturbance. At his requeſt, therefore, I ſent a marine along with him, but ſuffered him to take only his ſide-arms. In a ſhort time the officer returned, and on his acquainting me that the iſlanders had armed themſelves with ſtones, and were grown very tumultuous, I went myſelf to the ſpot, attended by a marine with his muſquet. Seeing us approach, they threw away their ſtones, and on my ſpeaking to ſome of the chiefs, the mob were driven away, and thoſe who choſe it were ſuffered to aſſiſt in filling the caſks. Having left things quiet here, I went to meet Captain Cook, whom I ſaw coming on ſhore in the pinnace. I related to him what had juſt paſſed; and he ordered me, in caſe of their beginning to throw ſtones, or behave inſolently, immediately to fire a ball at the offenders. I accordingly gave orders to the corporal to have the pieces of the ſentinels loaded with ball, inſtead of ſmall ſhot.

Soon after our return to the tents, we were alarmed by a continued fire of muſquets from the Diſcovery, which we obſerved to be directed at a canoe that we ſaw paddling toward the ſhore in great haſte, purſued by one of our ſmall boats. We immediately concluded that the firing was in conſequence of ſome theft, and Captain Cook ordered me to follow him with a marine armed, and to endeavour to ſeize the people as they came on ſhore. Accordingly we ran toward the place where we ſuppoſed the canoe would land, but we were too late; the people having quitted it, and made their eſcape into the country before our arrival.

We were at this time ignorant that the goods had been already reſtored; and as we thought it probable, from the circumſtances we had at firſt obſerved, that they might be of importance, were unwilling to relinquiſh our hopes of recovering them. Having therefore inquired of the natives which way the people had fled, we followed them till it was near dark, when judging ourſelves to be about three miles from the tents, and ſuſpecting that the natives, who frequently encouraged us in the purſuit, were amuſing us with falſe information, we thought it in vain to continue our ſearch any longer, and returned to the beach.

During our abſence, a difference of a more ſerious and unpleaſant nature had happened. The officer, who had been ſent in the ſmall boat, and was returning on board with the goods which had been reſtored, obſerving Captain Cook and me engaged in the purſuit of the offenders, thought it his duty to ſeize the canoe, which was left drawn up on the ſhore. Unfortunately this canoe belonged to Pareea, who arriving at the ſame moment from on board the Diſcovery, claimed his property with many proteſtations of his innocence. The officer refuſing to give it up, and being joined by the crew of the pinnace, a ſcuffle enſued, in which Pareea was knocked down by a violent blow upon his head with an oar. The natives who were collected about the ſpot, and had hitherto been peaceable ſpectators, immediately attacked our people with ſuch a ſhower of ſtones, as forced them to retreat with great precipitation, and ſwim off to a rock at ſome diſtance from the ſhore. The pinnace was immediately ranſacked by the iſlanders; and but for the timely interpoſition of Pareea, who ſeemed to have recovered from the blow, and forgot it at the ſame inſtant, would ſoon have been entirely demoliſhed. Having driven away the crowd, he made ſigns to our people that they might come and take poſſeſſion of the pinnace, and that he would endeavour to get back the things which had been taken out of it. After their departure he followed them in his canoe, with a midſhipman's cap, and ſome other trifling articles of the plunder, and with much apparent concern at what had happened, aſked if the Orono

would kill him, and whether he would permit him to come on board the next day? On being aſſured that he ſhould be well received, he joined noſes (as their cuſtom is) with the officers, in token of friendſhip, and paddled over to the village of Kowrowa.

When Captain Cook was informed of what had paſſed, he expreſſed much uneaſineſs at it, and, as we were returning on board, "I am afraid," ſaid he, "that theſe people will oblige me to uſe ſome violent meaſures; for (he added) they muſt not be left to imagine that they have gained an advantage over us." However, as it was too late to take any ſteps this evening, he contented himſelf with giving orders that every man and woman on board ſhould be immediately turned out of the ſhip. As ſoon as this order was executed, I returned on ſhore; and our former confidence in the natives being now much abated by the events of the day, I poſted a double guard on the Morai, with orders to call me, if they ſaw any men lurking about the beach. At about eleven o'clock five iſlanders were obſerved creeping round the bottom of the Morai; they ſeemed very cautious in approaching us, and at laſt finding themſelves diſcovered, retired out of ſight. About midnight one of them venturing up cloſe to the obſervatory, the ſentinel fired over him; on which the men fled, and we paſſed the remainder of the night without farther diſturbance.

Next morning, the 14th, at day-light, I went on board the Reſolution for the time-keeper, and in my way was hailed by the Diſcovery, and informed that their cutter had been ſtolen during the night from the buoy where it was moored.

When I arrived on board, I found the marines arming, and Captain Cook loading his double-barrelled gun. Whilſt I was relating to him what had happened to us in the night, he interrupted me with ſome eagerneſs, and acquainted me with the loſs of the Diſcovery's cutter, and with the preparations he was making for its recovery. It had been his uſual practice, whenever any thing of conſequence was loſt at any of the iſlands in this ocean, to get the King or ſome of the principal erees on board, and to keep them as hoſtages till it was reſtored. This method, which had been always attended with ſucceſs, he meant to purſue on the preſent occaſion; and, at the ſame time, had given orders to ſtop all the canoes that ſhould attempt to leave the bay, with an intention of ſeizing and deſtroying them, if he could not recover the cutter by peaceable means. Accordingly, the boats of both ſhips, well manned and armed, were ſtationed acroſs the bay; and before I left the ſhip, ſome great guns had been fired at two large canoes that were attempting to make their eſcape.

It was between ſeven and eight o'clock when we quitted the ſhip together; Captain Cook in the pinnace, having Mr. Phillips and nine marines with him, and myſelf in the ſmall boat. The laſt orders I received from him were to quiet the minds of the natives on our ſide of the bay, by aſſuring them they ſhould not be hurt; to keep my people together, and to be on my guard. We then parted; the captain went toward Kowrowa, where the King reſided; and I proceeded to the beach. My firſt care on going aſhore was, to give ſtrict orders to the marines to remain within the tent, to load their pieces with ball, and not to quit their arms. Afterward, I took a walk to the huts of old Kaoo and the prieſts, and explained to them as well as I could the object of the hoſtile preparations, which had exceedingly alarmed them. I found that they had already heard of the cutter's being ſtolen, and I aſſured them, that though Captain Cook was reſolved to recover it, and to puniſh the authors of the theft, yet that they, and the people of the village on our ſide, need not be under the ſmalleſt apprehenſion of ſuffering any evil from us. I deſired the prieſts to explain this to the people, and to tell them not to be alarmed, but to continue peaceable and quiet. Kaoo aſked me

with

with great earneſtneſs, if Terreeoboo was to be hurt? I aſſured him he was not; and both he and the reſt of his brethren ſeemed much ſatisfied with this aſſurance.

In the mean time Captain Cook, having called off the launch, which was ſtationed at the north point of the bay, and taking it along with him, proceeded to Kowrowa, and landed with the lieutenant and nine marines. He immediately marched to the village, where he was received with the uſual marks of reſpect; the people proſtrated themſelves before him, and bringing their accuſtomed offerings of ſmall hogs. Finding that there was no ſuſpicion of his deſign, his next ſtep was to inquire for Terreeoboo, and the two boys, his ſons, who had been his conſtant gueſts on board the Reſolution. In a ſhort time the boys returned along with the natives, who had been ſent in ſearch of them, and immediately led Captain Cook to the houſe where the King had ſlept. They found the old man juſt awoke from ſleep; and after a ſhort converſation about the loſs of the cutter, from which Captain Cook was convinced that he was in no wiſe privy to it, he invited him to return in the boat, and ſpend the day on board the Reſolution. To this propoſal the King readily conſented, and immediately got up to accompany him.

Things were in this proſperous train; the two boys being already in the pinnace, and the reſt of the party, having advanced near the water-ſide, when an elderly woman, called Kanee-kabareea, the mother of the boys, and one of the King's favourite wives, came after him, and with many tears and entreaties beſought him not to go on board. At the ſame time two chiefs, who came along with her, laid hold on him, and inſiſting that he ſhould go no farther, forced him to ſit down. The natives, who were collecting in prodigious numbers along the ſhore, and had probably been alarmed by the firing of the great guns, and the appearances of hoſtility in the bay, began to throng round Captain Cook and their King. In this ſituation, the lieutenant of marines obſerving that his men were huddled cloſe together in the crowd, and thus incapable of uſing their arms, if any occaſion ſhould require it, propoſed to the captain to draw them up along the rocks cloſe to the water's edge; and the crowd readily making way for them to paſs, they were drawn up in a line at the diſtance of about thirty yards from the place where the King was ſitting.

All this time the old King remained on the ground, with the ſtrongeſt marks of terror and dejection in his countenance; Captain Cook, not willing to abandon the object for which he had come on ſhore, continuing to urge him in the moſt preſſing manner to proceed; whilſt on the other hand, whenever the King appeared inclined to follow him, the chiefs who ſtood round him interpoſed, at firſt with prayers and entreaties, but afterward having recourſe to force and violence, inſiſted on his ſtaying where he was. Captain Cook therefore finding that the alarm had ſpread too generally, and that it was in vain to think any longer of getting him off without bloodſhed, at laſt gave up the point; obſerving to Mr. Phillips, that it would be impoſſible to compel him to go on board without the riſk of killing a great number of the inhabitants.

Though the enterpriſe which had carried Captain Cook on ſhore had now failed and was abandoned, yet his perſon did not appear to have been in the leaſt danger, till an accident happened which gave a fatal turn to the affair. The boats which had been ſtationed acroſs the bay, having fired at ſome canoes that were attempting to get out, unfortunately had killed a chief of the firſt rank. The news of his death arrived at the village where Captain Cook was, juſt as he had left the King, and was walking ſlowly toward the ſhore. The ferment it occaſioned was very conſpicuous, the women and children were immediately ſent off; and the men put on their war-mats, and armed

armed themſelves with ſpears and ſtones. One of the natives, having in his hand a ſtone, and a long iron ſpike (which they called a pahooa), came up to the captain, flouriſhing his weapon by way of defiance, and threatening to throw the ſtone. The captain deſired him to deſiſt; but the man perſiſting in his inſolence, he was at length provoked to fire a load of ſmall ſhot. The man having his mat on, which the ſhot were not able to penetrate, this had no other effect than to irritate and encourage them. Several ſtones were thrown at the marines; and one of the erees attempted to ſtab Mr. Phillips with his pahooa, but failed in the attempt, and received from him a blow with the but-end of his muſquet. Captain Cook now fired his ſecond barrel, loaded with ball, and killed one of the foremoſt of the natives. A general attack with ſtones immediately followed, which was anſwered by a diſcharge of muſquetry from the marines, and the people in the boats. The iſlanders, contrary to the expectation of every one, ſtood the fire with great firmneſs; and before the marines had time to reload, they broke in upon them with dreadful ſhouts and yells. What followed was a ſcene of the utmoſt horror and confuſion.

Four of the marines were cut off amongſt the rocks in their retreat, and fell a ſacrifice to the fury of the enemy; three more were dangerouſly wounded; and the lieutenant, who had received a ſtab between the ſhoulders with a pahooa, having fortunately reſerved his fire, ſhot the man who had wounded him, juſt as he was going to repeat his blow. Our unfortunate commander, the laſt time he was ſeen diſtinctly, was ſtanding at the water's edge, and calling out to the boats to ceaſe firing, and to pull in. If it be true, as ſome of thoſe who were preſent imagined, that the marines and boat-men had fired without his orders, and that he was deſirous of preventing any further bloodſhed, it is not improbable that his humanity on this occaſion proved fatal to him; for it was remarked, that whilſt he faced the natives, none of them had offered him any violence; but that having turned about, to give his orders to the boats, he was ſtabbed in the back, and fell with his face into the water. On ſeeing him fall, the iſlanders ſet up a great ſhout, and his body was immediately dragged on ſhore, and ſurrounded by the enemy, who ſnatching the dagger out of each other's hands, ſhewed a ſavage eagerneſs to have a ſhare in his deſtruction.

Thus fell our great and excellent commander! After a life of ſo much diſtinguiſhed and ſucceſsful enterpriſe, his death, as far as regards himſelf, cannot be reckoned premature; ſince he lived to finiſh the great work for which he ſeems to have been deſigned; and was rather removed from the enjoyment, than cut off from the acquiſition of glory. How ſincerely his loſs was felt and lamented by thoſe who had ſo long found their general ſecurity in his ſkill and conduct, and every conſolation, under their hardſhips, in his tenderneſs and humanity, it is neither neceſſary nor poſſible for me to deſcribe; much leſs ſhall I attempt to paint the horror with which we were ſtruck, and the univerſal dejection and diſmay which followed ſo dreadful and unexpected a calamity.

It has been already related, that four of the marines who attended Captain Cook were killed by the iſlanders on the ſpot. The reſt, with Mr. Phillips, their lieutenant, threw themſelves into the water and eſcaped, under cover of a ſmart fire from the boats. On this occaſion, a remarkable inſtance of gallant behaviour, and of affection for his men, was ſhewn by that officer: for he had ſcarcely got into the boat, when ſeeing one of the marines, who was a bad ſwimmer, ſtruggling in the water, and in danger of being taken by the enemy, he immediately jumped into the ſea to his aſſiſtance, though much wounded himſelf; and after receiving a blow on the head from

a ſtone, which had nearly ſent him to the bottom, he caught the man by the hair and brought him ſafe off.

Our people continued for ſome time to keep up a conſtant fire from the boats (which during the whole tranſaction were not more than twenty yards from the land,) in order to afford their unfortunate companions, if any of them ſhould ſtill remain alive, an opportunity of eſcaping. Theſe efforts, ſeconded by a few guns that were fired at the ſame time from the Reſolution, having forced the natives at laſt to retire, a ſmall boat manned by five of our young midſhipmen, pulled toward the ſhore, where they ſaw the bodies, without any ſigns of life, lying on the ground; but judging it dangerous to attempt to bring them off, with ſo ſmall a force, and their ammunition being nearly expended, they returned to the ſhips, leaving them in poſſeſſion of the iſlanders, together with ten ſtands of arms.

As ſoon as the general conſternation, which the news of this calamity occaſioned throughout both crews, had a little ſubſided, their attention was called to our party at the Morai, where the maſt and ſails were on ſhore, with a guard of only ſix marines. It is impoſſible for me to deſcribe the emotions of my own mind, during the time theſe tranſactions had been carrying on, at the other ſide of the bay. Being at the diſtance only of a ſhort mile from the village of Kowrowa, we could ſee diſtinctly an immenſe crowd collected on the ſpot where Captain Cook had juſt before landed. We heard the firing of the muſquetry, and could perceive ſome extraordinary buſtle and agitation in the multitude. We afterwards ſaw the natives flying, the boats retire from the ſhore, and paſſing and repaſſing, in great ſtillneſs, between the ſhips. I muſt confeſs that my heart ſoon miſgave me. Where a life ſo dear and valuable was concerned, it was impoſſible not to be alarmed, by appearances both new and threatening. But, beſides this, I knew that a long and uninterrupted courſe of ſucceſs, in his tranſactions with the natives of theſe ſeas, had given the captain a degree of confidence that I was always fearful might, at ſome unlucky moment, put him too much off his guard; and I now ſaw all the dangers to which that confidence might lead, without receiving much conſolation from conſidering the experience that had given riſe to it.

My firſt care, on hearing the muſquets fired, was to aſſure the people, who were aſſembled in conſiderable numbers round the wall of our conſecrated field, and ſeemed equally at a loſs with ourſelves how to account for what they had ſeen and heard, that they ſhould not be moleſted; and that, at all events, I was deſirous of continuing on peaceable terms with them. We remained in this poſture till the boats had returned on board, when Captain Clerke obſerving, through his teleſcope, that we were ſurrounded by the natives, and apprehending they meant to attack us, ordered two four-pounders to be fired at them. Fortunately theſe guns, though well aimed, did no miſchief, and yet gave the natives a convincing proof of their power. One of the balls broke a cocoa-nut tree in the middle, under which a party of them were ſitting; and the other ſhivered a rock that ſtood in an exact line with them. As I had juſt before given them the ſtrongeſt aſſurances of their ſafety, I was exceedingly mortified at this act of hoſtility; and to prevent a repetition of it, immediately diſpatched a boat to acquaint Captain Clerke that at preſent I was on the moſt friendly terms with the natives; and that, if occaſion ſhould hereafter ariſe for altering my conduct toward them, I would hoiſt a jack, as a ſignal for him to afford us all the aſſiſtance in his power.

We expected the return of the boat with the utmoſt impatience; and after remaining a quarter of an hour, under the moſt torturing anxiety and ſuſpenſe, our fears were at length confirmed, by the arrival of Mr. Bligh, with orders to ſtrike the tents as

quickly as poſſible, and to ſend the ſails that were repairing on board. Juſt at the ſame moment our friend Kaireekeea, having alſo received intelligence of the death of Captain Cook, from a native who had arrived from the other ſide of the bay, came to me with great ſorrow and dejection in his countenance, to enquire if it was true.

Our ſituation was at this time extremely critical and important. Not only our own lives, but the event of the expedition, and the return of at leaſt one of the ſhips, being involved in the ſame common danger. We had the maſt of the Reſolution, and the greateſt part of our ſails on ſhore, under the protection of only ſix marines: their loſs would have been irreparable; and though the natives had not as yet ſhewn the ſmalleſt diſpoſition to moleſt us, yet it was impoſſible to anſwer for the alteration, which the news of the tranſaction at Kowrowa might produce. I therefore thought it prudent to diſſemble my belief of the death of Captain Cook, and to deſire Kaireekeea to diſcourage the report, leſt either the fear of our reſentment, or the ſucceſsful example of their countrymen, might lead them to ſeize the favourable opportunity, which at this time offered itſelf, of giving us a ſecond blow. At the ſame time, I adviſed him to bring old Kaoo, and the reſt of the prieſt, into a large houſe that was cloſe to the Morai; partly out of regard to their ſafety, in caſe it ſhould have been neceſſary to proceed to extremities, and partly to have him near us, in order to make uſe of his authority with the people, if it could be inſtrumental in preſerving peace.

Having placed the marines on the top of the Morai, which formed a ſtrong and advantageous poſt, and left the command with Mr. Bligh, giving him the moſt poſitive directions to act entirely on the defenſive, I went on board the Diſcovery, in order to repreſent to Captain Clerke the dangerous ſituation of our affairs. As ſoon as I quitted the ſpot, the natives began to annoy our people with ſtones; and I had ſcarcely reached the ſhip, before I heard the firing of the marines. I therefore returned inſtantly on ſhore, where I found things growing every moment more alarming. The natives were arming, and putting on their mats; and their numbers increaſed very faſt. I could alſo perceive ſeveral large bodies marching toward us, along the cliff which ſeparates the village of Kakooa from the north ſide of the bay where the village of Kowrowa is ſituated.

They began at firſt to attack us with ſtones, from behind the walls of their encloſures, and finding no reſiſtance on our part, they ſoon grew more daring. A few reſolute fellows having crept along the beach, under cover of the rocks, ſuddenly made their appearance at the foot of the Morai, with a deſign, as it ſeemed, of ſtorming it on the ſide next the ſea, which was its only acceſſible part; and were not diſlodged till after they had ſtood a conſiderable number of ſhot, and ſeen one of their party fall.

The bravery of one of theſe aſſailants well deſerves to be particularly mentioned. For, having returned to carry off his companion, amidſt the fire of our whole party, a wound, which he received, made him quit the body and retire; but in a few minutes, he again appeared, and being again wounded, he was obliged a ſecond time to retreat. At this moment I arrived at the Morai, and ſaw him return the third time, bleeding and faint; and being informed of what had happened, I forbade the ſoldiers to fire, and he was ſuffered to carry off his friend; which he was juſt able to perform, and then fell down himſelf, and expired.

About this time a ſtrong reinforcement from both ſhips having landed, the natives retreated behind their walls; which giving me acceſs to our friendly prieſts, I ſent one of them to endeavour to bring their countrymen to ſome terms, and to propoſe to them, that if they would deſiſt from throwing ſtones, I would not permit our men to

fire. This truce was agreed to; and we were ſuffered to launch the maſt, and carry off the ſails and our aſtronomical apparatus unmoleſted. As ſoon as we had quitted the Morai, they took poſſeſſion of it, and ſome of them threw a few ſtones, but without doing us any miſchief.

It was half an hour paſt eleven o'clock when I got on board the Diſcovery, where I found no deciſive plan had been adopted for our future proceedings. The reſtitution of the boat, and the recovery of the body of Captain Cook, were the objects which on all hands, we agreed to inſiſt on; and it was my opinion that ſome vigorous ſteps ſhould be taken in caſe the demand of them was not immediately complied with. However, after mature deliberation, it was determined to accompliſh theſe points by conciliatory meaſures, if poſſible.

During the time we were thus engaged in concerting ſome plan for our future conduct, a prodigious concourſe of natives ſtill kept poſſeſſion of the ſhore; and ſome of them came off in canoes, and had the boldneſs to approach within piſtol-ſhot of the ſhips, and to inſult us by various marks of contempt and defiance. It was with great difficulty we could reſtrain the ſailors from the uſe of their arms on theſe occaſions; but as pacific meaſures had been reſolved on, the canoes were ſuffered to return unmoleſted.

In purſuance of this plan, it was determined that I ſhould proceed toward the ſhore, with the boats of both ſhips well manned and armed, with a view to bring the natives to a parley, and, if poſſible, to obtain a conference with ſome of the chiefs.

If this attempt ſucceeded, I was to demand the dead bodies, and particularly that of Captain Cook; to threaten them with our vengeance in caſe of a refuſal, but by no means to fire unleſs attacked, and not to land on any account whatever. Theſe orders were delivered to me before the whole party, and in the moſt poſitive manner.

I left the ſhips about four o'clock in the afternoon, and as we approached the ſhore, I perceived every indication of a hoſtile reception. The whole crowd of natives was in motion; the women and children retiring; the men putting on their war-mats, and arming themſelves with long ſpears and daggers. We alſo obſerved that ſince the morning, they had thrown up ſtone breaſt-works along the beach where Captain Cook had landed, probably in expectation of an attack at that place; and, as ſoon as we were within reach, they began to throw ſtones at us with ſlings, but without doing any miſchief. Concluding therefore that all attempts to bring them to a parley would be in vain, unleſs I firſt gave them ſome ground for mutual confidence, I ordered the armed boats to ſtop, and went on in the ſmall boat alone, with a white flag in my hand, which, by a general cry of joy from the natives, I had the ſatisfaction to find was inſtantly underſtood. The women immediately returned from the ſide of the hill, whither they had retired; the men threw off their mats; and all ſat down together by the water-ſide, extending their arms, and inviting me to come on ſhore.

Though this behaviour was very expreſſive of a friendly diſpoſition, yet I could not help entertaining ſome ſuſpicions of its ſincerity. But when I ſaw Koah, with a boldneſs and aſſurance altogether unaccountable, ſwimming off toward the boat, with a white flag in his hand, I thought it neceſſary to return this mark of confidence, and therefore received him into the boat, though armed; a circumſtance which did not tend to leſſen my ſuſpicions. I muſt confeſs I had long harboured an unfavourable opinion of this man. The prieſts had always told us that he was of a malicious diſpoſition, and no friend of ours; and the repeated detections of his fraud and treachery had convinced us of the truth of their repreſentations. Add to all this, the ſhocking tranſaction of the morning, in which he was ſeen acting a principal part, made me feel the

the utmoſt horror at finding myſelf ſo near him; and as he came up to me with feigned tears and embraced me, I was ſo diſtruſtful of his intentions, that I could not help taking hold of the point of the pahooah, which he held in his hand, and turning it from me. I told him that I had come to demand the body of Captain Cook, and to declare war againſt them, unleſs it was inſtantly reſtored. He aſſured me this ſhould be done as ſoon as poſſible, and that he would go himſelf for that purpoſe; and after begging of me a piece of iron, with as much aſſurance as if nothing extraordinary had happened, he leaped into the ſea and ſwam aſhore, calling out to his countrymen that we were all friends again.

We waited near an hour with great anxiety for his return; during which time the reſt of the boats had approached ſo near the ſhore, as to enter into converſation with a party of the natives at ſome diſtance from us; by whom they were plainly given to underſtand that the body had been cut to pieces and carried up the country; but of this circumſtance I was not informed till our return to the ſhips.

I began now to expreſs ſome impatience at Koah's delay, upon which the chiefs preſſed me exceedingly to come on ſhore; aſſuring me, that if I would go myſelf to Terreeoboo, the body would certainly be reſtored to me. When they found they could not prevail on me to land, they attempted under pretence of wiſhing to converſe with more eaſe, to decoy our boat among ſome rocks, where they would have had it in their power to cut us off from the reſt. It was no difficult matter to ſee through theſe artifices; and I was therefore ſtrongly inclined to break off all further communication with them, when a chief came to us, who was the particular friend of Captain Clerke, and of the officers of the Diſcovery. He told us, he came from Terreeoboo, to acquaint us that the body was carried up the country, but that it ſhould be brought to us the next morning. There appeared a great deal of ſincerity in his manner; and being aſked if he told a falſehood, he hooked his two fore-fingers together, which is underſtood amongſt theſe iſlanders as the ſign of truth; in the uſe of which they are very ſcrupulous.

As I was now at a loſs in what manner to proceed, I ſent Mr. Vancouver to acquaint Captain Clerke with all that had paſſed; that my opinion was, they meant not to keep their word with us, and were ſo far from being ſorry at what had happened, that, on the contrary, they were full of ſpirits and confidence on account of their late ſucceſs, and ſought only to gain time, till they could contrive ſome ſcheme for getting us into their power. Mr. Vancouver came back with orders for me to return on board, having firſt given the natives to underſtand that if the body was not brought the next morning, the town would be deſtroyed.

When they ſaw that we were going off, they endeavoured to provoke us by the moſt inſulting and contemptuous geſtures. Some of our people ſaid they could diſtinguiſh ſeveral of the natives parading about in the clothes of our unfortunate comrade; and among them, a chief brandiſhing Captain Cook's hanger, and a woman holding the ſcabbard. Indeed there can be no doubt but that our behaviour had given them a mean opinion of our courage; for they could have but little notion of the motives of humanity that directed it.

In conſequence of the report I made to Captain Clerke, of what I conceived to be the preſent temper and diſpoſition of theſe iſlanders, the moſt effectual meaſures were taken to guard againſt any attack they might make in the night. The boats were moored with top-chains; additional ſentinels were poſted on both ſhips; and guard-boats were ſtationed to row round them, in order to prevent the natives from cutting the cables. During the night we obſerved a prodigious number of lights on the hills,

hills, which made ſome of us imagine they were removing their effects back into the country, in conſequence of our threats. But I rather believe them to have been the ſacrifices that were performing on account of the war, in which they imagined themſelves about to be engaged; and moſt probably the bodies of our ſlain countrymen were at that time burning.

We paſſed the night quietly, and early the next morning, Koah came alongſide the Reſolution with a preſent of cloth and a ſmall pig, which he deſired leave to preſent to me. I have mentioned before that I was ſuppoſed, by the natives, to be the ſon of Captain Cook; and as he in his life time had always ſuffered them to believe it, I was probably conſidered as the chief after his death. As ſoon as I came on deck, I queſtioned him about the body; and on his returning me nothing but evaſive anſwers, I refuſed to accept his preſents, and was going to diſmiſs him with ſome expreſſions of anger and reſentment, had not Captain Clerke, judging it beſt at all events to keep up the appearance of friendſhip, thought it more proper that he ſhould be treated with the uſual reſpect.

This treacherous fellow came frequently to us during the courſe of the forenoon with ſome trifling preſent or other, and as I always obſerved him eyeing every part of the ſhip with great attention, I took care he ſhould ſee we were well prepared for our defence.

He was exceedingly urgent both with Captain Clerke and myſelf to go on ſhore, laying all the blame of the detention of the bodies on the other chiefs; and aſſuring us that every thing might be ſettled to our ſatisfaction by a perſonal interview with Terreeoboo. However, his conduct was too ſuſpicious to make it prudent to comply with this requeſt; and indeed a fact came afterwards to our knowledge, which proved the entire falſehood of his pretenſions. For we were told that immediately after the action in which Captain Cook was killed, the old King had retired to a cave in the ſteep part of the mountain that hangs over the bay, which was acceſſible only by the help of ropes, and where he remained for many days, having his victuals let down to him by cords.

When Koah returned from the ſhips, we could perceive that his countrymen, who had been collected by break of day in vaſt crowds on the ſhore, thronged about him with great eagerneſs, as if to learn the intelligence he had acquired, and what was to be done in conſequence of it. It is very probable that they expected we ſhould attempt to put our threats in execution, and they ſeemed fully reſolved to ſtand their ground. During the whole morning, we heard conchs blowing in different parts of the coaſt; large parties were ſeen marching over the hills; and in ſhort, the appearances were ſo alarming, that we carried out a ſtream anchor to enable us to haul the ſhip abreaſt of the town in caſe of an attack, and ſtationed boats off the north point of the bay to prevent a ſurpriſe from that quarter.

The breach of their engagement to reſtore the bodies of the ſlain, and the warlike poſture in which they at this time appeared, occaſioned freſh debates amongſt us concerning the meaſures next to be purſued. It was at laſt determined, that nothing ſhould be ſuffered to interfere with the repair of the maſt, and the preparations for our departure; but that we ſhould nevertheleſs continue our negociations for the recovery of the bodies.

The greateſt part of the day was taken up in getting the foremaſt into a proper ſituation on deck for the carpenters to work upon it, and in making the neceſſary alterations in the commiſſions of the officers. The command of the expedition having devolved on Captain Clerke, he removed on board the Reſolution, appointed Lieutenant

tenant Gore to be captain of the Diſcovery, and promoted Mr. Harvey, a midſhipman, who had been with Captain Cook in his two laſt voyages, to the vacant lieutenancy. During the whole day we met with no interruption from the natives, and at night the launch was again moored with a top-chain, and guard-boats ſtationed round both ſhips as before.

About eight o'clock, it being very dark, a canoe was heard paddling toward the ſhip; and as ſoon as it was ſeen, both the ſentinels on deck fired into it. There were two perſons in the canoe, and they immediately roared out "Tinnee," (which was the way in which they pronounced my name), and ſaid they were friends, and had ſomething for me belonging to Captain Cook. When they came on board, they threw themſelves at our feet, and appeared exceedingly frightened. Luckily neither of them was hurt, notwithſtanding the balls of both pieces had gone through the canoe. One of them was the perſon whom I have before mentioned under the name of the Taboo man, who conſtantly attended Captain Cook with the circumſtances of ceremony I have already deſcribed; and who, though a man of rank in the iſland, could ſcarcely be hindered from performing for him the loweſt offices of a menial ſervant. After lamenting with abundance of tears, the loſs of the Orono, he told us that he had brought us a part of his body. He then preſented to us a ſmall bundle wrapped up in cloth, which he brought under his arm; and is it poſſible to deſcribe the horror which ſeized us on finding in it a piece of human fleſh, about nine or ten pounds weight? This, he ſaid, was all that remained of the body; that the reſt was cut to pieces and burnt; but that the head and all the bones, except what belonged to the trunk, were in the poſſeſſion of Terreeoboo and the other Erees; that what we ſaw had been allotted to Kaoo, the chief of the prieſts, to be made uſe of in ſome religious ceremony, and that he had ſent it as a proof of his innocence and attachment to us.

This afforded an opportunity of informing ourſelves whether they were cannibals, and we did not neglect it. We firſt tried by many indirect queſtions, put to each of them apart, to learn in what manner the reſt of the bodies had been diſpoſed of; and finding them very conſtant in one ſtory, that after the fleſh had been cut off it was all burnt, we at laſt put the direct queſtion—Whether they had not eat ſome of it? They immediately ſhewed as much horror at the idea as any European would have done; and aſked very naturally if that was the cuſtom amongſt us? They afterward aſked us, with great earneſtneſs and apparent apprehenſion, "When the Orono would come again, and what he would do to them on his return?" The ſame enquiry was frequently made afterwards by others; and this idea agrees with the general tenour of their conduct towards him, which ſhewed that they conſidered him as a being of a ſuperior nature.

We preſſed our two friendly viſitors to remain on board till morning, but in vain. They told us, that if this tranſaction ſhould come to the knowledge of the King or chiefs, it might be attended with the moſt fatal conſequences to their whole ſociety; in order to prevent which, they had been obliged to come off to us in the dark, and the ſame precaution would be neceſſary in returning on ſhore. They informed us farther, that the chiefs were eager to revenge the death of their countrymen; and particularly cautioned us againſt truſting Koah, who, they ſaid, was our mortal and implacable enemy, and deſired nothing more ardently than an opportunity of fighting us; to which the blowing of the conchs we had heard in the morning was meant as a challenge.

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We learned from theſe men that ſeventeen of their countrymen were killed in the firſt action at Kowrowa, of whom five were chiefs; and that Kaneea and his brother, our very particular friends, were unfortunately of that number. Eight, they ſaid, were killed at the obſervatory; three of whom were alſo of the firſt rank.

About eleven o'clock our two friends left us, and took the precaution to deſire that our guard-boat might attend them till they had paſſed the Diſcovery, leſt they ſhould again be fired upon, which might alarm their countrymen on ſhore, and expoſe them to the danger of being diſcovered. This requeſt was complied with; and we had the ſatisfaction to find that they got ſafe and undiſcovered to land.

During the remainder of this night we heard the ſame loud howling and lamentations. Early in the morning we received another viſit from Koah. I muſt confeſs, I was a little piqued to find, that notwithſtanding the moſt evident marks of treachery in his conduct, and the poſitive teſtimony of our friends the prieſts, he ſhould ſtill be permitted to carry on the ſame farce, and to make us appear to be the dupes of his hypocriſy. Indeed our ſituation was become extremely awkward and unpromiſing; none of the purpoſes for which this pacific courſe of proceeding had been adopted having hitherto been in the leaſt forwarded by it. No ſatisfactory anſwer whatever had been given to our demands; we did not ſeem to be at all advanced toward a reconciliation with the iſlanders; they ſtill kept in force on the ſhore, as if determined to reſiſt any attempts we might make to land; and yet the attempt was become abſolutely neceſſary, as the completing our ſupply of water would not admit of any longer delay.

However it muſt be obſerved, in juſtice to the conduct of Captain Clerke, that it was very probable, from the great numbers of the natives, and from the reſolution with which they ſeemed to expect us, an attack could not have been made without ſome danger; and that the loſs of a very few men might have been ſeverely felt by us, during the remaining courſe of our voyage. Whereas the delaying the execution of our threats, though, on the one hand, it leſſened their opinion of our proweſs, had the effect of cauſing them to diſperſe on the other. For this day about noon finding us perſiſt in our inactivity, great bodies of them, after blowing their conchs and uſing every mode of defiance, marched off over the hills, and never appeared afterward. Thoſe however who remained were the not leſs daring and inſolent. One man had the audacity to come within muſquet-ſhot a-head of the ſhip; and, after ſlinging ſeveral ſtones at us, he waved Captain Cook's hat over his head, whilſt his countrymen on ſhore were exulting, and encouraging his boldneſs. Our people were all in a flame at this inſult, and, coming in a body on the quarter-deck, begged they might no longer be obliged to put up with theſe repeated provocations; and requeſted me to obtain permiſſion for them, from Captain Clerke, to avail themſelves of the firſt fair occaſion of revenging the death of their commander. On my acquainting him with what was paſſing, he gave orders for ſome great guns to be fired at the natives on ſhore; and promiſed the crew that, if they ſhould meet with any moleſtation at the watering-place, the next day, they ſhould then be left at liberty to chaſtiſe them.

It is ſomewhat remarkable, that before we could bring our guns to bear, the iſlanders had ſuſpected our intentions, from the ſtir they ſaw in the ſhip, and had retired behind their houſes and walls. We were therefore obliged to fire in ſome meaſure at random; notwithſtanding which, our ſhot produced all the effect that could have been deſired. For ſoon after we ſaw Koah paddling towards us, with

extreme

extreme haſte, and on his arrival we learned that ſome people had been killed, and amongſt the reſt, Maiha-Maiha, a principal chief, and a near relation to the king*.

Soon after the arrival of Koah, two boys ſwam off from the Morai toward the ſhips, having each a long ſpear in his hand; and, after they had approached pretty near, they began to chant a ſong in a very ſolemn manner; the ſubject of which, from their often mentioning the word Crono, and pointing to the village where Captain Cook was killed, we concluded to be the late calamitous diſaſter. Having ſung in a plaintive ſtrain for about twelve or fifteen minutes, during the whole of which time they remained in the water, they went on board the Diſcovery, and delivered their ſpears; and after making a ſhort ſtay, returned on ſhore. Who ſent them, or what was the object of this ceremony, we were never able to learn.

At night, the uſual precautions were taken for the ſecurity of the ſhips; and as ſoon as it was dark, our two friends, who had viſited us the night before, came off again. They aſſured us that though the effect of our great guns this afternoon had terrified the chiefs exceedingly, they had by no means laid aſide their hoſtile intentions, and adviſed us to be on our guard.

The next morning, the boats of both ſhips were ſent aſhore for water; and the Diſcovery was warped cloſe to the beach, in order to cover that ſervice. We ſoon found that the intelligence which the prieſts had ſent us, was not without foundation; and that the natives were reſolved to take every opportunity of annoying us, when it could be done without much riſk.

Throughout all this group of iſlands, the villages, for the moſt part, are ſituated near the ſea; and the adjacent ground is encloſed with ſtone walls, about three feet high. Theſe, we at firſt imagined, were intended for the diviſion of property; but we now diſcovered that they ſerved, and probably were principally deſigned, for a defence againſt invaſion. They conſiſt of looſe ſtones, and the inhabitants are very dexterous in ſhifting them, with great quickneſs, to ſuch ſituations as the direction of the attack may require. In the ſides of the mountain, which hangs over the bay, they have alſo little holes or caves, of conſiderable depth, the entrance of which is ſecured by a fence of the ſame kind. From behind both theſe defences the natives kept perpetually haraſſing our waterers with ſtones; nor could the ſmall force we had on ſhore, with the advantage of muſquets, compel them to retreat.

In this expoſed ſituation, our people were ſo taken up in attending to their own ſafety, that they employed the whole forenoon in filling only one tun of water. As it was therefore impoſſible to perform this ſervice, till their aſſailants were driven to a greater diſtance, the Diſcovery was ordered to diſlodge them with her great guns; which being effected by a few diſcharges, the men landed without moleſtation. However, the natives ſoon after made their appearance again, in their uſual mode of attack; and it was now found abſolutely neceſſary to burn down ſome ſtraggling houſes near the wall, behind which they had taken ſhelter. In executing theſe orders, I am ſorry to add that our people were hurried into acts of unneceſſary cruelty and devaſtation. Something ought certainly to be allowed to their reſentment of the repeated inſults and contemptuous behaviour of the iſlanders, and to the natural deſire of revenging the loſs of their commander. But at the ſame time their conduct ſerved ſtrongly to convince me, that the utmoſt precaution is neceſſary in truſting, though but for a

* The word Matee is commonly uſed, in the language of theſe iſlands, to expreſs either killing or wounding; and we were afterward told, that this chief had only received a ſlight blow on the face from a ſtone which had been ſtruck by one of the balls.

moment, the diſcretionary uſe of arms, in the hands of private ſeamen or ſoldiers, on ſuch occaſions.

Their orders were only to burn a few ſtraggling huts, which afforded ſhelter to the natives. We were therefore a good deal ſurprized to ſee the whole village on fire; and before a boat, that was ſent to ſtop the progreſs of the miſchief, could reach the ſhore, the houſes of our old and conſtant friends, the prieſts, were all in flames. I cannot enough lament the illneſs that confined me on board this day. The prieſts had always been under my protection; and unluckily, the officers who were then on duty, having been ſeldom on ſhore at the Morai, were not much acquainted with the circumſtances of the place. Had I been preſent myſelf, I might probably have been the means of ſaving their little ſociety from deſtruction.

Several of the natives were ſhot, in making their eſcape from the flames; and our people cut off the heads of two of them, and brought them on board. The fate of one poor iſlander was much lamented by us all. As he was coming to the well for water, he was ſhot at by one of the marines. The ball ſtruck his calibaſh, which he immediately threw from him, and fled. He was purſued into one of the caves I have before deſcribed, and no lion could have defended his den with greater courage and fierceneſs; till at laſt, after having kept two of our people at bay for a conſiderable time, he expired covered with wounds. It was this accident that firſt brought us acquainted with the uſe of theſe caverns.

At this time an elderly man was taken priſoner, bound, and ſent on board in the ſame boat with the heads of his two countrymen. I never ſaw horror ſo ſtrongly pictured as in the face of this man, nor ſo violent a tranſition to extravagant joy, as when he was untied, and told he might go away in ſafety. He ſhewed us he did not want gratitude, as he frequently afterward returned with preſents of proviſions; and alſo did us other ſervices.

Soon after the village was deſtroyed, we ſaw coming down the hill, a man, attended by fifteen or twenty boys, holding pieces of white cloth, green boughs, plantains, &c. in their hands. I knew not how it happened that this peaceful embaſſy, as ſoon as they were within reach, received the fire of a party of our men. This however did not ſtop them. They continued their proceſſion, and the officer on duty came up in time to prevent a ſecond diſcharge. As they approached nearer, it was found to be our much-eſteemed friend Kaireekeea, who had fled on our firſt ſetting fire to the village, and had now returned, and deſired to be ſent on board the Reſolution.

When he arrived, we found him exceedingly grave and thoughtful. We endeavoured to make him underſtand the neceſſity we were under of ſetting fire to the village, by which his houſe, and thoſe of his brethren, were unintentionally conſumed. He expoſtulated a little with us on our want of friendſhip, and on our ingratitude. And, indeed, it was not till now that we learnt the whole extent of the injury we had done them. He told us that, relying on the promiſes I had made them, and on the aſſurances they had afterward received from the men, who had brought us the remains of Captain Cook, they had not removed their effects back into the country, with the reſt of the inhabitants, but had put every thing that was valuable of their own, as well as what they had collected from us, into a houſe cloſe to the Morai, where they had the mortification to ſee it all ſet on fire by ourſelves.

On coming on board, he had ſeen the heads of his countrymen lying on the deck, at which he was exceedingly ſhocked, and deſired with great earneſtneſs that they might be thrown overboard. This requeſt Captain Clerke inſtantly ordered to be complied with.

In

In the evening, the watering party returned on board, having met with no farther interruption. We paſſed a gloomy night; the cries and lamentations we heard on ſhore being far more dreadful than ever. Our only conſolation was, the hope that we ſhould have no occaſion in future for a repetition of ſuch ſeverities.

It is very extraordinay, that amidſt all theſe diſturbances the women of the iſland who were on board, never offered to leave us, nor diſcovered the ſmalleſt apprehenſions either for themſelves or their friends aſhore. So entirely unconcerned did they appear, that ſome of them, who were on deck when the town was in flames, ſeemed to admire the ſight, and frequently cried out that it was maitai, or very fine.

The next morning, Koah came off as uſual to the ſhips. As there exiſted no longer any neceſſity for keeping terms with him, I was allowed to have my own way. When he approached toward the ſide of the ſhip, ſinging his ſong, and offering me a hog, and ſome plantains, I ordered him to keep off, cautioning him never to appear again without Captain Cook's bones, leſt his life ſhould pay the forfeit of his frequent breach of promiſe. He did not appear much mortified with this reception, but went immediately on ſhore, and joined a party of his countrymen, who were pelting the waterers with ſtones. The body of the young man who had been killed the day before, was found this morning, lying at the entrance of the cave; and ſome of our people went and threw a mat over it. Soon after which they ſaw ſome men carrying him off on their ſhoulders, and could hear them ſinging, as they marched, a mournful ſong.

The natives being at laſt convinced that it was not the want of ability to puniſh them, which had hitherto made us tolerate their provocations, deſiſted from giving us any farther moleſtation; and in the evening, a chief called Eappo, who had ſeldom viſited us, but whom we knew to be a man of the very firſt conſequence, came with preſents from Terreeoboo to ſue for peace. Theſe preſents were received, and he was diſmiſſed with the ſame anſwer which had before been given, that until the remains of Captain Cook ſhould be reſtored, no peace would be granted. We learned from this perſon that the fleſh of all the bodies of our people, together with the bones of the trunks, had been burnt; that the limb-bones of the marines had been divided amongſt the inferior chiefs; and that thoſe of Captain Cook had been diſpoſed of in the following manner: the head to a great chief called Kahoo-opeon; the hair to Maiha-Maiha; and the legs, thighs, and arms to Terreeoboo. After it was dark, many of the inhabitants came off with roots and other vegetables; and we alſo received two large preſents of the ſame articles from Kaireekeea.

The 19th was chiefly taken up in ſending and receiving the meſſages which paſſed between Captain Clerke and Terreeoboo. Eappo was very preſſing that one of our officers ſhould go on ſhore; and in the mean time offered to remain as an hoſtage on board. This requeſt, however, it was not thought proper to comply with; and he left us with a promiſe of bringing the bones next day. At the beach the waterers did not meet with the leaſt oppoſition from the natives; who, notwithſtanding our cautious behaviour, came amongſt us again, without the ſmalleſt appearance of diffidence or apprehenſion.

Early in the morning of the 20th, we had the ſatisfaction of getting the foremaſt ſtepped. It was an operation attended with great difficulty, and ſome danger; our ropes being ſo exceeding rotten that the purchaſe gave way ſeveral times.

Between ten and eleven o'clock, we ſaw a great number of people deſcending the hill, which is over the beach, in a kind of proceſſion, each man carrying a ſugar-cane or two on his ſhoulders, and bread-fruit, taro, and plantains in his hand. They were

preceded by two drummers; who, when they came to the water-ſide, ſat down by a white flag, and began to beat their drums, while thoſe who had followed them advanced one by one; and having depoſited the preſents they had brought, retired in the ſame order. Soon after, Eappo came in ſight, in his long feathered cloak, bearing ſomething with great ſolemnity in his hands; and having placed himſelf on a rock, made ſigns for a boat to be ſent him.

Captain Clerke, conjecturing that he had brought the bones of Captain Cook, which proved to be the fact, went himſelf in the pinnace to receive them; and ordered me to attend him in the cutter. When we arrived at the beach, Eappo came into the pinnace, and delivered to the captain the bones wrapped up in a large quantity of fine new cloth, and covered with a ſpotted cloak of black and white feathers. He afterwards attended us to the Reſolution, but could not be prevailed upon to go on board; probably not chuſing, from a ſenſe of decency, to be preſent at the opening of the bundle. We found in it both the hands of Captain Cook entire, which were well known from a remarkable ſcar on one of them, that divided the thumb from the fore-finger, the whole length of the metacarpal bone; the ſkull, but with the ſcalp ſeparated from it, and the bones that form the face wanting; the ſcalp with the hair upon it cut ſhort, and the ears adhering to it; the bones of both arms, with the ſkin of the fore-arms hanging to them; the thigh and leg-bones joined together, but without the feet. The ligaments of the joints were entire; and the whole bore evident marks of having been in the fire, except the hands, which had the fleſh left upon them, and were cut in ſeveral places, and crammed with ſalt, apparently with an intention of preſerving them. The ſcalp had a cut in the back part of it, but the ſkull was free from any fracture. The lower jaw and feet, which were wanting, Eappo told us, had been ſeized by different chiefs, and that Terreeoboo was uſing every means to recover them.

The next morning, Eappo, and the King's ſon, came on board, and brought with them the remaining bones of Captain Cook; the barrels of his gun, his ſhoes, and ſome other trifles that belonged to him. Eappo took great pains to convince us, that Terreeoboo, Maiha-Maiha, and himſelf, were moſt heartily deſirous of peace; that they had given the moſt convincing proof of it in their power; and that they had been prevented from giving it ſooner by the other chiefs, many of whom were ſtill our enemies. He lamented, with the greateſt ſorrow, the death of ſix chiefs we had killed, ſome of whom, he ſaid, were amongſt our beſt friends. The cutter, he told us, was taken away by Pareea's people; very probably in revenge for the blow that had been given him; and that it had been broken up the next day. The arms of the marines, which we had alſo demanded, he aſſured us had been carried off by the common people, and were irrecoverable; the bones of the chief alone having been preſerved, as belonging to Terreeoboo and the Erees.

Nothing now remained but to perform the laſt offices to our great and unfortunate commander. Eappo was diſmiſſed with orders to taboo all the bay; and, in the afternoon, the bones having been put into a coffin, and the ſervice read over them, they were committed to the deep with the uſual military honours. What our feelings were on this occaſion, I leave the world to conceive; thoſe who were preſent know that it is not in my power to expreſs them.

During the forenoon of the 22d, not a canoe was ſeen paddling in the bay; the taboo, which Eappo had laid on it the day before at our requeſt, not being yet taken off. At length Eappo came off to us. We aſſured him that we were now entirely ſatisfied; and that as the Orono was buried, all remembrance of what had paſſed was

buried

buried with him. We afterwards deſired him to take off the taboo, and to make it known that the people might bring their proviſions as uſual. The ſhips were ſoon ſurrounded with canoes, and many of the chiefs came on board, expreſſing great ſorrow at what had happened, and their ſatisfaction at our reconciliation. Several of our friends, who did not viſit us, ſent preſents of large hogs, and other proviſions. Amongſt the reſt came the old treacherous Koah, but was refuſed admittance.

As we had now every thing ready for ſea, about eight o'clock this evening we diſmiſſed all the natives; Eappo, and the friendly Kaireekeea, took an affectionate leave of us. We immediately weighed, and ſtood out of the bay. The natives were collected on the ſhore in great numbers; and, as we paſſed along, received our laſt farewells with every mark of affection and good-will.

We got clear of the land about ten on the 22d, and hoiſting in the boats, ſtood to the northward.

In the afternoon of the 24th, the weather being calm, with light airs from the weſt, we ſtood on to the north-north-weſt; but at ſunſet, obſerving a ſhoal ſtretching from the weſt point of Mowee toward the middle of the paſſage, we tacked, and ſtood toward the ſouth.

The ſouth-weſt ſide of this iſland, which we now had paſſed without being able to get near the ſhore, forms the ſame diſtant view with the north-eaſt, as ſeen on our return from the north in November 1778, the mountainous parts, which are connected by a low, flat iſthmus, appearing at firſt like two ſeparate iſlands.

On the 27th, we got to the windward of Woahoo, an iſland we had ſeen at our firſt viſit. Between the north point and a diſtant headland, which we ſaw to the ſouth-weſt, the land bends inward conſiderably, and appeared likely to afford a good road. At a quarter paſt two the ſight of a fine river, running through a deep valley, induced us to come to an anchor in thirteen fathoms water, with a ſandy bottom. In the afternoon, I attended the two captains on ſhore, where we found but few natives, and thoſe moſtly women; the men, they told us, were gone to Morotoi to fight Tahyterree; but that their chief Perreeoranee, who had ſtayed behind, would certainly viſit us, as ſoon as he heard of our arrival.

We were much diſappointed to find the water had a brackiſh taſte, for two hundred yards up the river, owing to the marſhy ground through which it empties itſelf into the ſea.

As the watering at this place would have been attended with great labour, Captain Clerke determined, without farther loſs of time, to proceed to Atooi. On the 28th, we bore away for that iſland, which we were in ſight of by noon; and about ſun-ſet, were off its eaſtern extremity.

We paſſed the night in plying on and off, and at nine the next morning, came to an anchor in twenty-five fathoms water.

We had no ſooner anchored in our old ſtation, than ſeveral canoes came alongſide of us; but we could obſerve, that they did not welcome us with the ſame cordiality in their manner, and ſatisfaction in their countenances, as when we were here before. As ſoon as they got on board, one of the men began to tell us that we had left a diſorder amongſt their women, of which ſeveral perſons of both ſexes had died.

Our principal object here was to water the ſhips with the utmoſt expedition; and I was ſent on ſhore early in the afternoon. The gunner of the Reſolution accompanied me to trade for proviſions; and we had a guard of five marines. We found a conſiderable number of people collected upon the beach, who received us at firſt with great kindneſs;

kindneſs; but as ſoon as we had got the caſks on ſhore, began to be exceedingly troubleſome. It was with great difficulty I was able to form a circle, according to our uſual practice, for the convenience of our trading party; and had no ſooner done it, than I ſaw a man laying hold of the bayonet of one of the ſoldiers, muſquets, and endeavouring with all his force to wrench it out of his hand. On my coming up to them, the native let go his hold and retired; but returned in a moment, with a ſpear in one hand and a dagger in the other; and his countrymen had much ado to reſtrain him from trying his proweſs with the ſoldier. This fray was occaſioned by the latter's having given the man a ſlight prick with his bayonet, in order to make him keep without the line.

I now perceived that our ſituation required great circumſpection and management; and accordingly gave the ſtricteſt orders that no one ſhould fire, nor have recourſe to any other act of violence, without poſitive commands. As ſoon as I had given theſe directions, I was called to the aſſiſtance of the watering party, where I found the natives equally inclined to miſchief. They had demanded from our people a large hatchet for every caſk of water; and this not being complied with, they would not ſuffer the ſailors to roll them down to the boats.

I had no ſooner joined them, than one of the natives advanced up to me with great inſolence, and made the ſame claim. I told him that as a friend, I was very willing to preſent him with a hatchet, but that I ſhould certainly carry off the water, without paying any thing for it; and I immediately ordered the pinnace-men to proceed in their buſineſs, and called three marines from the traders to protect them.

Though this ſhew of ſpirit ſucceeded ſo far as to make the natives deſiſt from any open attempt to interrupt us, they ſtill continued to behave in the moſt teaſing and provoking manner. Whilſt ſome of them, under pretence of aſſiſting the men in rolling down the caſks, turned them out of their courſe, and gave them a wrong direction, others were ſtealing the hats from off the ſailors' heads, pulling them backward by their clothes, or tripping up their heels; the whole crowd, all this time, ſhouting and laughing, with a ſtrange mixture of childiſhneſs and malice. They afterwards found means to ſteal the cooper's bucket, and took away his bag by force; but the objects they were moſt eager to poſſeſs themſelves of, were the muſquets of the marines, who were every inſtant complaining of their attempts to force them out of their hands. Though they continued for the moſt part, to pay great deference and reſpect to me, yet they did not ſuffer me to eſcape without contributing my ſhare to their ſtock of plunder. One of them came up to me with a familiar air, and with great management diverted my attention, whilſt another, wrenching the hanger, which I held careleſsly in my hand, from me, ran off with it like lightning.

It was in vain to think of repelling this inſolence by force; guarding therefore againſt its effects, in the beſt manner we were able, we had nothing to do but to ſubmit patiently to it. My apprehenſions were however a little alarmed, by the information I ſoon after received from the ſerjeant of marines, who told me that, turning ſuddenly round, he ſaw a man behind me, holding a dagger in the poſition of ſtriking. As our people were ſeparated into three ſmall parties, one at the lake, filling caſks, another rolling them down to the ſhore, and the third at ſome diſtance, purchaſing proviſions; it had once occurred to me that it might be proper to collect them all together, and to execute and protect one duty at a time. But on ſecond thoughts, I judged it more adviſeable to let them continue where they were. In caſe of a real attack, our whole force, however advantageouſly diſpoſed, could have made but a poor reſiſtance. On the

the other hand, I thought it of ſome conſequence to ſhew the natives we were under no fears; and what was ſtill more material, the crowd was by this means kept divided, and a conſiderable part of them fully employed in bartering proviſions.

While we were getting the caſks into the launch, the natives perceiving the opportunity of plundering would ſoon be over, became every moment more daring and inſolent. On this occaſion, I was indebted to the ſerjeant of marines for ſuggeſting to me the advantage that would ariſe from ſending off his party firſt into the boats; by which means, the muſquets of the ſoldiers, which, as I have already mentioned, were the objects the iſlanders had principally in view, would be removed out of their reach; and, in caſe of an attack, the marines themſelves might be employed more effectually in our defence than if they were on ſhore.

We had now got every thing into the boats, and only the gunner, a ſeaman of the boat's crew, and myſelf, remained on ſhore. As the pinnace lay beyond the ſurf, through which we were obliged to ſwim, I told them to make the beſt of their way to it, and that I ſhould follow them.

With this order I was ſurprized to find them both refuſe to comply, and the conſequence was a conteſt amongſt us, who ſhould be the laſt on ſhore. It ſeems that ſome haſty words I had juſt before uſed to the ſailor, which he thought reflected on his courage, was the cauſe of this odd fancy in him; and the old gunner finding a point of honour ſtarted, thought he could not well avoid taking a part in it. In this ridiculous ſituation we might have remained ſome time, had not our diſpute been ſoon ſettled by the ſtones that began to fly about us, and by the cries of the people from the boats to make haſte, as the natives were following us into the water with clubs and ſpears. I reached the ſide of the pinnace firſt, and finding the gunner was at ſome diſtance behind, and not yet entirely out of danger, I called out to the marines to fire one muſquet. In the hurry of executing my orders they fired two; and when I got into the boat, I ſaw the natives running away, and one man with a woman ſitting by him, left behind on the beach. The man made ſeveral attempts to riſe, without being able; and it was with much regret, I perceived him to be wounded in the groin. The natives ſoon after returned and ſurrounded the wounded man, brandiſhed their ſpears and daggers at us with an air of threatening and defiance; but before we reached the ſhips, we ſaw ſome perſons, whom we ſuppoſed to be the chiefs, now arrived, driving them away from the ſhore.

During our abſence, Captain Clerke had been under the greateſt anxiety for our ſafety. And theſe apprehenſions were conſiderably increaſed, from his having entirely miſtaken the drift of the converſation he had held with ſome natives who had been on board. The frequent mention of the name of Captain Cook, with other ſtrong and circumſtantial deſcriptions of death and deſtruction, made him conclude that the knowledge of the unfortunate events at Owhyhee had reached them, and that theſe were what they alluded to; whereas all they had in view was to make known to him the wars that had ariſen, in conſequence of the goats that Captain Cook had left at Oneeheow, and the ſlaughter of the poor goats themſelves, during the ſtruggle for the property of them. Captain Clerke, applying this earneſtneſs of converſation, and theſe terrible repreſentations, to our calamitous tranſactions at Owhyhee, and to an indication of revenge, kept his teleſcope fixed upon us, and the moment he ſaw the ſmoke of the muſquets, ordered the boats to be manned and armed, and to put off to our aſſiſtance.

The next morning, March 2d, I was again ordered on ſhore with the watering party. The riſk we had run the preceding day, determined Captain Clerke to ſend a conſiderable force from both ſhips for our guard, amounting in all to forty men under

arms. This precaution, however, was now unneceſſary; for we found the beach left entirely to ourſelves, and the ground between the landing place and the lake tabooed with ſmall white flags. We concluded, from this appearance, that ſome of the chiefs had certainly viſited this quarter; and that, not being able to ſtay, they had kindly and conſiderately taken this ſtep for our greater ſecurity and convenience. We ſaw ſeveral men armed with long ſpears and daggers on the other ſide of the river on the right, but they did not offer to give us the leaſt moleſtation. Their women came over and ſat down on the banks cloſe by us, and at noon we prevailed on ſome of the men to bring hogs and roots for our people, and to dreſs them for us. As ſoon as we had left the beach they came down to the ſea-ſide, and one of them threw a ſtone at us; but his conduct, ſeeming to be highly diſapproved of by all the reſt, we did not think it proper to ſhew any reſentment.

The next day we completed our watering without meeting with any material difficulty. On our return to the ſhips, we found that ſeveral chiefs had been on board, and had made excuſes for the behaviour of their countrymen, attributing their riotous conduct to the quarrels which ſubſiſted at that time, amongſt the principal people of the iſland. The quarrel had riſen about the goats we had left at Oneeheow the laſt year; the right of property in which was claimed by Toneoneo, on the pretence of that iſland's being a dependency of his.

This, and the two following days, were employed on ſhore in completing the Diſcovery's water; and the carpenters were buſy on board in caulking the ſhips, and in making other preparations for our next cruiſe. The natives deſiſted from giving us any further diſturbance, and we procured from them a plentiful ſupply of pork and vegetables.

At this time an Indian brought a piece of iron on board the Diſcovery to be faſhioned into the ſhape of a pabooa. It was carefully examined both by the officers and men, and appeared to be the bolt of ſome large ſhip timbers; but they were not able to diſcover to what nation it belonged.

On the 7th, we were ſurprized with a viſit from Toneoneo. When he heard the dowager princeſs was in the ſhip, it was with great difficulty we could prevail on him to come on board, not from any apprehenſions that he appeared to entertain of his ſafety, but from an unwillingneſs to ſee her. Their meeting was with ſulky and lowering looks on both ſides. He ſtayed but a ſhort time, and ſeemed much dejected; but we remarked, with ſome ſurpriſe, that the women, both at his coming and going away, proſtrated themſelves before him; and that he was treated by all the natives on board with the reſpect uſually paid to thoſe of his rank. Indeed it muſt appear ſomewhat extraordinary, that a perſon who was at this time in a ſtate of actual hoſtility with Teavee's party, and was even prepared for another battle, ſhould truſt himſelf almoſt alone within the power of his enemies.

On the 8th, at nine in the morning, we weighed and ſailed toward Oneeheow; and at three in the afternoon, anchored in twenty fathoms water, nearly on the ſame ſpot as in the year 1778.

On the 12th, the weather being moderate, the maſter was ſent to the north-weſt ſide of the iſland to look for a more convenient place for anchoring. He returned in the evening, having found a fine bay with good anchorage; alſo to the eaſtward were four ſmall wells of good water; the road to them level, and fit for rolling caſks.

As we were now about to take our final leave of the Sandwich iſlands, it will not be improper to introduce here ſome general account of them, particularly Owhyhee.

A Canoe of the Sandwich Islands.

This group conſiſts of eleven iſlands. They are called by the natives; 1. Owhyhee. 2. Mowee. 3. Ranai, or Ornai. 4. Morotinnee, or Morokinne. 5. Kahowrowee, or Tahoorowa. 6. Morotoi, or Morokoi. 7. Woahoo, or Oahoo. 8. Atooi, Atowi, or Towi, and ſometimes Kowi. 9. Neeheehow, or Oneeheow. 10. Oreehoua, or Reehoua; and 11. Tahoora; and are all inhabited, except Morotinnee and Tahoora. Beſides the iſlands above enumerated, we were told by the Indians, that there is another called Modoopapapa, or Komodoopapapa, which is low and ſandy, and viſited only for the purpoſe of catching turtle and ſea-fowl.

They were named by Captain Cook the Sandwich Iſlands, in honour of the Earl of Sandwich, under whoſe adminiſtration he had enriched geography with ſo many ſplendid and important diſcoveries; a tribute juſtly due to that noble perſon for the liberal ſupport theſe voyages derived from his power, in whatever could extend their utility, or promote their ſucceſs; for the zeal with which he ſeconded the views of that great navigator; and, if I may be allowed to add the voice of private gratitude, for the generous protection, which, ſince the death of their unfortunate commander, he has afforded all the officers that ſerved under him.

Owhyhee, the eaſternmoſt, and by much the largeſt of theſe iſlands, is of a triangular ſhape, and nearly equilateral. Its greateſt length is 28½ leagues; its breadth is 24 leagues; and it is about 255 geographical, or 293 Engliſh miles in circumference.

The coaſt to the north-eaſt, which forms the eaſtern extremity of the iſland, is low and flat; the acclivity of the inland parts is very gradual, and the whole country covered with cocoa-nut and bread-fruit trees. This, as far as we could judge, is the fineſt part of the iſland, and we were afterward told that the King had a place of reſidence here. On doubling the eaſt point of this iſland, we ſaw a mountain called Mouna Roa, which is ſuppoſed to be at leaſt 16,020 feet high, which exceeds the height of the Pico de Teyde, or Peak of Teneriffe, by 724 feet, according to Dr. Heberden's computation.

The coaſt of Kaoo preſents a proſpect of the moſt horrid and dreary kind: the whole country appearing to have undergone a total change, from the effects of ſome dreadful convulſion. The ground is every where covered with cinders, and interſected in many places with black ſtreaks, which ſeem to mark the courſe of a lava that has flowed, not many ages back, from the mountain Roa to the ſhore. The ſouthern promontory looks like the mere dregs of a volcano. The projecting headland is compoſed of broken and craggy rocks, piled irregularly on one another, and terminating in ſharp points.

The neighbouring ſea abounds with a variety of moſt excellent fiſh, with which, as well as with other proviſions, we were always plentifully ſupplied. Off this part of the coaſt we could find no ground at leſs than a cable's length from the ſhore, with a hundred and ſixty fathoms of line, excepting in a ſmall bight to the eaſtward of the ſouth point.

The quadrupeds in theſe, as in all the other iſlands that have been diſcovered in the South Sea, are confined to three ſorts, dogs, hogs, and rats. The dogs are of the ſame ſpecies with thoſe of Otaheite, having ſhort crooked legs, long backs, and pricked ears. I did not obſerve any variety in them, except in their ſkins; ſome having long and rough hair, and others being quite ſmooth. They are about the ſize of a common turnſpit; exceedingly ſluggiſh in their nature; though perhaps this may be more owing to the manner in which they are treated, than to any natural diſpoſition in them. They are in general fed and left to herd with the hogs; and I do not recollect one inſtance in which a dog was made a companion in the manner we do in Europe. Indeed, the cuſtom of eating them is an inſuperable bar to their admiſſion into ſociety;

and as there are neither beaſts of prey in the iſland, nor objects of chace, it is probable that the ſocial qualities of the dog, its fidelity, attachment, and ſagacity, will remain unknown to the natives.

The number of dogs in theſe iſlands did not appear to be nearly equal in proportion to thoſe in Otaheite. But, on the other hand, they abound much more in hogs; and the breed is of a larger and weightier kind. The ſupply of proviſions of this kind, which we got from them, was really aſtoniſhing. We were near four months either cruiſing off the coaſt, or in harbour at Owhyhee. During all this time, a large allowance of freſh pork was conſtantly ſerved to both crews; ſo that our conſumption was computed at about ſixty puncheons of five hundred weight each. Beſides this, and the incredible waſte, which, in the midſt of ſuch plenty, was not to be guarded againſt, ſixty puncheons more were ſalted for ſea-ſtore. The greateſt part of this ſupply was drawn from the iſland of Owhyhee alone, and yet we could not perceive that it was at all drained, or even that the abundance had any way decreaſed.

The birds of theſe iſlands are as beautiful as any we have ſeen during the voyage, and are numerous, though not various. There are four which ſeem to belong to the trochili, or honey-ſuckers of Linnæus; one of which is ſomething larger than a bull-finch; its colour is a fine gloſſy black, the rump-vent and thighs a deep yellow. It is called by the natives Hoohoo. Another is of an exceeding bright ſcarlet colour; the wings black, and edged with white; and the tail black; its native name is Eeéeve. A third, which ſeems to be either a young bird, or a variety of the foregoing, is variegated with red, brown, and yellow. The fourth is entirely green, with a tinge of yellow, and is called Akaiarooa. There is a ſpecies of thruſh, with a grey breaſt; and a ſmall bird of the fly-catcher kind; a rail, with very ſhort wings and no tail, which, on that account, we named Rallus ecaudatus. Ravens are found here, but they are very ſcarce; their colour is dark brown, inclining to black; and their note is different from the European. Here are two ſmall birds both of one genus, that are very common; one is red, and generally ſeen about the cocoa-nut trees, particularly when they are in flower, from whence it ſeems to derive great part of its ſubſiſtence; the other is green; the tongues of both are long and ciliated, or fringed at the tip. A bird with a yellow head, which, from the ſtructure of its beak, we called a parroquet, is likewiſe very common. It, however, by no means belongs to that tribe, but greatly reſembles the Lexia flavicans, or yellowiſh croſsbill of Linnæus.

Here are alſo owls, plovers of two ſorts, one very like the whiſtling plover of Europe; a large white pigeon; a bird with a long tail, whoſe colour is black, the vent and feathers under the wing (which is much longer than is uſually ſeen in the generality of birds, except the birds of paradiſe) are yellow; and the common water or darker hen.

The inhabitants of the Sandwich iſlands are undoubtedly of the ſame race with thoſe of New Zealand, the Society and Friendly Iſlands, Eaſter Iſland, and the Marqueſas. This fact, which, extraordinary as it is, might be thought ſufficiently proved by the ſtriking ſimilarity of their manners and cuſtoms, and the general reſemblance of their perſons is eſtabliſhed beyond all controverſy by the abſolute identity of their language.

From what continent they originally emigrated, and by what ſteps they have ſpread through ſo faſt a ſpace, thoſe who are curious in diſquiſitions of this nature, may perhaps not find it very difficult to conjecture. It has been already obſerved, that they bear ſtrong marks of affinity to ſome of the Indian tribes that inhabit the Ladrones and Caroline iſlands; and the ſame affinity may again be traced amongſt the Battas and the

Malays. When theſe events happened, it is not ſo eaſy to aſcertain; it was probably not very lately, as they are extremely populous, and have no tradition of their own origin, but what is perfectly fabulous; whilſt on the other hand, the unadulterated ſtate of their general language, and the ſimplicity which ſtill prevails in their cuſtoms and manners, ſeems to indicate that it could not have been at any very diſtant period.

The natives of theſe iſlands are in general above the middle ſize, and well made; they walk very gracefully, run nimbly, and are capable of bearing great fatigue; though, upon the whole, the men are ſomewhat inferior, in point of ſtrength and activity, to the Friendly iſlanders, and the women leſs delicately limbed than thoſe of Otaheite. Their complexion is rather darker than that of the Otaheiteans, and they are not altogether ſo handſome a people. However, many of both ſexes had fine open countenances; and the women in particular had good eyes and teeth, and a ſweetneſs and ſenſibility of look, which rendered them very engaging. Their hair is a browniſh black, and neither uniformly ſtraight, like that of the Indians of America, nor uniformly curling, as amongſt the African negroes, but varying in this reſpect, like the hair of Europeans. One ſtriking peculiarity, in the features of every part of this great nation, I do not remember to have ſeen any where mentioned; which is that, even in the handſomeſt faces, there is always a fulneſs of the noſtril, without any flatneſs or ſpreading of the noſe, that diſtinguiſhes them from Europeans. It is not improbable that this may be the effect of their uſual mode of ſalutation, which is performed by preſſing the ends of their noſes together.

The ſame ſuperiority that is obſervable in the perſons of the Erees, through all the other iſlands, is found alſo here. Thoſe whom we ſaw were, without exception, perfectly well formed; whereas the lower ſort, beſides their general inferiority, are ſubject to all the variety of make and figure that is ſeen in the populace of other countries. Inſtances of deformity are more frequent here than in any of the other iſlands. Whilſt we were cruiſing off Owhyhee, two dwarfs came on board, one an old man, four feet two inches high, but exactly proportioned, and the other a woman, nearly of the ſame height. We afterwards ſaw three natives, who were hump-backed, and a young man, born without hands or feet. Squinting is alſo very common amongſt them; and a man who they ſaid had been born blind, was brought to us to be cured. Beſides theſe particular imperfections, they are in general very ſubject to boils and ulcers, which we attributed to the great quantity of ſalt they eat with their fleſh and fiſh. The Erees are very free from theſe complaints; but many of them ſuffer ſtill more dreadful effects from the immoderate uſe of the ava. Thoſe who were the moſt affected by it, had their bodies covered with a white ſcurf, their eyes red and inflamed, their limbs emaciated, the whole frame trembling and paralytic, accompanied with a diſability to raiſe the head. Though this drug does not appear univerſally to ſhorten life, as was evident from the caſes of Terreeoboo, Kaoo, and ſome other chiefs, who were very old men, yet it invariably brings on an early and decrepid old age. It is fortunate that the uſe of it is made one of the peculiar privileges of the chiefs. The young ſon of Terreeoboo, who was about twelve years old, uſed to boaſt of his being admitted to drink ava, and ſhewed us, with great triumph, a ſmall ſpot in his ſide that was growing ſcaly.

There is ſomething very ſingular in the hiſtory of this pernicious drug. When Captain Cook firſt viſited the Society Iſlands, it was very little known among them. On his ſecond voyage, he found the uſe of it very prevalent at Ulietea; but it had

ſtill gained very little ground at Otaheite. When we were laſt there, the dreadful havock it had made was beyond belief, inſomuch that the captain ſcarce knew many of his old acquaintances. At the Friendly Iſlands, it is alſo conſtantly drunk by the chiefs, but ſo much diluted with water, that it does not appear to produce any bad effects. At Atooi alſo it is uſed with great moderation, and the chiefs are in conſequence a much finer ſet of men there than in any of the neighbouring iſlands. Our good friends, Kaireekeea and old Kaoo, were perſuaded by us to refrain from it; and they recovered amazingly during the ſhort time we afterward remained in the iſland.

Notwithſtanding the irreparable loſs we ſuffered from the ſudden reſentment and violence of theſe people, yet, in juſtice to their general conduct, it muſt be acknowledged that they are of the moſt mild and affectionate diſpoſition; equally remote from the extreme levity and fickleneſs of the Otaheiteans, and the diſtant gravity and reſerve of the inhabitants of the Friendly Iſlands. They appear to live in the utmoſt harmony and friendſhip with one another. The women who had children, were remarkable for their tender and conſtant attention to them; and the men would often lend their aſſiſtance in thoſe domeſtic offices, with a willingneſs that does credit to their feelings.

It muſt however be obſerved, that they fall very ſhort of the other iſlanders, in that beſt teſt of civilization, the reſpect paid to the women. Here they are not only deprived of the privilege of eating with the men, but the beſt ſorts of food are tabooed, or forbidden them. They are not allowed to eat pork, turtle, ſeveral kinds of fiſh, and ſome ſpecies of the plantains; and we were told that a poor girl got a terrible beating for having eaten, on board our ſhip, one of theſe interdicted articles. In their domeſtic life, they appear to live almoſt by themſelves, and though we did not obſerve any inſtances of perſonal ill-treatment, yet it was evident they had little regard or attention paid them.

The great hoſpitality and kindneſs with which we were received by them, have been already frequently remarked. The old people never failed of receiving us with tears of joy; ſeemed highly gratified with being allowed to touch us, and were conſtantly making compariſons between themſelves and us, with the ſtrongeſt marks of humility. The young women were not leſs kind and engaging; and till they found, notwithſtanding our utmoſt endeavours to prevent it, that they had reaſon to repent of our acquaintance, attached themſelves to us without the leaſt reſerve.

In juſtice however to the ſex, it muſt be obſerved that theſe ladies were probably all of the lower claſs of the people; for I am ſtrongly inclined to believe, that excepting the few whoſe names are mentioned in the courſe of our narrative, we did not ſee any women of rank during our ſtay amongſt them.

Their natural capacity ſeems in no reſpect below the common ſtandard of mankind. The eager curioſity with which they attended the armourer's forge, and the many expedients they had invented, even before we left the iſlands, for working the iron they had procured from us, into ſuch forms as were beſt adapted to their purpoſes, were ſtrong proofs of docility and ingenuity.

We met with two inſtances of perſons diſordered in their minds; the one a man at Owhyhee, the other a woman at Oneeheow. It appeared, from the particular attention and reſpect paid to them, that the opinion of their being inſpired by the divinity, which obtains among moſt of the nations of the Eaſt, is alſo received here.

The inhabitants of theſe iſlands differ from thoſe of the Friendly Iſles, in ſuffering, almoſt univerſally, their beards to grow. There were indeed a few, amongſt whom

was the old King, that cut it off entirely, and others that wore it only upon the upper lip. The ſame variety, in the manner of wearing the hair, is alſo obſervable here, as among the other iſlanders of the South Sea; beſides which, they have a faſhion, as far as we know, peculiar to themſelves. They cut it cloſe on each ſide of the head down to the ears.

Both ſexes wear necklaces made of ſtrings of ſmall variegated ſhells; and an ornament, in the form of the handle of a cup, about two inches long, and half an inch broad, made of wood, ſtone, or ivory finely poliſhed, which is hung about the neck by fine threads of twiſted hair, doubled ſometimes an hundred fold. Inſtead of this ornament, ſome of them wear on their breaſt a ſmall human figure, made of bone, ſuſpended in the ſame manner.

The cuſtom of tattowing the body, they have in common with the reſt of the natives of the South Sea iſlands; but it is only at New Zealand, and the Sandwich iſlands, that they tattow the face. They have a ſingular cuſtom amongſt them, the meaning of which we could never learn — that of tattowing the tip of the tongues of the females.

The dreſs of the men generally conſiſts only of a piece of thick cloth called the maro, about ten or twelve inches broad, which they paſs between the legs, and tie round the waiſt. This is the common dreſs of all ranks of people. Their mats, ſome of which are beautifully manufactured, are of various ſizes, but moſtly about five feet long and four broad. Theſe they throw over their ſhoulders, and bring forward before; but they are ſeldom uſed, except in time of war, for which purpoſe they ſeem better adapted than for ordinary uſe, being of a thick and cumberſome texture, and capable of breaking the blow of a ſtone, or any blunt weapon. Their feet are generally bare, except when they have occaſion to travel over the burnt ſtones, when they ſecure them with a ſort of ſandal, made of cords, twiſted from the fibres of the cocoa-nut. Such is the ordinary dreſs of theſe iſlanders; but they have another, appropriated to their chiefs, and uſed on ceremonious occaſions, conſiſting of a feathered cloak and helmet, which, in point of beauty and magnificence, is perhaps nearly equal to that of any nation in the world. Theſe cloaks are made of different lengths in proportion to the rank of the wearer, ſome of them reaching no lower than the middle, others trailing on the ground. The inferior chiefs have alſo a ſhort cloak, reſembling the former, made of the long-tail feathers of the cock, the tropic and man-of-war birds, with a broad border of the ſmall red and yellow feathers, and a collar of the ſame.

Theſe feathered dreſſes ſeemed to be exceedingly ſcarce, being appropriated to perſons of the higheſt rank, and worn by the men only.

The exact reſemblance between this habit, and the cloak and helmet formerly worn by the Spaniards, was too ſtriking not to excite our curioſity to inquire, whether there were any probable grounds for ſuppoſing it to have been borrowed from them. After exerting every means in our power of obtaining information on this ſubject, we found that they had no immediate knowledge of any other nation whatever, nor any tradition remaining among them of theſe iſlands having been ever viſited before by ſuch ſhips as ours.

The common dreſs of the women bears a cloſe reſemblance to that of the men. They wrap round the waiſt a piece of cloth that reaches half way down the thighs, and ſometimes in the cool of the evening they appeared with looſe pieces of fine cloth thrown over their ſhoulders, like the women of Otaheite. The pau is another dreſs very frequently worn by the younger part of the ſex. It is made of the fineſt and fineſt ſort of cloth, wrapt ſeveral times round the waiſt, and deſcending to the leg, ſo as to have the appearance of a full ſhort petticoat.

Their

Their necklaces are made of ſhells, or of a hard, ſhining, red berry. Beſides which, they wear wreaths of dried flowers of the Indian mallow; and another beautiful ornament, called eraie, which is generally put about the neck, but is ſometimes tied like a garland round the hair, and ſometimes worn in both theſe ways at once. It is a ruff, of the thickneſs of a finger, made in a curious manner of exceedingly ſmall feathers, woven ſo cloſe together, as to form a ſurface as ſmooth as that of the richeſt velvet. The ground was generally of a red colour, with alternate circles of green, yellow, and black.

At Atooi ſome of the women wore little figures of the turtle, neatly formed of wood or ivory, tied on their fingers in the manner we wear rings. Why this animal is thus particularly diſtinguiſhed, I leave to the conjectures of the curious.

There remains to be mentioned another ornament (if ſuch it may be called). It is a kind of maſk, made of a large gourd, with holes cut in it for the eyes and noſe. The top was ſtuck full of ſmall green twigs, which, at a diſtance, had the appearance of an elegant waving plume; and from the lower part hung narrow ſtripes of cloth, reſembling a beard. We never ſaw theſe maſks worn but twice, and both times by a number of people together in a canoe, who came to the ſide of the ſhip, laughing and drolling, with an air of maſquerading.

The food of the lower claſs of people conſiſts principally of fiſh and vegetables; ſuch as yams, ſweet potatoes, tarrow, plantains, ſugar-canes, and bread-fruit. To theſe the people of a higher rank add the fleſh of hogs and dogs, dreſſed in the ſame manner as at the Society Iſlands. They alſo eat fowls of the ſame domeſtic kind with ours; but they are neither plentiful nor much eſteemed by them. Their fiſh they ſalt, and preſerve in gourd-ſhells; not as we at firſt imagined for the purpoſe of providing againſt any temporary ſcarcity, but from the preference they give to ſalted meats. For we alſo found that the erees uſed to pickle pieces of pork in the ſame manner, and eſteemed it a great delicacy.

They are exceedingly cleanly at their meals; and their mode of dreſſing both their animal and vegetable food, was univerſally allowed to be greatly ſuperior to ours. The chiefs conſtantly begin their meal with a doſe of the extract of pepper-root, brewed after the uſual manner. The women eat apart from the men, and are tabooed, or forbidden, as has been already mentioned, the uſe of pork, turtle, and particular kinds of plantains.

The way of ſpending their time appears to be very ſimple, and to admit of little variety. They riſe with the ſun, and, after enjoying the cool of the evening, retire to reſt a few hours after ſunſet. The making of canoes and mats forms the occupation of the Erees; the women are employed in manufacturing cloth, and the Towtows are principally engaged in the plantations and fiſhing.

Their muſic is of a rude kind, having neither flutes nor reeds, nor inſtruments of any other ſort that we ſaw, except drums of various ſizes. But their ſongs, which they ſung in parts, and accompany with a gentle motion of the arms, in the ſame manner as the Friendly iſlanders, had a very pleaſing effect.

It is very remarkable that the people of theſe iſlands are great gamblers. They have a game very much like our draughts; but, if one may judge from the number of ſquares, it is much more intricate. The board is about two feet long, and is divided into two hundred and thirty-eight ſquares; of which there are fourteen in a row, and they make uſe of black and white pebbles, which they move from ſquare to ſquare.

There is another game, which conſiſts in hiding a ſtone under a piece of cloth, which one of the parties ſpreads out and rumples in ſuch a manner that the place where the

ſtone

ſtone lies is difficult to be diſtinguiſhed. The antagoniſt with a ſtick, then ſtrikes the part of the cloth where he imagines the ſtone to be, and as the chances are upon the whole conſiderably againſt his hitting it, odds, of all degrees, varying with the opinion of the ſkill of the parties, are laid on the ſide of him who hides.

Beſides theſe games, they frequently amuſe themſelves with racing-matches between the boys and girls; and here again they wager with great ſpirit. I ſaw a man, in a moſt violent rage, tearing his hair and beating his breaſt, after loſing three hatchets at one of theſe races, which he had juſt before purchaſed from us with half his ſubſtance.

Swimming is not only a neceſſary art, in which both their men and women are more expert than any people we had hitherto ſeen, but a favourite diverſion amongſt them. One particular mode, in which they ſometimes amuſed themſelves with this exerciſe in Karakakooa Bay, appeared to us moſt perilous and extraordinary, and well deſerving a diſtinct relation.

The ſurf which breaks on the coaſt round the bay, extends to the diſtance of about one hundred and fifty yards from the ſhore, within which ſpace, the ſurges of the ſea, accumulating from the ſhallowneſs of the water, are daſhed againſt the beach with prodigious violence. Whenever from ſtormy weather, or any extraordinary ſwell at ſea, the impetuoſity of the ſurf is increaſed to its utmoſt height, they chuſe that time for this amuſement, which is performed in the following manner: Twenty or thirty of the natives, taking each a narrow board rounded at the ends, ſet out together from the ſhore. The firſt wave they meet they plunge under, and ſuffering it to roll over them, riſe again beyond it, and make the beſt of their way by ſwimming out into the ſea. The ſecond wave is encountered in the ſame manner with the firſt; the great difficulty conſiſting in ſeizing the proper moment of diving under it, which, if miſſed, the perſon is caught by the ſurf, and driven back again with great violence, and all his dexterity is then required to prevent himſelf from being daſhed againſt the rocks. As ſoon as they have gained, by theſe repeated efforts, the ſmooth water beyond the ſurf, they lay themſelves at length on their board and prepare for their return. As the ſurf conſiſts of a number of waves, of which every third is remarked to be always much larger than the others, and to flow higher on the ſhore, the reſt breaking in the intermediate ſpace, their firſt object is to place themſelves on the ſummit of the largeſt ſurge, by which they are driven along with amazing rapidity toward the ſhore. If by miſtake they ſhould place themſelves on one of the ſmaller waves, which breaks before they reach the land, or ſhould not be able to keep their plank in a proper direction to the top of the ſwell, they are left expoſed to the fury of the next, and to avoid it are obliged again to dive and regain the place from which they ſet out. Thoſe who ſucceed in their object of reaching the ſhore, have ſtill the greateſt danger to encounter. The coaſt being guarded by a chain of rocks, with here and there a ſmall opening between them, they are obliged to ſteer their board through one of theſe, or, in caſe of failure, to quit it before they reach the rocks, and plunging under the wave make the beſt of their way back again. This is reckoned very diſgraceful, and is alſo attended with the loſs of the board, which I have often ſeen with great terror daſhed to pieces, at the very moment the iſlander quitted it. The boldneſs and addreſs with which we ſaw them perform theſe difficult and dangerous manœuvres, was altogether aſtoniſhing, and is ſcarcely to be credited.

An accident of which I was a near ſpectator, ſhews at how early a period they are ſo far familiarized to the water, as both to loſe all fears of it, and to ſet its dangers at defiance. A canoe being overſet in which was a woman with her children, one of them, an infant, who, I am convinced, was not more than four years old, ſeemed highly delighted with

with what had happened, ſwimming about at its eaſe, and playing a hundred tricks, till the canoe was put to rights again.

Beſides the amuſements I have already mentioned, the young children have one which was much played at, and ſhewed no ſmall degree of dexterity. They take a ſhort ſtick with a peg ſharpened at both ends, running through one extremity of it, and extending about an inch on each ſide; and throwing up a ball made of green leaves moulded together, and ſecured with twine, they catch it on the point of the peg; and immediately, throwing it up again from the peg, they turn the ſtick round, and thus keep catching it on each peg alternately, without miſſing it, for a conſiderable time. They are not leſs expert at another game of the ſame nature, toſſing up in the air, and catching in their turns, a number of theſe balls; ſo that we frequently ſaw little children thus keep in motion five at a time. With this latter play the young people likewiſe divert themſelves at the Friendly iſlands.

Their cloth is made of the ſame materials, and in the ſame manner as at the Friendly and Society iſlands. That which is deſigned to be painted, is of a thick and ſtrong texture, ſeveral folds being beat and incorporated together; after which it is cut in breadths about two or three feet wide, and is painted with great taſte and regularity of deſign.

The buſineſs of painting belongs entirely to the women, and is called kipparee; and it is remarkable that they always give the ſame name to our writing. The young women would often take the pen out of our hands, and ſhew us that they knew the uſe of it as well as we did, at the ſame time telling us that our pens were not ſo good as theirs. They looked upon a ſheet of written paper, as a piece of cloth ſtriped after the faſhion of our country, and it was not without the utmoſt difficulty that we could make them underſtand that our figures had a meaning in them which theirs had not.

Their mats are made of the leaves of the pandanus; and, as well as their cloths, are beautifully worked in a variety of patterns, and ſtained of different colours. Some have a ground of pale green, ſpotted with ſquares, of romboids of red; others are of a ſtraw colour, ſpotted with green, and others are worked with beautiful ſtripes, either in ſtraight or waving lines of red and brown. In this article of manufacture, whether we regard the ſtrength, fineneſs, or beauty, they certainly excel the whole world.

Their fiſhing-hooks are made of mother-of-pearl, bone, or wood, pointed and barbed with ſmall bones, or tortoiſe-ſhell. They are of various ſizes and forms; but the moſt common are about three inches long. Conſidering the materials of which theſe hooks are made, their ſtrength and neatneſs are really aſtoniſhing; and in fact we found them, upon trial, much ſuperior to our own.

The line which they uſe for fiſhing, for making nets, and for other domeſtic purpoſes, is of different degrees of fineneſs, and is made of the bark of the touta, or cloth-tree, neatly and evenly twiſted in the ſame manner as our common twine. They have a finer ſort, made of the bark of a ſmall ſhrub called areemah; and the fineſt is made of human hair.

The gourds, which grow to ſo enormous a ſize, that ſome of them are capable of containing from ten to twelve gallons, are applied to all manner of domeſtic purpoſes; and in order to fit them the better to their reſpective uſes, they have the ingenuity to give them different forms, by tying bandages round them during their growth. Thus, ſome of them are of a long cylindrical form, as beſt adapted to contain their fiſhing tackle; others are of a diſh form, and theſe ſerve to hold their ſalt, and ſalted proviſions, their puddings, vegetables, &c. which two ſorts have neat cloſe covers, made likewiſe of the gourd; others again are exactly the ſhape of a bottle with a long neck, and in theſe they

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keep their water. They have likewiſe a method of ſcoring them with a heated inſtrument, ſo as to give them the appearance of being painted, in a variety of neat and elegant deſigns.

The people of theſe iſlands are manifeſtly divided into three claſſes. The firſt are the Erees, or chiefs, of each diſtrict; one of whom is ſuperior to the reſt, and is called at Owhyhee Eree-taboo, and Eree Moee. By the firſt of theſe words they expreſs his abſolute authority; and by the latter, all are obliged to proſtrate themſelves (or put themſelves to ſleep, as the word ſignifies) in his preſence. The ſecond claſs are thoſe who appear to enjoy a right of property, without authority. The third are the towtows, or ſervants, who have neither rank nor property.

The great power and high rank of Terreeoboo, the Eree-taboo of Owhyhee, was very evident from the manner in which he was received at Karakakooa, on his firſt arrival. All the natives were ſeen proſtrated at the entrance of their houſes; and the canoes for two days before were tabooed, or forbidden to go out, till he took off the reſtraint.

The chiefs exerciſe their power over one another in the moſt haughty and oppreſſive manner. Of this I ſhall give two inſtances. A chief of the lower order had behaved with great civility to one of our officers; and in return I carried him on board, and introduced him to Captain Cook, who invited him to dine with us. While we were at table, Pareea, who was chief of a ſuperior order, entered, whoſe face but too plainly manifeſted his indignation at ſeeing our gueſt in ſo honourable a ſituation. He immediately ſeized him by the hair of the head, and was proceeding to drag him out of the cabin, when the captain interfered; and after a deal of altercation, all the indulgence we could obtain, without coming to a quarrel with Pareea, was that our gueſt ſhould be ſuffered to remain, being ſeated upon the floor, whilſt Pareea filled his place at the table. At another time, when Terreeoboo firſt came on board the Reſolution, Maiha-Maiha, who attended him, finding Pareea on deck, turned him out of the ſhip in the moſt ignominious manner.

The religion of theſe people reſembles, in moſt of its principal features, that of the Society and Friendly Iſlands. Their morais, their whattas, their idols, their ſacrifices, and their ſacred ſongs, all of which they have in common with each other, are convincing proofs that their religious notions are derived from the ſame ſource.

It has been mentioned, that the title of Orono, with all its honours, was given to Captain Cook; and it is alſo certain that they regarded us, generally, as a race of people ſuperior to themſelves; and uſed often to ſay, that the great Eatooa dwelled in our country. The little image we have before mentioned, they ſaid, was Terreeoboo's god; and that he alſo reſided amongſt us. They called him Koonooraekaiee.

In a bay to the ſouthward of Karakakooa, a party of our gentlemen were conducted to a large houſe, in which they found the black figure of a man, reſting on his fingers and toes, with his head inclined backward; the limbs well formed and exactly proportioned, and the whole beautifully poliſhed. This figure the natives called Maee; and round it were placed thirteen others of rude and diſtorted ſhapes, which they ſaid were the Eatoos of ſeveral deceaſed chiefs, whoſe names they recounted. The place was full of whattas, on which lay the remains of their offerings. They likewiſe give a place in their houſes to many ludicrous and ſome obſcene idols, like the Priapus of the ancients.

Human ſacrifices are more frequent here, according to the account of the natives themſelves, than in any other iſlands we viſited. Theſe horrid rites are not only had recourſe to upon the commencement of war, and preceding great battles,

and other ſignal enterpriſes; but the death of any conſiderable chief calls for a ſacrifice of one or more towtows, according to his rank; and we were told that men were deſtined to ſuffer on the death of Terreeoboo.

To this claſs of their cuſtoms may alſo be referred that of knocking out their fore-teeth, as a propitiatory ſacrifice to the Eatooa, to avert any danger or miſchief to which they might be expoſed.

The word taboo implies, laying reſtraint upon perſons and things. Thus they ſay the natives were tabooed, or the bay was tabooed, and ſo of the reſt. This word is alſo uſed to expreſs any thing ſacred, or eminent, or devoted. Thus the King of Owhyhee was called Eree-taboo; a human victim, tangata-taboo; and in the ſame manner among the Friendly Iſlanders, Tonga, the iſland where the King reſides, is named Tonga-taboo. The women are ſaid to be tabooed, when they are forbidden to eat certain kinds of meat.

HISTORICAL RELATION

OF A

VOYAGE UNDERTAKEN FOR THE DISCOVERY OF SOUTHERN LANDS.

[*From the French of M. Peron, one of the Naturaliſts appointed by the French Government to accompany the Expedition.*]

THIS narrative, preſented by M. Peron to the Imperial Inſtitute on the 9th of June 1806, received highly flattering approbation, and from the report of the Inſtitute was ordered to be printed at the expence of government by His Majeſty the Emperor and King.

BOOK I.

FROM FRANCE TO THE ISLE OF FRANCE, INCLUSIVELY.

CHAP. I. — *The general Plan and Object of the Voyage, and the Individuals of which the Expedition was compoſed.*

[From 22d March to 19th October 1800.]

FROM the æra that diſcoveries in the ſciences have with juſtice been placed among the principal evidences of the glory and proſperity of nations, a liberal concurrence among them has become eſtabliſhed, and a new career has been opened to the rivalry of governments; a rivalry the more honourable from its real utility to all. In efforts of this nature, England in particular has of late ſhewn herſelf conſpicuous; and in the glorious ſtruggle, France alone has been able to contend with her ſucceſsfully for triumph and ſuperiority.

Nevertheleſs, it muſt be allowed, that the learned of England, ranging through the immenſe field preſented by a fifth portion of the world, were, in many reſpects, on the point of fixing the voice of Europe in favour of their country. The ſucceſſive labours of Banks, Solander, Sparman, of the two Forſters, Anderſon, Menzies, White, Smith, Collins, Paterſon, &c. began to render New Holland a ſubject of intereſt to, an object of the meditations of, all the friends of ſcience. So many remarkable things had already been brought from this ſouthern continent! So many were the valuable obſervations which had rapidly attracted notice!

In ſuch a ſtate of things, national honour and the progreſs of ſcience, with us, combined to claim an expedition of diſcovery to the ſouthern lands, and the Inſtitute of France conceived it a duty to propoſe the meaſure to the government.

At this epoch war ſeemed to have redoubled its rage; the political exiſtence of France was menaced; its territory invaded: but already Buonaparte was Firſt Conſul; he liſtened with intereſt to the propoſition of the Inſtitute, which had now for ſeveral years prided itſelf in reckoning him among its members; and at the very inſtant the army of reſerve was about to paſs the Alps, he iſſued his orders to haſten the execution of this grand enterpriſe.

In a ſhort time twenty-three individuals, appointed by himſelf at the recommendation of the Inſtitute, were deſtined to ſcientific enquiries: never before had there been ſuch an extenſive equipment of this component part of voyages of diſcovery; never had the means for a ſucceſsful iſſue been prepared before upon ſo grand a ſcale. Aſtronomers, geographers, mineralogiſts, botaniſts, zoologiſts, artiſts for deſigning; of each of theſe the aſſociates were two, three, or even five.

This part of the labours of the expedition was the more intereſting from the nature of the regions about to be viſited. In latitudes correſponding with thoſe of our climates on a vaſt continent, on the numerous iſlands attached to it, it could but happen that many uſeful vegetables, many curious animals would be found, which, tranſported to European ſhores, might readily be naturalized, and furniſh new reſources to our wants, additional aſſiſtance to the arts, and to our enjoyments aliment unknown before.

The advantageous reſults to be expected from the component parts of the expedition, and the object it had in view, appeared to be ſecured by the plan of operations; whatever could be gained from the experience of preceding navigators with reſpect to the regions we ſhould have to traverſe, and all that theory and reaſoning could deduce from or add to this experience, were collected for the baſe of this important work: irregular winds, monſoons, currents, each was computed with ſuch exact preciſion, that the reverſes we afterwards experienced were wholly to be attributed to the obſtinacy of our chief, and his ſwerving from our valuable inſtructions.

According to the plan digeſted, we were to touch at the Iſle of France, take up there a third veſſel of inferior ſize, bear away afterwards towards the ſouthern extremity of Van Diemen's Land, double the South Cape, examine at all points the channel D'Entrecaſteaux, aſcend as high as poſſible up all the rivers of this part of Van Diemen's Land, reconnoitre the whole eaſtern coaſt of that large iſland, penetrate into Baſs's Straits by Banks's Straits, and determine with the utmoſt nicety the points of entrance and departure of the former of theſe ſtraits, fix the preciſe poſition and extent of Hunter's Iſlands, ſteer afterwards to the ſouth-weſt coaſt of New Holland and coaſt along it to the point where D'Entrecaſteaux finiſhed, paſs at the back of the iſlands St. Peter and St. Francis, and viſit that portion of the continent covered by theſe iſlands where a ſtrait was ſuppoſed to exiſt communicating with the bottom of the great gulf of Carpentaria, and which conſequently would have divided New Holland into two great iſlands of nearly equal dimenſions. This firſt part of our work completed, we were afterwards to ſteer for Cape Leuwin, and the unknown coaſt north of this point; and to determine next the chief poſitions of Leuwin's Land, of Edel's and Endracht's Land, which were but vaguely laid down by the more ancient navigators, and the geography of which muſt neceſſarily participate of the imperfection of the methods and inſtruments in their time: we were further to aſcend the river of Swans as high as poſſible; make an exact draught of the iſland Rottneſt and the neighbouring coaſt; viſit the tremendous Abrolhos, ſo fatal to Pelſar; complete the draught of Shark's Bay; aſcertain different poſitions on De Witt's Land, and along the north-weſt coaſt, eſpecially the entrance of King William's River, Roſemary Iſlands, &c. terminating at length this long and firſt campaign at the north-weſt

cape of New Holland. From this laſt point making ſail for the Moluccas, we were to winter at Timor or Amboyna.

From one or the other of theſe iſlands, paſſing north of Ceram, we were ordered to make the ſouth-weſt coaſt of New Guinea, and reconnoitre it to the point where Cook ſtopped, behind which a ſtrait was ſuppoſed to exiſt, dividing New Guinea into ſeveral iſlands; deſcending again towards Endeavour's Straits, we were to make land at the eaſtern point of the great gulf of Carpentaria, enter the gulf, and determine the chief ſpots in it, aſcertain the poſition of ſeveral iſlands marked on old charts, and viſit the mouths of that heap of pretended rivers, noticed in the ancient plan of the gulf, into which no one, for ſo great a length of time, had penetrated; coaſting then the land of Arnheim, and Diemen's Northern Land, we were to conclude our ſecond voyage at the ſame north-weſt cape at which the firſt terminated; traverſing then the Indian ocean, and aſcertaining the yet very uncertain longitude of Trial iſlands, we had orders to proceed a ſecond time to the Iſle of France; thence, in our paſſage home to Europe, which was calculated to take place in the ſpring of 1803, our tedious labours were to terminate in a uſeful manner with the aſcertainment of a portion of the eaſtern coaſt of Africa, reſpecting the poſition of which, among geographers, ſome doubt yet remained.

Such was the general plan traced by the government for our chief; a plan the execution of which *ad literam* would have rendered this voyage one of the moſt rapid and fruitful that has ever been made. I ſhall detail in ſucceſſion, and in the order of the epochs at which they took place, the modifications it experienced; a judgment, however, may even now be formed, from the ſuccinct expoſure I have made, of the importance of this expedition to navigation and geography: more than five thouſand ſea-leagues of coaſt, either wholly unknown or very badly laid down, were to be explored minutely; never, if Vancouver be excepted, had any navigator a more difficult miſſion. In fact, it is not in voyages on the high ſeas, however long they be, that adverſe circumſtances or ſhipwreck are ſo much to be dreaded; thoſe, on the contrary, along unknown ſhores, and barbarous coaſts, at every inſtant preſent new difficulties to encounter, with perpetual danger. Theſe difficulties and theſe dangers, the woeful appendage of all expeditions begun for the purpoſe of geographic detail, were of more imminent character from the nature of the coaſts we had to explore: for, no country has hitherto been diſcovered more difficult to reconnoitre than New Holland, and all the voyages of any extent made for the purpoſe in this part have been marked either by reverſes, or infructuous attempts: for example, Pelſur on the weſtern coaſt was one of the firſt victims of theſe ſhores; Vlaming ſpeaks of wrecks by which Rottneſt iſland was covered when he landed there in 1697; and we ourſelves obſerved others of much more recent date; Captain Dampier, notwithſtanding his intrepidity and experience, could not preſerve his veſſel from grounding when off the north-weſt coaſt of this continent, a coaſt already famous for the ſhipwreck of Vianen; on the eaſt Bougainville, menaced with deſtruction, was conſtrained to precipitate flight; Cook eſcaped by a kind of miracle, the rock which pierced his ſhip remaining in the breach it made, and alone preventing it from ſinking; on the ſouth-weſt Vancouver and D'Entrecaſteaux were not more fortunate in their ſeveral plans of completing its geography, and the French admiral nearly loſt both his ſhips. Towards the ſouth, but a few years have elapſed ſince the diſcovery of Baſs's Straits, and already the major part of the iſlands of this Strait are ſtrewed with the wrecks of ſhips: very recently, and almoſt before our face I may ſay, the French ſhip Enterpriſe was daſhed to pieces againſt the dangerous iſlands which cloſe its eaſtern opening. The relation of our voyage, and the dangers we incurred, will ſtill farther demonſtrate the perils of this navigation; and the loſs of the

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two veſſels of Captain Flinders, ſent by the Engliſh government to compete with us, will but too clearly furniſh a new and lamentable evidence. Still, ſpite of ſo many unfavourable circumſtances, the geographical part of our labours are not the leſs intereſting; and it will no doubt be eaſy for me to prove, by the narrative of our operations of this deſcription, how much they do honour to the French navy.

Two veſſels were made ready for this expedition in the port of Havre: Le Geographe, a handſome corvette mounting 30 guns, drawing from fifteen to ſixteen feet water, and an excellent ſailer, but too ſharp-built perhaps to admit of its grounding once or often times without danger; Le Naturaliſte, a large, ſtrong, and broad built veſſel of nearly ſimilar draught of water to that of Le Geographe, a ſlower ſailer, but of very ſolid ſtructure, and on this ſcore far preferable to the corvette.

Nothing was neglected in the excellence and abundance of our ſtock of proviſions; the magazines at Havre were placed at the diſpoſal of our commander; conſiderable ſums were granted him for the purchaſe of choice wines, liquors, ſirups, ſweetmeats of various kinds, Italian cakes, ſoup-cakes, acid of lemon in cryſtals, robe of beer, &c. Filtering machines invented by Schmidt, ſtoves with ventilaters, hand-mills, and different apparatus for diſtilling, were put on board each veſſel; while inſtructions of great value were iſſued by Mr. Keraudrin, firſt phyſician of the navy, for the preſervation of health. Our numerous inſtruments of aſtronomy, phyſical inſtruments, and thoſe requiſite for the meteorological and geographical departments, were the work of the moſt eminent artiſts of the capital; the materia of the chymiſts, painters, and draughtſmen, were of the firſt quality; a numerous library, compoſed of the beſt works relating to the ſea, to aſtronomy, geography, phyſics, natural hiſtory, and voyages, was prepared for each veſſel; for the inſtructions relative to ſcientific reſearches it will be ſufficient to notice, in order to aſcertain how precious and complete they were, that they were the compilation of a commiſſion of the Inſtitute, formed of Meſſrs. Fleurieu, Lacépède, Laplace, Bougainville, Cuvier, Juſſieu, Lelièvre, Camus and Langlès; Mr. Degerands, a member of the ſame learned ſociety, digeſted for us an intereſting work on the method to be followed in our obſervations on uncivilized people; a national medal was ſtruck to commemorate this grand enterpriſe; the moſt flattering paſſports were furniſhed by all the governments of Europe; an unlimited credit was opened for us with the principal colonies of Africa and Aſia; in one word, the auguſt chief, under the auſpices of whom this important voyage was about to be undertaken, had given directions that nothing ſhould be omitted which might tend to the preſervation of man, facilitate our labours, and guarantee our independence. Laſtly, the moſt liberal promiſes, repeated on every page of the inſtructions of government, held out to zeal and aſſiduity, thoſe honourable rewards, thoſe flattering diſtinctions, which have always been the meed of ſimilar voyages, and which alone can indemnify the man of worth for the privations and calamities to which he expoſes himſelf.

Nations, the knowledge of which is intereſting, inhabit the diſtant ſhores we were about to viſit; it was the wiſh of the Firſt Conſul that we ſhould appear among them as friends, and benefactors. Under his directions we carried with us pairs of the moſt uſeful animals, plants in abundance of the moſt valuable trees, ſeeds congenial to the temperature of thoſe climates, inſtruments of various kinds moſt neceſſary to man, cloaths and ornaments of every deſcription; and the moſt extraordinary inventions of optics, phyſics, and chemiſtry, deſtined either for their ſervice or amuſement.

Theſe numerous articles put in order, and the equipment of the veſſels complete, the naturaliſts were ordered, in the beginning of September 1800, to repair to Havre. I

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was of the number of theſe, a fifth place as zoologiſt having been aſſigned to me at the recommendation of ſeveral diſtinguiſhed men of learning.

The officers of this expedition were ſelected with great care from the different ports; the midſhipmen, before they were received, underwent rigorous examinations, and were, all of them, worthy of the diſtinction, as flattering as it was coveted, which they received. It was not the officers alone, however, that were choice; the inferior ranks had been fought for with avidity, and many of them were filled by young people of the moſt reſpectable families in Normandy, impelled by the anxiety peculiar to youth of acquiring knowledge, and of making one in theſe diſtant voyages, which ever wear a character of greatneſs and ſingularity, and enforce that reſpect they conſtantly merit and obtain. Among theſe intereſting young men was my coadjutor and eſtimable friend M. Leſueur, that dear companion of my dangers, my ſacrifices, and my zeal.

Beſides the officers there was, on board the Naturaliſte, a perſonage ſufficiently well known, whoſe name was A-ſam, a Chineſe born at Can-toong. Taken priſoner, in a veſſel belonging to the Engliſh company, by a French cruizer, A-ſam had ſucceſſively paſſed from hoſpital to hoſpital until he reached that of Val-de-Grace. The preſence of a Chineſe in the capital produced too great an effect long to remain unknown to the Firſt Conſul. From the inſtant it was intimated to him A-ſam was rendered free and happy; every ſpecies of comfort was laviſhed on him during his reſidence at Paris; and to crown his liberality the Firſt Conſul directed that A-ſam ſhould be reſtored to his country, and family, and ſhould be treated as an officer on board our ſhip; the adminiſtrators of government in the Iſle of France were alſo ordered to continue towards him a ſimilar attention until a favourable opportunity ſhould preſent itſelf for his return to China. Happy the nations in which the unfortunate foreigner receives a like protection! Bleſt the chief thus generous and beneficent!

CHAP. II. — *Paſſage from Havre to the Canary Iſlands:—Stay at Teneriffe.*

[From 19th October to 13th November 1800.]

THE wind and tide favouring, on the 19th of October in the morning, orders were given for the two veſſels to weigh anchor; the American frigate, the Portſmouth, carrying back to the United States the ambaſſadors who had juſt concluded peace, ſailed at the ſame time. At nine we paſſed before the tower of Francis I. A numerous band of muſic on its ſummit gave us a farewel greeting: a multitude of people from every quarter covered the ſhore, each individual bidding us adieu in geſture as in words, and putting up prayers for our ſucceſs, each ſeeming to ſay, "May you, more fortunate than Ma-"rion, Surville, Saint-Allouarn, La Perouſe and D'Entrecaſteaux, return to your "country and your grateful fellow citizens!"

At ten, being without the jetties, we took our powder on board; and, hoiſting all ſail to reach the Engliſh frigate Proſelite which was cruizing before the port, we ſhewed our paſſport to the officer in command, and continued our courſe.

On the 25th, the diſperſion of the fog we had conſtantly experienced through the channel, and the aſcent of the thermometer, ſufficiently indicated our approach to warmer climes; the temperature had progreſſively encreaſed from 8 to 12°*: we were now in the Bay of Biſcay almoſt under the parallel of Bourdeaux.

On the 27th we reckoned ourſelves in the latitude of Cape Finiſterre, well known as the moſt weſtern point of Spain; and of continental Europe.

* M. Peron has omitted to ſtate, whether the thermometer uſed was that of Reaumur, or the centigrade, which is that of Celſius. After-obſervations render probable it was that of Reaumur. Tr.

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We were ſoon after abreaſt of that Luſitania, the happineſs and fecundity of which is conſecrated with ſo much eloquence, and ſo pleaſingly, by the elegant and ſenſible author of Telemachus. The ſky was more ſerene, the waves more calm, a milder and more genial air was breathed; every thing, in ſhort, ſeemed to have combined to recall the ſmiling pictures of Fenelon. The thermometer already ſtood at 15°: the barometer, from our departure from Havre, had progreſſively fallen two lines, and now ſtood at 28^{p} 5^{l}.

The 30th, we paſſed the latitude of the Strait of Gibraltar. The remainder of the day, and the next, we continued our courſe along the coaſt of Africa, diſtant about fifty leagues.

At length, on the 1ſt of November, at ſix in the evening, we had the long wiſhed for ſight of Peak Teïda, the Mount Nivaria of the ancients. In midſt of the iſlands Palma, Ferro, Gomera, weſtward, and, eaſtward, thoſe of Canary, Fuertaventura, and Lancerotta, riſes that point ſo famous, known as the Peak of Teneriffe. Its broad baſe was at this time enveloped in clouds, while its ſummit, illuminated by the laſt rays of the declining ſun, towered above them in majeſty. This mountain is not, aſſuredly, as many travellers, too much acted upon by enthuſiaſm, have ignorantly affirmed, the loftieſt of the globe; its height, in fact, above the level of the ſea, does not exceed 2000 toiſes*, and, conſequently, is inferior to that of Mont Blanc, of ſeveral mountains of Sweden, Norway†, and, in America, to ten or twelve points of the Andes; Antiſana, for example, and Chimboraço are loftier by a third; but it muſt be allowed, that the inſular poſition of this peak, the preſence of the famous iſlands which it announces at a diſtance, the remembrance it excites, the grand cataſtrophes it proclaims, and of which it is itſelf a wonderful example; all concur to give it an importance above any other mountain on the ſurface of the globe.

While the eyes of every one were fixed on this gigantic mountain, we continually were nearing it more and more: in a little time we diſtinguiſhed Lancerotta, Fuertaventura, and the Great Canary, which ſhewed itſelf in the horizon like an immenſe cone, much flattened at its ſummit. Sailing with a favourable wind we hoped to reach an anchorage before the fall of evening; but, failing in this, we made ſeveral tacks during the night, and at day break, the ſucceeding day, ſteered for land, which we ſhortly attained.

Let the reader figure to himſelf a ſteep ſhore, black, and deeply furrowed by torrents, without other trace of vegetation than ſome ſtunted branches of Cacalia, Cactus and Euphorbia; beyond this inhoſpitable coaſt, tiers of mountains riſing one above the other to a great height, alike deſtitute of verdure, briſtling with ſharp peaks, their ridges and their flanks rough with ſcattered rocks; and, beyond theſe mountains, the peak of Teïda, riſing like an enormous Coloſſus above them; and he will have a juſt idea of the aſpect of Teneriffe from the point of Anaga, where we made the land: thence, to Santa Cruz, where we anchored, the ſame wild appearance is repeated; every where are ſeen land, ſcoriæ, and ſteep and barren rocks: a few wretched dwellings, ſcattered at the foot of theſe volcanic waſtes, ſerve but to increaſe the mournfulneſs

* 12,789 English feet.

† This is a mis-ſtatement of M. Peron; the higheſt points of the mountains of Sweden and Norway are found in the long chain which divides the two countries; of theſe Moſſevala, near lake Fœmund, and Rœtturick, are among the higheſt, but have not a greater elevation than 6000 Engliſh feet, nor are there certainly any which exceed 8000. If Mont Blanc be excepted, 15,305 Engliſh feet above the level of the ſea, there is no mountain in Europe more lofty than the Peak of Teneriffe, provided its height be 2000 toiſes. Next to this rank Mulahacen, and the Pico de Veuleta, in the Sierra Nevada of the Alpuxarras of Grenada in Spain, the former 11,688, and the latter 11,388 feet high, elevations ſuperior to that of Ætna or the mountains of the Alps of Swizzreland. Tr.

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of the ſcenery in this part of the iſland. Far different this, without doubt, to thoſe pleaſing pictures of the Fortunate Iſlands, deſcribed in ſucceſſion with ſo much elegance by Horace*, Viana, Caïraſco, the immortal author of Jeruſalem Delivered, and the writer of the poem Dell' Oceano ; but theſe pleaſing deluſions, theſe ſmiling images, to keep their ground in ſpite of truth, had occaſion for the veil of myſtery, the intereſt they have excited for centuries, and to be at diſtance from where they were admired : in the preſent day, the Canaries, deſpoiled of thoſe brilliant titles affixed to them by ancient fame, no longer poſſeſs any other intereſt than what they derive from their wines, their advantageous poſition, and the phyſical and political revolutions of which they have been the theatre.

By keeping at a ſhort diſtance from the ſhore, coaſting along Anaga, we in a little time diſtinguiſhed the anchorage and town of Santa Cruz. At ten in the morning we anchored in twenty-two fathoms, with a bottom of volcanic ſand, black and mixed with mud.

The extenſive range I have to deſcribe will prevent my dwelling long on the Canary iſlands ; their poſition in midſt of the Atlantic ocean has ſubjected them to the remarks of a variety of modern travellers, equally valuable for their talents and veracity ; there exiſts moreover a Spaniſh work on this archipelago, in three volumes 8vo., by Joſeph de Viera y Clavijo, in which every ſubject relative to the ancient and modern hiſtory of theſe iſlands, their phyſical and political revolutions, their population, various productions, temperature, &c. appears to be exhauſted. The hiſtory of the conqueſt of the Canaries with juſtice fills a conſiderable portion of this work of Clavijo ; for what can be more intereſting or affecting than the unfortunate Guanches, armed with ſtakes and clubs, fighting for near a century with Frenchmen, Portugueſe, and Spaniards ; oppoſing intrepidity and firmneſs to numbers, to ſuperior arms, and to their ſquadrons of horſe ; and cauſing the poſſeſſion of their wretched iſlands to be purchaſed, by more frequent combats, and greater effuſion of blood, than did afterwards the poſſeſſion of the New World†.

On theſe accounts I ſhall reſtrict myſelf at preſent to a very ſmall number of points, which ſeem to have eſcaped the numerous writers who have hitherto written on this archipelago.

The moſt common maladies, thoſe which may be regarded as endemical, are obſtinate gaſtric affections, oftentimes complicated with loſs of ſtrength ; putrid and chronical diarrhœas ; low and debilitating fevers ; ſcorbutic cachexies ; cutaneous eruptions of different kinds, that is to ſay, the itch, with which numbers are dreadfully afflicted, and an affection, much more dangerous, but very analogous, as it is ſaid, to the elephantiaſis. The whole of theſe maladies, which moſt particularly the loweſt order of the people are ſubject to, ſeem to have but one origin, the faulty nutriment common through the country. The food of the people, in fact, is compoſed principally of goſio, a ſort of paſte which almoſt generally is the ſubſtitute for bread, and is reputed to have been adopted from the Guanches. The paſte is made with the flour of barley or wheat,

* Who never mentions them. Tr.

† Another error : M. Peron, like the generality of the French, does not confine himſelf to what he is acquainted with, and exceeding this, is frequently in the wrong : whoever has read the account of the Aracans, by Molina, will there ſee, that notwithſtanding numerous battles and immenſe ſlaughter, this nation of Chili, a prototype of the ancient Germans, was, on the firſt invaſion of the Spaniards, not only brave and firm, but, what is more, unconquered, as they ſtill remain to be at the preſent day. The Spaniards, in their different battles with this people, have loſt a greater number of men, not only than the whole amount of Europeans who periſhed in the ſubjugation of the Canaries, but than the whole population of theſe iſlands at that period amounted to. Tr.

parched on fire, pounded, and moiſtened with water, milk, and honey. The reſt of their food conſiſts, with little elſe, of ſalt fiſh, caught off the coaſt of Barbary, which, dried in the ſun, is afterwards ſtored in large magazines, and for want of due attention, from being laid in heaps, and from the heat of the climate, ſpeedily becomes ſubject to a decompoſition of leſs or greater rapidity. The infectious ſmell, exhaled by their large heaps of fiſh in a ſtate of fermentation, to ſtrangers is inſupportable; and the offenſive odour purſues them through every quarter of the town. The cheapneſs of this ſalt fiſh renders the conſumption of it through the whole of the Canary Iſlands prodigiouſly great; but the advantage of this plenteouſneſs is lamentably countervailed by the maladies I have deſcribed, all of which appear to reſult in great meaſure from the ſaline, acrimonious, and putrid quality of this food.

To the ſame cauſe, perhaps, is to be attributed the cachectic phyſiognomy, the oily, and, if the expreſſion may be uſed, livid complexion which moſt travellers have remarked in the people of Santa Cruz. The quality of the water uſed in common through theſe iſlands may nevertheleſs have influence in producing the affections to which I advert: for, owing to the ſcarcity of ſprings (the greater part dried up in the ſummer), the inhabitants are obliged to collect rain water in large ciſterns, which, by its ſtagnation during ſeveral months, cannot fail of undergoing a change, more or leſs deleterious to the animal œconomy.

As for venereal complaints, they are unuſually prevalent at Teneriffe; this is to be aſcribed collectively to the heat of the climate, the indolence of the inhabitants, their abominable neglect of cleanlineſs, the number of ſoldiers, and of ſailors, who flock hither from all quarters of the globe, the total abſence of all police, the little knowledge of the majority of the medical part of the community, and, above all, the ſhocking abundance of proſtitutes, who, in the ſtreets, on the quays, and even in the temples, unremittingly purſue the ſtranger, to barter for the vileſt return their perfidious pleaſures; lamentable ſources of long and bitter remorſe! Diſeaſes of this nature are, in fact, the more dangerous in this country, from their being frequently complicated with the moſt inveterate itch.

Owing to the ancients, who had no very exact idea reſpecting the Canaries, having made them the reſidence of the bleſt, enthuſiaſtic individuals have been tempted to renovate the fanciful deſcriptions of poetry and ancient mythology in ſpeaking of them. Hence, very recently, we have ſeen theſe iſlands celebrated for their fertility, in a manner repugnant at once to truth and reaſon.

In fact, one of the firſt elements of fertility is water: now, the ſcarcity of this is ſo general throughout the whole of the Canary Iſlands, that not any one of them poſſeſſes what may properly be termed a river; and the ſprings, during ſummer, are ſo conſtantly dry, that the inhabitants are every where obliged to depend on ciſterns for their drink. This ſcarcity of water, moreover, is a conſequence ſo immediately depending on the nature of the ſoil, and its general diſpoſition, as to defy a remedy, either on the part of individuals, or of the government. The ſmall extent of the iſlands, the long and narrow figure of the major part of them, the enormous height of the mountains by which they are covered on all points, the depth of the vallies, their rapid declination towards the ſea, and above all, their little length, all concur to oppoſe the formation of rivers, or even of rivulets, however ſmall. At the ſame time, the quality of the ſoil, almoſt conſtantly baſaltic, preventing the filtration of water through its ſurface, the rains which fall are ſpeedily evaporated by the heat of the atmoſphere.

Theſe phyſical obſtacles to the general fertility of the Canaries are ſo evident, and

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their action ſo powerful, that one might diſpenſe with more direct proofs to rebut exaggerations ariſing from a ſpirit of ſyſtem-making and enthuſiaſm; but theſe direct proofs exiſt to juſtify the reſults of reaſon and analogy. It appears, in fact, from a memoir in my poſſeſſion on the produce and commerce of the Canaries, and which was put into my hands by one of the moſt enlightened merchants of this archipelago:

1ſt, That Tenerife, the moſt conſiderable of theſe iſlands, Palma, and Ferro, do not produce near enough for the ſubſiſtence of their thin and wretched population:

2d, That Canaria and Gomera yield barely enough to anſwer their demand:

3d, That Lancerotta and Fuertaventura are the granaries of the Canaries; but that their *unrequiting and ſandy ſoil* (theſe are the preciſe expreſſions of the manuſcript) exacts abundant rains to make it productive; and, moreover, that as often as their crops fail, or are but ſlender, dearth and famine prevail throughout the archipelago:

4th, That, even when the harveſt is moſt abundant, the Canaries never produce a ſuperfluity of grain for exportation; but, on the contrary, are almoſt every year obliged to draw large cargoes from Spain, America, or even the north of Germany; payment of which is made by a conſiderable portion of the wines of the archipelago.

The Canaries, in their preſent ſtate, ſo far from yielding a profit to the metropolis, exact annually a large expenditure for the maintenance of their fortifications and garriſons; while, in the hands of England, theſe colonies would become highly intereſting: for, independent of the advantage of their poſition, Great Britain, by her poſſeſſion of them, would be in meaſure releaſed from the onerous tribute ſhe annually pays to Portugal, Spain, and France, for the wines and brandies ſhe extracts from them. This was, no doubt, the principal motive with the Engliſh government for its attempt on them during the laſt war. A numerous fleet, under the orders of Admiral Nelſon, ſuddenly made its appearance, in 1796, before Teneriffe, the chief of theſe iſlands; but the attack, on this occaſion, had a widely different reſult from that made in 1657 on the ſame ſpot, by Admiral Blake: Nelſon loſt an arm here; a part of his troops and veſſels was taken by the Spaniards, or ſunk by the artillery of the forts; in vain, under favour of night, did he ſucceed in effecting a landing, and even advance to the works; aſſailed on every ſide by the troops and militia of the Spaniards, he was obliged to capitulate, and ſign an engagement to quit the archipelago. The inhabitants of the Canary Iſlands ſtill ſhew with pride, ſuſpended from the roof of their principal church, the colours taken from the Engliſh; and alſo the boat of Nelſon's ſhip, on board of which he loſt his arm. The crews of ſeveral French ſhips diſtinguiſhed themſelves on this honourable occaſion; they haſtened to take up arms on the appearance of the Engliſh ſhips, and contributed not a little, by their example, to rally the courage of the militia and troops of the country. The remark will not here be miſplaced that, about the ſame time, the batteries and advanced poſts of Porto Rico were defended with ſo much intrepidity by the French, that the Engliſh, forced to reimbark with precipitation, abandoned part of their artillery.

Since the attack of Nelſon, the garriſons of the Canary Iſlands have been greatly augmented; when we were there, they contained 4,500 regular troops, of handſome appearance, and perfectly equipped; the chief of theſe troops were at Teneriffe, which, in addition, is capable of furniſhing 8000 militia. Separate from this increaſe of force, an attempt on Santa Cruz would at preſent be much more difficult than before, on account of a new fort which the late governor cauſed to be conſtructed on

a ſteep mountain, the batteries of which point down upon the road, and croſs the fire of the ſquare tower which defends the mole.

The nature of our miſſion, the excellent underſtanding that ſubſiſted between the two governments, the late ſucceſſes of France, the recent peace with America, all concurred towards our meeting with the moſt obliging reception from the Spaniards. Our brave allies took great pleaſure in interrogating us on the ſubject of the laſt campaign in Italy, on the paſſage of the Alps, the battle of Marengo, and that rapid ſucceſſion of prodigies of which we brought them the firſt intelligence. All emulous, the one of the other, were deſirous of teſtifying their reſpect for, and admiration of France. Yes! if the man of honour may ever be allowed to pride himſelf on the nation to which he belongs, then, doubtleſs, it muſt be when, under circumſtances like theſe, replete with charms, and in the midſt of foreigners, he ſees the moſt ſplendid ideas of power, of grandeur, and glory, attached to the name of his country.

Among the individuals whom I had occaſion myſelf to form an acquaintance with at Teneriffe, and whoſe handſome demeanour towards me is moſt deſerving of remembrance, I have to particularize M. Le Duc de Bethancourt, colonel of the regiment of Ultonia, a deſcendant of that famous Jean de Bethancourt, a Norman nobleman, who was at the ſame time the conqueror and legiſlator of the Canaries. One of the greateſt men of the fifteenth century, ſo fecund in prodigies, Jean de Bethancourt poſſeſſed all the heroiſm and chivalric enthuſiaſm of his age, without, at the ſame time, participating the ignorance peculiar to it, its fanaticiſm, or ferocity. His memory, eternally dear to the Canarians, will be, for his lateſt poſterity, an inalienable title to the moſt flattering diſtinction; but this deſcendant, of whom I ſpeak, had other, and more allowable titles to eſteem.

M. Le Marquis de Nava poſſeſſes a very handſome botanic garden at Orotava; this nobleman conſecrates a portion of his large revenue to naturalizing, in the iſlands of the archipelago, all thoſe vegetables tending to increaſe their commerce, enrich the ſoil, embelliſh the vallies, and clothe their bare and ſterile mountains: it is juſt he ſhould be upheld to the notice and eſteem of every man of worth, as one of the benefactors of his country.

At La Laguna, Mr. Savignon, phyſician of government, diſtinguiſhes himſelf in his profeſſion by an honourable character, and extenſive knowledge.

Mr. Cologant, of that reſpectable family in which politeneſs to French travellers ſeems to be hereditary, and the merited eulogy of which is repeated in all our national relations of modern times; Mr. Cologant, I ſay, took pleaſure in communicating to us information of the moſt intereſting kind, on the ſubject of the laſt eruption of the volcano of Cahorra; the coloured drawing of it, effected by himſelf with conſiderable nicety, was kindly lent to ſuch of us as felt diſpoſed to take a copy. Finding it, on my return to Europe, in the work of Mr. Bory, I regretted that he had not commemorated the name of its real author, as omiſſions of this kind, however unintentional, are oftentimes of ſufficient weight to leſſen, or even deſtroy the confidence liberally afforded by foreigners to European travellers, a confidence of which I myſelf have received ſo many generous teſtimonials at different epochs on our voyage.

During our ſtay at Teneriffe, the barometer conſtantly remained at $28^p\ 3^l$ to $28^p\ 4^l$; the thermometer on board, in the ſhade, and at noon, varied between 17 and 20°, giving for a mean 18, 5°; a reſult which agrees with the experiments of Lamanon and Labillardiere, made at the ſame place, and under ſimilar circumſtances.

Of all the hypotheſes reſpecting the Canaries, which owe their origin to the traditions

tions of the ancients, the moſt ſingular, certainly, and the moſt generally admitted is, that of the exiſtence of a great continent, of which they formed a part, and which, under the name of Atlantis, is reputed to have occupied the ocean which now divides Africa from America. This opinion has not wanted ſupporters in ſome travellers, ſeduced themſelves by the authority of Plato, or the ſophiſms of many modern writers. Volumes on this ſubject have been filled with compilations and citations, while the original documents ſtill continue unproduced. Authors, inſtead of comparing the preſent phyſical conſtitution of the countries reſpecting which they ſeek to eſtabliſh the ancient accounts, have bewildered themſelves in diſſertation and hypotheſis: Mr. Bailly is, however, one who departs from the beaten track, in his manner of diſcuſſing the important queſtion of the exiſtence of the Atlantic continent. The intereſting obſervations of this enlightened mineralogiſt are ſubjoined.

"Many celebrated writers," ſays he, "have devoted attention, on the teſtimony of Plato, to the former exiſtence of Atlantis; the majority of thoſe who admit its exiſtence, have conſidered the Canary Iſlands, deſignated by the ancients under the name of the Fortunate Iſlands, as remnants of this land, which, in the opinion of ſome, compriſed no leſs than the ſpace between Africa and America, and, perhaps, even formed a part of theſe two continents, connecting the one with the other. The chain of mountains which traverſes the northern part of Africa, denominated Mount Atlas, ſerved materially to ſupport their ſyſtem; for in the iſlands of which we treat, they ſaw the continuation of this chain, which, by a ſlight bend, connected the Azores; they alſo as readily ſuppoſed the Cape Verd Iſlands to be links of the mountains of the interior of Africa. The ſame authority indeed which thus aggregated the Canaries, the Azores, and Cape Verd Iſlands, might as reaſonably allow the junction, to the loſt continent, of the other Atlantic Iſlands, ſuch as Triſtan d'Acunha, Aſcenſion, St. Matthew, the Trinity, St. Helena, Noronha, &c.; for aſſuredly it would not have been too bold a flight to have embraced even thoſe within the limits of a *country of greater extent*, according to the high-prieſt of Saïs, *than Aſia and Lybia united* *.

"But the grounds for conjecturing a union ſo ſingular as this, and of ſuch diſtant parts, are hitherto no other than the vague traditions of the ancients; the inquiſitors into the fact have moreover confined themſelves to the mere inſpection of charts; they have neglected to compare the phyſical conſtitution of the ſuppoſed wreck of Atlantis, with the continents to which they deem it to have been united. This compariſon it is which I propoſe to examine.

"All travellers agree in their ſtatement, that the chains of mountains which traverſe Africa and America, are eſſentially primitive; that the lands between them are of later origin; and that the ſpots, known to belong to the domain of ſubterraneous fires, are, compared with the remainder of theſe continents, few in number and of ſmall extent.

"Different is the character of the iſlands ſprinkled in the Atlantic Ocean; they are univerſally volcanic, whether ſingle iſlands, ſuch as Aſcenſion, St. Helena, Trinity,

* This is another error ſo common with French writers. Mr. Bailly clearly, by the extent he fancies to have been aſcribed by the high-prieſt of Saïs to this diſputed country, *whoſe inhabitants ſubjugated Europe, Africa, Egypt, and Aſia*, reckons that, by Aſia, was meant the whole of that diviſion of the globe known to us at preſent under that denomination; whereas, with the Egyptians, Syrians, Greeks, and Romans, by the term Aſia that country alone was deſignated now ſubject to the Turks, and known by the name of Aſia Minor; neither by Lybia, as he appears by his compariſon to conceive, was the diviſion now called Africa intended, but only a very ſmall portion, comparatively ſpeaking, of that continent. Tr.

Madeira,

Madeira, &c. or in groups, the Azores for example, the Canaries, and Cape Verd Iſlands, Triſtan d'Acunha, and thoſe by which it is ſurrounded.

" Theſe iſlands appear to riſe from the boſom of a deep ſea; their flanks are ſteep, and almoſt perpendicular; the channels by which they are ſeparated are of fathomleſs depth; banks and ſhallows, ſo common in other archipelagos, have no exiſtence here. If, occaſionally, ſome inſulated rock appears, whether it belong to ſome neighbouring iſland, or be diſtinct, it furniſhes ground for ſimilar obſervations with the larger iſlands. In no one of them is true granite found, any real porphyry, or primitive ſchiſtus; as for the calcareous ſubſtances which ſome of them preſent, they are no other than depoſits of ſhells and madripores.

" From the ſimple perſpective I have afforded, it, I think, evidently reſults, that a difference ſo abſolute, and ſo general between the actual conſtitution of the Atlantic Iſlands, and that of the continent, rebuts the idea of a common origin, and even of any former junction. From theſe ſame facts it may likewiſe be inferred, that the hypotheſis, which is obſtinately perſiſted in, of computing the Atlantic Iſlands to be veſtiges of an ancient continent, is incapable of defence; for theſe iſlands being univerſally volcanic, to ſupport the hypotheſis, either we muſt ſuppoſe that Atlantis was a continent altogether of volcanic nature, or, that the volcanic parts alone of this continent ſurvived the cataſtrophe by which it was buried in the waves: now, both the one and the other ſuppoſition are deſtitute of likelihood."

CHAP. III.—*From the Canaries to the Iſle of France.*

[13th November 1800 to 15th March 1801.]

THE 13th November in the afternoon, having ſtowed away the proviſions we came to take in at the Canaries, we weighed anchor. At four we paſſed by the little town of Candilaria, famous on account of the miracles of the virgin of that name. The whole of this part of the iſland of Teneriffe is of an aſpect equally wild, and as completely barren as the coaſt of Anaya. In the evening we diſcovered the iſlands Gomera and Palma, which we left on the weſt, paſſing them during the night.

On the 15th we were under the tropic of Cancer; the 18th we reckoned ourſelves abreaſt of Cape Verd Iſlands: from this latter point to the latitude of Gambia, we had tolerably favourable winds; but here we were ſo completely becalmed as to be unable to paſs the equator before the 12th December, and, notwithſtanding the efforts of our commander, who endeavoured to gain 10° or 12°, were obliged to croſs it in 24° 6′ W; calms, currents, and baffling winds, oppoſing all his endeavours to cut the line more towards the eaſt. It is, doubtleſs, worthy of remark, that Admiral D'Entrecaſteaux, deſirous nine years before of following a ſimilar courſe to croſs the equator in 16 or 18°, experienced ſimilar obſtacles, and, like us, was carried away by currents and ſtorms as far as 26° towards the weſt.

On the 30th December, we croſſed the tropic of Capricorn for the firſt time. In the night of the 23-24th January 1801, we were under the meridian of Paris, in about 36° of latitude ſouth.

The 3d February, we doubled the Cape of Good Hope from eight to ten leagues diſtant. We diſtinguiſhed pretty clearly the Table Mountain, notwithſtanding the fog with which it was then ſurrounded.

The 3d and 4th March, we experienced a violent gale, which laſted about four-and-twenty hours, and ſo ſtrongly affected the atmoſphere, that the barometer ſunk 10, 8 lines. The Naturaliſte ſuffered ſome damage in her ſails. We were at this time

in the Moſambique channel, famous for the frequency and violence of the ſtorms to which it is ſubject. On the 10th, we again paſſed the tropic of Capricorn.

At length, in the afternoon of the 13th, we diſcerned the mountains of the Iſle of France, after a voyage of a hundred and forty-five days, reckoning from our departure, the moſt tedious length of time ever employed in the paſſage. The obſtinacy of our commander in perſiſting to keep too cloſe to the African coaſt, was the principal cauſe of its long duration; and, as this delay was attended with the moſt calamitous conſequences to the whole of our after operations, I conſider it proper to make ſome comments on this head.

Two courſes naturally preſent themſelves to the navigator from Europe about to double the Cape of Good Hope: the one by ſteering along the coaſt of Africa, cutting the equator as much as poſſible towards the eaſt; the other, when in the latitude of the Cape Verd Iſlands, by bearing weſtward towards the eaſtern coaſt of America, ſo as to divide the line in 25 or even 30° of longitude weſt of Paris. In this laſt courſe, when in 33° of ſouthern latitude, north-weſt, and afterwards weſtern winds are met with, by favour of which, a ſhip makes a rapid courſe eaſtward, to double the famous cape we ſpeak of.

There can be no doubt, if one merely computes the length of the two courſes, the former muſt be preferred; but the ſkilful ſailor takes into his calculation more than the relative poſitions of places; he knows that the wideſt diſtance is nothing to him, provided he be conſtantly favoured by currents and winds; and that, on the contrary, he may be detained for weeks or even months, on the ſhorteſt trip, when theſe ſame winds and currents oppoſe his courſe, or where, what he dreads ſtill more, his motionleſs ſhip is detained by obſtinate calms.

Now, in the coaſting voyage along the north-weſt ſhores of Africa, the whole of theſe inconveniencies are united: in fact, we are taught by experience, that the general direction of the winds prevalent in theſe parts is eaſt-ſouth-eaſt, or even ſouth-eaſt, and furthermore, that the currents in this portion of the Atlantic Ocean run to the north-weſt; it teaches us in ſhort that, of all the known ſeas, that which bathes the equatorial portion of the weſtern coaſt of Africa is the moſt ſubject to calms, and thoſe of long continuance. All the moſt enlightened navigators agree in the facts I give, and Captain Dampier, whoſe works, the fruit of long practice, are ſo valuable for their preciſion, has particularly noticed them in his *Treatiſe on Winds*.

By the other courſe, on the contrary, the currents, ſo oppoſite in that along the coaſt, favour the veſſel bearing to the weſt; and the calms, ſo formidable off that coaſt, are much leſs frequent, and, eſpecially, of far ſhorter duration in the middle of the Atlantic, whether their exiſtence be derived from the ſhelter of a large continent, or whether they proceed from any other phyſical cauſe. And laſtly, weſt winds which the navigator requires on attaining 33 or 35° ſouth, are ſo conſtant in the latter direction, that they may ſafely be computed on beforehand*.

It is not then without good reaſon, that the moſt intelligent navigators prefer the weſtern courſe, although apparently much longer; and this preference is certainly of long ſtanding, ſince as early as the firſt voyages of Schouten, we find it approved from experience. This celebrated traveller relates that, during his firſt voyage from Europe to India in 1658, the captain of the ſhip in which he ſailed, a well-informed man, had a diſpute with another, who commanded a different veſſel belonging to the Dutch

* We ſhall have occaſion in another part to advert to the conſtancy of weſt winds in this part of the ſouthern hemiſphere.

company,

company, and was his conſort to Batavia. The captain of his veſſel, grounding his reaſons on what I have related, wiſhed to run towards the weſt; the other, deceived by his eyes and inexperience, reſolved on coaſting the ſhores of Africa. Differing thus in opinion the two captains ſeparated, each taking his own courſe; but the knowledge of Schouten's captain availed him ſo much that he arrived two months before the inexperienced coaſter.

From complete acquaintance with all theſe circumſtances, is it, that Engliſh ſhips bound to India are accuſtomed to near the coaſt of Brazil, ſo as not to cut the line more towards the eaſt than 28, 30, or even 35° weſt; and the ſhips belonging to the company follow the ſame plan as thoſe fitted out by private perſons.

Moreover, it is not only on doubling the Cape of Good Hope, that the currents and calms off the coaſt of Africa are to be apprehended; the daily voyages to Malembo and Loango, and the coaſt of Angola, are frequently much prolonged by them; and experience here alſo teaches that, to eſcape them, ſhips muſt keep as far as poſſible from the gulf of Guinea, and conſequently bear away to the weſt to return again, and ſometimes to the ſouth, in order to arrive at their place of deſtination. The ſame precaution ſhould likewiſe be taken by thoſe who leave Loango for the Antilles. Dampier even affirms, that on ſuch a voyage it is neceſſary to bear to the weſt the ſpace of 30° or 35° before the line be croſſed, to aſcend towards the north, and afterwards to ſteer north-weſt. This courſe, ſays he, is that purſued by the moſt enlightened ſailors, and however long it may be in appearance, it is nevertheleſs the ſhorteſt in reality; for thoſe who cut the equator too much towards the eaſt to range along the coaſt of Africa, and bear away at once towards the north-weſt, are almoſt always ſubject to tireſome calms, and aſſailed by ſtorms, which are more frequent, and far more dangerous in the vicinage of the coaſt of Guinea, than in the middle of the Atlantic ocean.

Laſtly, Mr. De Grandprè, whoſe teſtimony is valuable, from his having long frequented theſe ſeas, Mr. De Grandprè exclaims, with juſt reaſon, againſt thoſe ignorant or timid captains, who, notwithſtanding the fatal experience of other navigators, continue to coaſt along the ſhores of Africa: he relates, among other examples, that of a veſſel, which, detained by calms, and thwarted by currents, was eleven months on its paſſage from France to the coaſt of Angola. In one word, if it were not foreign to the nature of my work to lengthen this diſcuſſion, it would be by no means difficult for me to preſent ſo great a number of facts and obſervations, favourable to a weſtern courſe, as to make its merit of preference demonſtratively evident; for my preſent object it ſuffices that I have put it in the power of the reader to appreciate duly the extent of the fault of our chief. It will ſhortly be ſeen, indeed, that as a neceſſary reſult of this loſs of time, as eaſy to have foreſeen as prevent, he found himſelf obliged, at the very outſide of his voyage, to invert the whole order of operations. Such are the * vexations and irreparable conſequences which, in the execution of great undertakings, may reſult from the moſt trivial faults!

The narrative of a voyage to India, it ſhould ſeem, after the numerous voyages of all nations to that part, during more than three centuries, muſt be unſuſceptible of exciting any intereſt unproductive of any new obſervation; nevertheleſs, that this is not the caſe will appear from a curſory glance over the multitude of relations furniſhed at different epochs. In theſe, nearly all the navigators will be found to have been occupied with the moſt common objects, mere echoes of what had a hundred times before been

* Dampier alſo recommends to paſs the line between 30° nd 35° weſt.

told

told by their predeceſſors, and neglecting all the real novelty to be found in this immenſe field, comprehending at once the whole length of the Atlantic Ocean, the Indian Sea, the two temperate zones, and the equatorial belt of the world. Yet, what a valuable ſucceſſion of obſervations might there not, in ſuch a voyage, be made on the atmoſphere, and its temperature in different latitudes of the one and other hemiſphere, on the variations of the barometer and hygrometer under ſimilar circumſtances! On the temperature of the ſea alſo, at its ſurface, compared with that of the atmoſphere at different parts of the day and the night! And the warmth of the ſea, at great depths, does it not preſent a career fecund in reſults of greateſt intereſt? Are we not moreover reduced to vain conjectures on the depth of the ſea, and the relative proportion of the ſaltneſs of its waters? Our opinions are they not ſtill irreſolute reſpecting the real cauſe of the phoſphoreſcence of the ſea, of this marvellous phenomenon, ſo common, yet ſo ill explained, and, it might be ſaid, ſo ill examined till the preſent day? And caſting the eye over the wide expanſe of the ocean, are there not a crowd of pelagic animals, of molluſcæ, and zoophytes eſpecially, which might be diſcovered, and only wait, to exhibit new prodigies, a ſearch into their organization, an hiſtorian of their mode of life?

Here, certainly, are ſubjects for obſervation, numerous enough and ſufficiently attractive, to be purſued during the long voyage in queſtion; ſubjects, on which attention would far better be fixed than on flying-fiſhes, dorados, ſharks, and their pilots *, &c. To voyages of ſuch deſcription, and to theſe alone, does it belong to furniſh the precious materials of a phyſical and meteorological chart of the ſea, a chart of which ſcience deplores the want, and the moſt ſimple elements of which it would ſeek in vain in heaps of narratives, mere repetitions the one of the other.

In directing my attention to the ſeveral ſubjects I have detailed, I was deſirous rather of pointing out this new career, than of boaſting on account of my having purſued it; but the reſults I have obtained from theſe firſt attempts appear to me of ſufficient utility to claim a ſummary expoſition in this work; the minutiæ of the obſervations of which theſe are the fruits I reſerve for other occaſions, and for other works.

SECTION I. — *Meteorological Obſervations.*

THESE obſervations were made with the thermometers of Dollond and Moſſy, the barometers of the latter artiſt, and the hygrometers, with double hairs, of Richer. That the obſervations might better be compared, I made a point of repeating them four times every day at the moſt oppoſite hours, that is to ſay, at ſix, night and morning, at noon and midnight. The obſervations were commenced with the voyage, were made in the open air in all weathers, and on the quarter deck. The firſt ſeries of my labours furniſhed me with the following general reſults.

Indications of the Thermometer.

1. The temperature, under ſimilar circumſtances of weather, riſes progreſſively with an advance towards the equator.

2. It progreſſively falls in ſailing from it.

3. The proportion of its riſe and fall is not the ſame in either hemiſphere; the mean of the heat in the ſouthern being leſs than in the correſponding northern latitudes.

* The remora is called the pilot-fiſh, from its conſtantly preceding the ſhark, and pointing out to it its prey. TR.

4. Under ſimilar circumſtances, the temperature of the atmoſphere between the tropics is leſs in the open ſea than in the interior of continents, or even in iſlands: the greateſt heat experienced under the line did not exceed 25°, and the mean heat was much inferior.

5. The variations of temperature are ſmaller, and leſs frequent, in proportion as the equator is nearer approached, and the contrary.

6. Not only are the variations of temperature leſs conſiderable from one day, or even one month, to another, between the tropics and in the open ſea; but, in ordinary weather, the difference between the temperature of the day, taken in the ſhade at noon, and that of the night, taken at midnight, is inconſiderable; for, of forty obſervations made between the 22d of November and 1ſt December 1800, and which furniſhed me with a total of 909,6° of heat, thoſe made at noon gave 233°, and thoſe at midnight 222,7°, which makes a difference for each day of ſcarcely one degree; a phenomenon the more remarkable, as from the experiments of Miller, Bèze, Piſon, Halley, Liſter, &c. it is known that the difference of the heat of the day and the night is greater in equatorial regions on ſhore, of which we ſhall have occaſion to notice many examples witneſſed by ourſelves.

Indications of the Hygrometer.

N. B. As this is the firſt time that this valuable inſtrument was employed at ſea, it was before-hand evident, that obſervations made with it would yield very important reſults. Whether theſe expectations were founded on reaſon will be ſeen.

7. Under ſimilar circumſtances, the hydrometer indicates an increaſe of humidity in proportion to the advance towards the equator.

8. The poſitive humidity of the atmoſphere appears to leſſen in proportion to the increaſed elevation of the pole.

9. The variations of the hygrometer are more rare and feeble the nearer it is to the equator, and the contrary.

10. The hygrometer, in the center of the equatorial regions, at moſt, conſtantly maintains the point of complete ſaturation.

Indications of the Barometer.

11. Circumſtances alike, the barometer ſinks in proportion to the advance towards the equator.

12. It riſes progreſſively in receding from it.

13. The variations of the barometer are more ſlight and leſs common, under ſimilar circumſtances, in proportion to its approximity to the equator, and the reverſe.

14. The uniform level of the theatre of our obſervations, the diſtance or abſence of any foreign cauſe to diſturb the atmoſphere at ſea, renders the progreſſion of the barometer much more regular, and its variations more ſubject to compariſon than could poſſibly be the caſe on large continents: on this account the inſtrument is of great utility to mariners, of which our own experiments leave not the ſlighteſt doubt.

Relation of the Barometer and Hygrometer.

15. The variations of the barometer have an indiſputable affinity to thoſe of the hygrometer.

16. The fall of the mercury correſponds, in the greateſt number of inſtances, with the increaſe of humidity; and the greater this becomes, the more is that perceptible.

17. The

17. The elevation of the barometer almoſt always correſponds with the decreaſe of humidity in the atmoſphere; circumſtances being the ſame, it is greater in proportion to the diminution of moiſture indicated by the hygrometer.

Winds.

18. The winds decreaſe in force and are more conſtant in proportion to the proximity of the equatorial regions, and the contrary.

Relation of the Winds to the Barometer.

19. The winds appear to have influence, really, and independently of other circumſtances, on the variations of the barometer; for I have frequently ſeen the mercury ſink ſuddenly three, four, five, ſix, and even eight lines during the prevalence of dry and cold winds, notwithſtanding the rapid decreaſe of moiſture in the atmoſphere; a circumſtance, which, according to the too general theory of Deluc, ſhould, on the contrary, have occaſioned the mercury to aſcend.

20. This action of the winds on the barometer, under ſimilar circumſtances, appeared to me to be generally in proportion to their frigidity and velocity combined.

Atmoſpherical Phenomena.

21. The miſty ſtate of the ſky obſerved towards noon in all the equatorial regions, and deſignated by navigators, a *grey ſky*, a *thick horizon*, a *gauzy ſky*, or a *miſty horizon*; the ſplendid pomp of ſun-riſe and ſun-ſet in the ſame climates, and the ſerenity of the heavens during the night, which preſents ſo remarkable a contraſt to the miſty ſtate of the atmoſphere during the day; the frequency, and the almoſt inſtantaneous formation of thoſe menacing clouds deſcribed by ſo many travellers, of thoſe ſtorms known by the name of bull's eyes; the aſtoniſhing permeability of moiſture, from which it is next to impoſſible to preſerve the moſt valuable objects; the profuſion of rain, and the large ſize of the drops that fall — all theſe phenomena of equatorial meteorology, unexplained before, appear to me to depend almoſt excluſively on the moiſt ſtate of the atmoſphere in theſe parts; and the theory of atmoſpheric refraction, in my opinion, is allied in an important manner to obſervations of this deſcription.

General Reſults.

22. If to theſe reſults of our enquiries thoſe obtained by Mr. Humboldt on the decreaſe of the intenſity of the magnetic power towards the equator be joined, it follows, that all theſe grand phenomena of phyſics experience moſt important modifications in proportion to the proximity of this line: on advancing towards it the force of gravitation and the intenſity of the magnetic force diminiſh, the barometer ſinks, the thermometer riſes, the hygrometer advances towards ſaturation, the winds are leſs ſtrong and more conſtant, and the progreſſion of all the inſtruments becomes more regular, while their variations diminiſh.

SECT. II. — *Temperature of the Sea.*

UNDER ſimilar circumſtances, and at the times of making my meteorological obſervations, I followed up a long ſeries of reſearches on the relation of the temperature of the ſea with that of the atmoſphere; the reſult I have detailed to the Inſtitute.

With an apparatus conſtructed after a plan of my own, I attempted at the ſame epoch, in concert with my colleague and my friend Depuch, ſome obſervations on the temperature of the ocean at great depths; and from them I was led to ſuſpect a progreſſive coolneſs of the water of the ſea proportionate to the diſtance from the ſurface. I ſhall, on a future occaſion, have to return to this curious part of our labours.

SECT. III. — *Saltneſs of the Water of the Sea.*

IN the number of the moſt important obſervations requiſite for the phyſical hiſtory of the ſea, thoſe certainly muſt be placed which have for their object to determine the poſitive and relative proportion of ſaltneſs in its water, under different latitudes, and at different depths. Hitherto, however, experiments of this deſcription are few, and even theſe firſt eſſays ſeem to me altogether wanting of exactneſs in their principles, and conſequently to be uſeleſs in their reſults. In fact, ſpecific gravity, taken as a baſe for works of this kind by Ingen-houſs, Labillardiere, and M. Humboldt, in my contemplation, is a means incapable of affording any preciſe concluſions, on account of the enormous quantity of corpuſcules, oftentimes viſible by the microſcope, which abound in ſalt water, and which, poſſibly foreign to the matter of the ſalt itſelf, cannot fail to affect the ſpecific gravity of the liquid in which they float, and are, one may ſay, diſſolved, on account of the gelatinous mucus which tranſudes from the whole of their exteriors, and gives to the pureſt ſea-water the viſcous character by which it is particularized.

The mode adopted by Sparman, of collecting ſea-water and preſerving it afterwards in bottles, is even more exceptionable; the putrefaction to which the water is ſubject never failing of changing all its conſtituent parts, and producing others, by the ſpontaneous decompoſition of the numberleſs animalculæ we have noticed.

To obviate theſe different inconveniencies, at every five degrees of latitude, I propoſed to collect a pretty large quantity of ſea-water, ſay 100lbs., to filter it through brown paper, and to determine afterwards its ſpecific gravity by means of the areometer of Nicholſon, a means of itſelf eſſentially defective, as will appear from what has before been ſaid, but which, being only acceſſory here, was of utility, as the water by filtration would previouſly be ſeparated from the major part of the heterogeneous ſubſtances. This firſt operation finiſhed, I intended to diſtill the filtered water in one of the alembics, furniſhed us by government, and continue the evaporation of it till I had concentrated as much as poſſible all the ſaline ſubſtances in ſolution. Uniting afterwards the reſiduum of theſe diſtillations in one or more bottles, ſecurely cloſed with emery, I propoſed, on my return, to confide this ſucceſſion of valuable ſpecimens to M. Fourcroy, who, no doubt, would not have failed to give exact analyſes of them. This plan, independent of the preciſe reſults of which it ſeems ſuſceptible, held out the double advantage of exacting only a ſeries of operations, very eaſy, even on board of ſhip, and of rendering needleſs all the minutiæ of a delicate analyſis, which could not be purſued with ſufficient nicety in the midſt of the embarraſſments incident on a ſea voyage.—Unfortunately in this, as in many other inſtances, I was obliged to give way to the ſpirit of contradiction in our chief; and I ſhould have abſtained from ſpeaking here of this my plan of experiments, had it not appeared to me neceſſary to call the attention of ſtudents of phyſics, and travellers, to this curious part of the hiſtory of the ſea, and to point out to the latter a proceſs, as eaſy of practice, as exact in its reſult.

SECT. IV. — *Phoſphoreſcence of the Sea.*

UNDER relations, certainly not leſs ſingular, the ocean again was the object of my reſearches. The phoſphoreſcence of its water, from the time of Ariſtotle and Pliny, has been an object of intereſt and meditation, as well for travellers as the lovers of phyſics. How numerous and varied indeed are the phenomena it preſents! * Here the

* However brilliant the rapid account I give of the principal phenomena of phoſphoreſcence may at firſt ſight appear, yet is there not a word, not an epithet indeed, but is borrowed from the obſervations of men the moſt

the ſurface of the ocean ſparkles, and ſhines throughout its whole extent like a ſilver ſtuff electrified in the dark; there the waves roll out in immenſe ſheets of ſulphur and bitumen in flames; in other parts again the ſea reſembles a vaſt ocean of milk, the limits of which are loſt in the horizon. Bernardin de St. Pierre has deſcribed, with enthuſiaſm, the brilliant ſtars which by myriads ſpring from the bottom of the ſea, and of which he obſerves with truth, our fireworks are but a feeble imitation. Others ſpeak of thoſe maſſes, in guiſe of fire, which roll over the waves like ſo many red-hot balls, and of this deſcription we ourſelves ſaw one apparently not leſs than 20 feet in diameter. Many ſailors have noticed incandeſcent parallelograms, cones of light revolving round their own axes, ſplendid garlands, and ſerpentining illuminations. In ſome parts of the ſea columns of fire, eliciting ſparks, are thrown up from the boſom of the deep: in others, clouds of light and phoſphorus are ſeen traverſing the waves in the midſt of darkneſs. Occaſionally the ocean appears decorated with an immenſe ſcarf of moveable and wavy light, the ends of which exceed the limits of ſight. All theſe phenomena, and many other which I abſtain from indicating here, however marvellous they may appear, are not the leſs inconteſtable; they have been deſcribed by travellers of undiſputed veracity, and I myſelf have obſerved the major part of them in different quarters of the ſea.

How numerous the theories which ſucceſſively have been publiſhed to explain theſe kinds of prodigies! Now the ſpirit of ſalt, bitumen, petroleum, and animal oil, have been held forth as the elements of theſe varied phenomena; the ſpawn of fiſh now, of molluſcæ and the remains of ſea animals; and now again, the gelatinous mucus which tranſudes from fiſh continually, from zoophytes, molluſcæ, &c.; ſome naturaliſts have aſcribed it to a ſpecies of movement of putrefaction in the ſuperficial beds of the ocean; many have called light to their aſſiſtance for expounding the myſtery; and while ſome imagine it acting in combination, others conſider it as excluſively reflected. Electricity could but act a principal part in this quality of the ſea with many, and numbers of celebrated characters have attributed the phoſphoreſcence to its agency. More recently ſtill, phoſphorus, and its divers combinations, have opened a new field for hypotheſis; ſome have ſuppoſed it in theſe phenomena to be in a pure ſtate, and others combined with hydrogen.—In ſhort, there are no kinds of explanation, likely, or abſurd, which have been omitted; and, nevertheleſs, the opinion of ſtrict naturaliſts continues yet uncertain as to the real cauſe of this grand phenomenon of nature.

In the phyſical and meteorological part of my works, I ſhall have occaſion to examine more particularly theſe different theories, and ſhall, I truſt, be able to ſhew how much, one of them excepted, they are inadequate to the ſolution of the different data of the problem; here I ſhall merely publiſh ſome of the reſults of my experiments and long reſearches into the ſubject.

1. Phoſphoreſcence eſſentially pertains to all ſeas; it is alike obſervable in the middle of the equatorial regions, in the ſeas of Norway, and Siberia, and in thoſe of the antarctic pole.

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moſt preciſe, and leaſt ſuſceptible of enthuſiaſm or exaggeration. It will be ſufficient I ſhould ſpecify the names of Cook, La Perouſe, Labillardiere, Vancouver, Banks, Sparmann, Solander, Lamanon, Daprès de la Manneviliette, Le Gentil, Adamſon, Fleurieu, Marchand, Stavorinus, Spallanzani, Bourzeis, Linnæus, Piſon, Hunter, Byron, Beal, Adler, Rathgeb, Martens, De Gennes, Hierne, Dagelet, Dicquemarre, Bacon, Leſcarlot, Læſlingius, Shaw, Sloane, Tachard, Dembey, Ozanam, Barter, Tarnſtröm, Marſigli, Kalm, Naſſau, Pontoppedan, Morogue, Phipps, Poutrincourt, Heittman, Kirchmayer, Anſon, Frezier, Le Maire, Vannei, Rhumpe, Rogers, Drake, &c.

2. Circum-

2. Circumſtances alike, phoſphoreſcence is generally more powerfully exhibited and more conſtant between the tropics, or near to them, than in latitudes more towards the poles.

3. The conſtantly warmer temperature of the equinoxial ſeas appears to be the mediate cauſe of this difference.

4. Under ſimilar circumſtances, phoſphoreſcence exiſts on a grander ſcale and more conſtantly along coaſts, in narrow ſeas and ſtraits, than in wide extending ſeas and at diſtance from land.

5. Commonly this phenomenon is apparent in proportion to the roughneſs of the ſea, and the darkneſs of the night.

6. It is however perceptible even in the calmeſt weather, and the brighteſt moonlight.

7. All the phenomena of the phoſphoreſcence of ſea water, however multiplied and ſingular, are aſcribable to one cauſe, the luminouſneſs attached to ſea animals, and moſt eſpecially to mollu[illegible]æ, and other ſoft zoophytes. My numerous experiments, and the beautiful ſeries of phoſphoreſcent animals executed by M. Leſueur, will I truſt empower me to remove all rational doubt of this important truth.

8. The active phoſphoreſcence inherent in animals, different in every reſpect from the weak light, which in certain inſtances emanates from putrid decompoſition, is ſo completely dependent on the organization and life of theſe animals, that it increaſes with their growth, diminiſhes with their decay, becomes extinct with their life, and after death is incapable of reproduction.

SECT. V. — *Obſervations pertaining to Natural Hiſtory.*

HOWEVER varied my obſervations on phyſics and meteorology, they did not abſorb all my time; ſo much may there be beſtowed to ſtudy on board of ſhip, where, far from the buſy hum of cities, man finds himſelf ſo completely removed from all family duties, or the courteſies of friendſhip, from all relations in ſhort of ſociety. The ſtudy of molluſcæ, or pelagic zoophytes, in particular, employed all my leiſure moments: it had been moſt eſpecially recommended to me by M. Cuvier, who may, if the expreſſion is allowed, be looked upon as the creator of this important claſs of the animal kingdom, and whoſe counſels and inſtructions ſerved to regulate my enquiries. My colleague Maugè, my friend Leſueur, worked with me in concert, and we had the grateful ſatisfaction to make, in this ſtudy, diſcoveries equally numerous and intereſting; but the detail of theſe being incongruous to our narrative, it will ſuffice I preſent, in a rapid ſketch, a picture of ſome of theſe animals, too long neglected by naturaliſts, and which, by the ſingularity of their form, their extraordinary organization, the beauty of their hues, and the variety of their habitudes, ſo richly merit the attention of the enlightened part of the community.

At the head of theſe animals preſents itſelf the Phyſale, a ſpecies of zoophytes which, by means of a membranous bladder, much reſembling that of certain fiſh, always floats on the ſurface of the ſea; a ſort of muſcular and membranous ridge, which riſes longitudinally in folds from the upper part of the inflated veſicle, furniſhes the animal with a real ſail, the dimenſions of which it can vary at pleaſure, to ſuit the force and direction of the wind; to this ſingularity, no doubt, are attributable the names by which it is diſtinguiſhed, of *frigate*, *gaelette*, *galley*, &c. names given it by ſailors of all nations: a treacherous animal, it extends over the ſurface of the water numerous feelers, ſeveral feet in length, of an ultramarine blue colour extremely lively and bright. Woe to the hand

hand that ventures to lay hold on them; the ſenſation of a burn is not more ſudden than that of the hidden poiſon of theſe inſtruments of prey. An inſupportable pain in the part touched by them, and a complete numbneſs in the correſponding limb, are the almoſt inſtantaneous effects of the ſlighteſt contact. Sometimes little white bliſters are raiſed on the ſkin, ſimilar to thoſe occaſioned by ſtinging nettles, cauſing a very poignant ſmart, which generally laſts from twenty-four to ſix-and-thirty hours. What is the nature of this ſubtle poiſon? No poſitive experiment has hitherto been made of it; all that I can ſay myſelf from trial is, that on immerging this animal in water ſtrongly impregnated with any acid whatever, and eſpecially ſulphuric or muriatic acid, the beautiful blue colour of its feelers immediately became red, as if the element of their colour was of a vegetable nature. I muſt add, this fiſh ſeems to poſſeſs a ſpecially ſtupifying power over the animals on which it feeds; for, otherwiſe, it would be impoſſible to conceive how an animal ſo weak as the phyſale can retain in its nets, and in a manner devour alive, fiſhes four or five inches in length, as we had frequent opportunities of obſerving. For this laſt purpoſe, the galley employs a prodigious number of ſuckers, which depend from the lower part of the airy veſicle, and which are ſurrounded by the poiſonous feelers I have deſcribed.

Next to the phyſales in intereſt are the Phyſſophores; ſoft, gelatinous animals of the moſt beautiful colours; their bodies are ſupported on the waves by means of a veſicle, of the ſhape of a very ſmall olive, and with a very thick coat, the interior of which is filled with air. Is the animal ſolicitous of plunging into the deep, a valve falls, the air by which the bladder is inflated eſcapes, the ſpecific gravity of the animal increaſes, and it ſinks. Does it wiſh to re-aſcend, a new bubble of air ſeems to be developed, or rather inſtantaneouſly created, the little reſervoir again extends its ſides, the valve cloſes, and the phyſſophore, now rendered buoyant, riſes to the ſurface of the ſea.

The Vetelles obtain the ſame end from different means; on the back of the animal, which preſents the figure of a ſmall wherry with its bottom upwards, a ſort of creſt or ridge, extremely thin, light, tranſparent, and cartilaginous, riſes in an oblique manner; this is a large ſail which ſerves the vetelle to direct its movements, and to vary and increaſe their velocity: always keeping cloſe to the wind, this elegant azure boat advances in order, tacks with rapidity, and changes its courſe according to its pleaſure or need, and rarely fails of attaining the prey it purſues: this overtaken, it enfolds it within its numerous feelers, diſpoſed round the boat, and devours it by means of the multiplex ſuckers which hang from its lower exterior. The elegance of the form of this animal, the tranſparency of its ſail, the beautiful mantle of blue with which it is clad, all concur to render it one of the moſt pleaſing ſpecies of the family to which it belongs; indeed, nothing can afford a more charming picture than theſe animals, when, in calm weather, they manœuvre by thouſands on the ſurface of the ſea, and reſemble ſo many gay flotillas, directed by the ſame principles employed in naval tactics by man.

In the Beroes nature ſeems to have exhauſted herſelf to produce the utmoſt grace and brilliancy in the elegance of its figure, the richneſs of its hues, and the variety of its movements. The ſubſtance of them, ſuperior in pellucidity to the cleareſt cryſtal, is generally of a beautiful roſe-colour, that of the opal, or azure; their form is more or leſs ſpheroidic: eight or ten longitudinal ribs are diſpoſed around it, each formed of a prodigious number of ſmall tranſverſal leaves, extremely thin, and of aſtoniſhing mobility: theſe conſtitute the eſſential organs of motion of the animal. By the help of theſe myriads of little paddles, worked at pleaſure, this animal directs its courſe at will towards its prey, to avoid an enemy, or in circular revolution about its own axis; by theſe,

theſe, in ſhort, it effects whatever manœuvre it needs. What is ſtill more admirable in the beroes, light being decompoſed by the effect of its movements, equally rapid as various, its longitudinal ribs become as many living priſms, and envelope the animal like eight or ten rainbows, ſo animated, and ſo undulating, that language or the pencil muſt in vain attempt to deſcribe their beauty.

What ſhall I ſay now of that other ſpecies of zoophytes, which, ſimilar to a beautiful wreath of cryſtal of an azure hue, ſwims on the ſurface of the waves, and lifts above them in ſucceſſion its diaphanous leaflets, in figure reſembling thoſe of ivy! Its beautiful roſy feelers extend to a diſtance in ſearch of its prey; it touches it, and inſtantly it is caught in the fatal net. The animal then contracts itſelf ſo as to form a kind of circle round the food it has ſeized. Myriads of ſuckers, comparable to long leaches, dart at the ſame inſtant from the leaflets I have noticed, and which, in a ſtate of reſt, ſerve to cover and protect them. Paſſed but a few ſeconds, and the moſt bulky prey is no longer to be ſeen. Shall I dwell on the admirable phoſphoreſcent property common to the majority of animals of this claſs, but which in this manifeſts itſelf in a more than uſually lively and ſplendid degree, and which in the midſt of darkneſs gives it the ſimilitude of a garland of fire and light?

What ſhall I ſay alſo of thoſe Tanthines, of a purple colour, which make their way over the ſurface of the waves ſuſpended by a white bunch of airy bladders? Of thoſe numerous legions of Salpa, of a roſy, azure, or an opal colour, which form floats of thirty or forty leagues in extent, and ſhine with ſplendour in the dark? Of thoſe Meduſæ, equally phoſphoreſcent, which preſent ſo many ſingular forms in their organization, ſo many delicate ſhades of colour? Of thoſe Pyroſomes ſhaped like an enormous finger of a glove, which exhibit no apparent loco-motive organ, no organ of digeſtion, or of reproduction even, but which cover the ſea with their innumerable hoſts. The ſubſtance of theſe animals is brilliant in ſuch a degree, during the prevalence of darkneſs, as to aſſimilate with molten iron! Shall I here deſcribe thoſe charming Glauci, of an ultramarine blue, with a ſilver band on the back, which reſemble ſo many pelagic lizards? Their gills (branchiæ) ramified like handſome ſhrubs, ſerve them at once to ſwim with and for lungs. Shall I recall to mind thoſe Pneumodermes which the celebrated M. Cuvier, to whom I ſent ſeveral ſpecimens, conceives ſhould conſtitute a new order* in the claſs to which they belong, and which have the organ of reſpiration on the poſterior part of the back? Shall I ſpeak of thoſe Hyales, whoſe cantonments are the vicinage of the Cape of Good Hope, and which, protected only by a ſhell, extremely thin, fragile, light, diaphanous, and horny, yet delight in the ſtormy waves of the Southern Ocean? One is tempted to take theſe beautiful molluſcæ, on ſeeing them diſplay their purple fins, for ſo many turtles in miniature; and, in fact, it is by that name they are deſignated by ſailors.

Shall I dwell on the diſcovery of the living Spirula, which at length reſolves the great problem of the mode of formation of thoſe ſingular ſhells with ſeveral cells, which, under the names of Nummulites, Belemnites, horns of Ammon, Hippurites, lenticular ſtones, Turrilites, &c. are of ſuch note in the hiſtory of the revolutions of our planet, of which ſo ſmall a number of ſpecies ſhould ſeem to have eſcaped the great cataſtrophes of nature, and the living animals pertaining to which were hitherto unknown to naturaliſts?

Shall I deſcribe thoſe azure Porpites, in the membranous ſhell of which the learned M. Cuvier fancies a recognition of the type of ſome ſpecies of nummulites with concen-

* Annales du Muſæum d'Hiſtoire Naturelle, No. 21, p. 2.

tric ſpirals, found in a ſtate of petrifaction on the ſummits of the loftieſt mountains of our continent?

But I muſt here pauſe; for the mere indication of the new and intereſting objects, that I and my friends collected in our long voyage from Europe to India, would occaſion me to exceed the natural limits of this chapter: it will be ſufficient to add that more than eighty ſpecies of new animals were on this occaſion the fruits of our diligence; that many of theſe animals form new genera, or even new orders; that among theſe genera there is a fiſh, remarkable not only for its colours, luſtrous with gold and purple, but ſtill more for the puſtulous conic veſicles with which its integuments are briſtled, and which oblige it to float conſtantly on the ſurface of the ſea.

CHAP. IV. — *Stay at the Iſle of France.*

[15th March to 25th April 1801.]

General Aſpect of the Iſland.] AFTER a long voyage, the ſight of any land is, doubtleſs, pleaſing to the navigator; but how much the more pleaſing, when it is that where he ſhall meet with men, with the manners and language of his native country! But, in addition, the picturesque appearance of the Iſle of France, the extraordinary form of its mountains, the verdure with which its ſurface then was clothed, the multiplicity of dwellings and plantations diſcovered in the diſtance, — all contributed to give a new charm to the delight we experienced on attaining this firſt term of our voyage.

Name, Poſition, Dimenſions.] The Iſle of France, firſt diſcovered by the Portugueſe, who called it Cerne, afterwards occupied by the Dutch under the name of the Iſland of Mauritius, and now by the French, who changed this laſt denominaton for that it bears at preſent; the Iſle of France, I ſay, is a ſmall iſland of the Indian Ocean, commonly included in the diviſion of Africa; ſituate within the tropics, at only three degrees from that of Capricorn; it is of an irregular oval form; at its greateſt length it meaſures ſcarcely eleven leagues; the breadth is barely eight; the circumference is eſtimated to be 45, and its ſurface, according to the Abbe de la Caille, is 432,680 toiſes *: it is 30 leagues north-eaſt of the Iſle of Reunion †, the ſoil of which, like its own, is entirely ‡ volcanic; but its mountains are much more elevated §, and it ſtill poſſeſſes a burning volcano.

* This is an error: for toiſes ſhould be read arpens communs. M. de la Caille ſurveyed the iſland geometrically in 1753; his reſults are given below reduced to Engliſh meaſure.

Length from north to ſouth	– –	67,970 yards or	38 miles 5 furlongs.
Breadth from eaſt to weſt	– –	47,157 —— —	26 —— 6 ——
Circumference – – – –	–	193,258 —— —	109 —— 6 ——
Area – – – – –	–	424,137 Britiſh ſtatute acres.	

If the ſand banks in the north-eaſt be included, the figure of the iſland is the fruſtrum of a cone, the nearly even baſe of which running from north-eaſt-by-north to ſouth-weſt-by-weſt, meaſures 40½ Engliſh miles; from this baſe to the oppoſite ſhore the breadth is 25 Engliſh miles. Tr. (From Memoires de l'Academie Françoiſe, anno 1754, p. 118.)

† The Iſle of France is 30 leagues diſtant north-eaſt-by-eaſt from the Iſle of Reunion, now again called the Iſle of Bourbon. This with the Iſle of France are now ſubject to the Britiſh crown. Tr.

‡ M. le Gentil, in the Mem. de l'Acad. Françoiſe contradicts this from minute examination of the iſland, and ſhews to demonſtration that its low parts are an aggregation of pulverized madriperes, coral, and vegetable earth. Tr.

§ The moſt lofty mountain of the Iſle of France, Morne Brabant, is but 424 toiſes in height, while the Salaſſes of the Iſland of Bourbon are reckoned of an elevation of from 14 to 1600 toiſes.

Winds, Hurricanes.] The predominant winds in the Iſle of France are thoſe from the eaſt-ſouth-eaſt, the ſouth-eaſt, and ſouth-ſouth-eaſt, the moſt ſalutary and grateful that can blow in theſe parts. Thoſe from the north and the weſt, and eſpecially from the north-weſt, bring rain with them, and almoſt conſtantly accompany the hurricanes that lay waſte the colony at intervals; but which hurricanes are ſaid to be far more rare than formerly ſince the land has been cleared extenſively of trees. Among the moſt famous hurricanes of modern years thoſe are cited of 1786 and 1789. The firſt took place on the 15th of December 1786: the ſea on this occaſion roſe three feet eight inches above the height of the higheſt tides; the barometer ſunk 12,3 lines, within the ſpace of four-and-twenty hours; there fell 73 lines of rain, independent of thunder and lightning, which were nearly inceſſant throughout the whole of this terrible ſtorm; a meteor was remarked, reſembling a globe of fire, following the direction of the wind, then from the north-weſt, and diſappeared behind the mountains of Moka. This meteor was conſiderably elevated in the atmoſphere, and ſeemed nearly half the ſize of the moon.

The ſecond hurricane, ſtill more diſaſtrous than this, took place on the ſame day and month, that is to ſay, the 15th December 1789: its duration was about twenty-three hours, during which the barometer ſunk 14,9 lines; the mercury was ſo much agitated in the tube that its oſcillations extended through the ſpace of two lines. Flaſhes of a pale light were evolved from its ſurface that filled the whole vacuum of the tube. The ſea preſented a horrid appearance, and the waves daſhed with ſuch impetuoſity that many veſſels were thrown upon the rocks, and ſome even foundered at their moorings in the port. The diſtricts of Moka, Flak, the Pamplemouſſes, and La Riviere du Rempart, were, in particular, terribly ravaged by the hurricane, during which there fell 104 lines of rain.

Notwithſtanding this momentary ruin, the conſequence of hurricanes, experience ſeems to prove them of real benefit to the country, by the ſoil acquiring new vigour from their periodical return, and by the atmoſphere being rendered more ſalubrious by them: thus Nature, even in her wanderings, diſplays her liberality, and renders evil itſelf an inſtrument of benefaction!

Earthquakes.] Earthquakes are extremely unfrequent in the Iſle of France; they ſtill are not wholly unknown. In the morning of the 4th Auguſt 1786, two pretty ſtrong ſhocks were experienced, which however were productive of no injury.

Thunder.] Thunder, without being frequent, is yet not uncommon; as in our climates, it is rarely heard except in the hotter months, that is to ſay, October, November, December, and January. The mean of nine years' obſervations gives fifteen days in each year for its occurrence.

Hail.] Hail is a phenomenon extraordinary in the iſland, but of which ſome examples are cited: on the 10th December 1799 ſome fell in the plains of Moka.

Rain.] Rains are generally very frequent, and exceedingly copious. At the north-weſt port the number of rainy days are annually from 105 to 140; they are ſtill more numerous in the plains of Moka; in the year 7 (1798) they amounted to 198; in the year 8 (1799) to 193; which, in either caſe gives more than half the days of the year as rainy days.

Rivers.] This frequency of rain, the height of the mountains, the foreſts which crown their ſummits, and the baſaltic nature of the ſoil, which prevents any deep penetration of the water, muſt be conſidered the principal cauſes of the multiplicity of rivers, which, independent of rivulets, ſources, and torrents without number, exceed

exceed forty, all of them inconſiderable indeed, but which, nevertheleſs, collectively diſcharge a very great portion of water. This plenteouſneſs of rivers and rivulets powerfully contributes to a fertility of ſoil, a ſtrength of vegetation, of which in our climates, leſs favoured by nature, we ſcarcely can form an idea.

However abundant the rains in the Iſle of France, ſtill is it an opinion generally received in the country that they have much decreaſed within the laſt five-and-twenty or thirty years; and every body attributes it to the extenſive clearing of the land by felling the woods, a proceſs which, of late years eſpecially, has been purſued with too much indiſcretion. This opinion is general with all the planters, as well thoſe of old ſtanding as new ſettlers. All of them affirm that the rivers bring with them viſibly a much ſmaller volume of water than formerly; that many ſprings are dried up, and that vegetation ceaſes to be equally active; this laſt effect they attribute, alſo, leſs to the exhauſtion of the ſoil, than the abſence of the accuſtomed moiſture. Aſſuredly it is far from impoſſible that the indiſcreet felling of the foreſts may have much tended to diminiſh the quantity of rain; but it is alſo very poſſible that the preſent quantity, continuing the ſame, may be more than ſufficient for the demands of vegetation; for the firſt conſequence of rendering bare the ſoil, is a more prompt and eſpecially a more conſiderable evaporation; but whatever may be the value of this laſt remark, it is not leſs inconteſtible that the felling of trees has in almoſt every quarter of the iſland been proſecuted with a blameable exceſs. Already, even, wood is ſcarce in the vicinage of the north-weſt port; and M. Cerè aſſures me that, in his youth, the whole plain of the Pamplemouſſes was covered with foreſts. They have been replaced by plantations and dwellings*.

Temperature.] The temperature of the Iſle of France is not by much ſo great as might be preſumed from its latitude. In fact, from a ſeries of daily obſervations, made with great nicety for three ſucceſſive years at the plantation of Miniſſy, belonging to one of the brothers Monneron, (a name not held in leſs eſteem in India than in Europe,) I find that the maximum of heat in the year 7 was ſcarcely 22°; in the year 8, 21,8°; and in the year 9, 22°: the minimum in each of theſe years was from 13° to 14°. Moſt commonly the heat is in ſummer from 18° to 20°; in winter, from 15° to 18°. Hence, in all this part of the iſland, it is the cuſtom to have fires in winter†; the nights in particular are very cool, and I myſelf have ſenſibly experienced the neceſſity of being well covered at that ſeaſon.

In the plain of the Pamplemouſſes, the temperature is not greater than in thoſe of Wilhems and Moka. M. Cerè, who diligently remarked the thermometer through a ſpace of thirty years, aſſured me that that inſtrument very rarely riſes higher than 25°; that ſuch a phenomenon ſcarcely happens once in five years; that ſtill more ſeldom it attains 26°‡; and that, in this laſt caſe, the circumſtance is almoſt conſtantly followed by violent tempeſts or hurricanes. Expoſed on many occaſions from noon till one o'clock to the action of the ſun, his thermometer never roſe higher than 40° §.

* The great Frederic ordered a foreſt to be cleared: "Sire," ſaid a courtier, "if Your Majeſty continues after this manner, you will render wood ſcarce."—"But the woods will be replaced by fields, which employ more hands," was the Monarch's reply, "and feed more mouths; and I would rather have men for ſubjects than trees." TR.

† 14° of Reaumur is equal to 57½° of Fahrenheit; 15° of R. to 59° of F.; 18° of R. to 64¾° of F.; 20° of R. to 68° of F.; and 22° of R. to 71⅗° of F. I preſume from the aſſimilation of theſe data to others given in the Mem. de l'Acad. Françoiſe, that the thermometer of Reaumur is that alluded to by M. Peron. TR.

‡ 78⅘° of Fahrenheit.

§ 104° of Fahrenheit.

This remarkable peculiarity of moderate temperature in the interior of the Isle of France is consequent, 1st, on the small extent of the island; 2d, on its insular position in midst of the sea; 3d, on the nature of the predominant winds; 4th, on the existence of mountains of tolerable elevation, which cover a portion of its surface; 5th, on the forests, which are yet extensive in the interior of the island; 6th, on the frequency and abundance of rain; and 7th, on the multiplicity of rivers and springs, which maintain a perpetual coolness in the inferior strata of the atmosphere.

At the north-west port the temperature is much higher than in the rest of the island: from a long series of observations made by M. Liflet, a former correspondent of the Academy of Sciences, the maximum of heat experienced at the town of the port is annually 28° *, 29° †, and even 29,5° ‡. The thermometer, nevertheless was never remarked by M. Liflet to rise to 30° §. The months of December, January, and February are the hottest. It is not only on account of its higher temperature that the atmosphere of the north-west port is incommodious and fatiguing; its perfect stagnation, so frequent at this place, renders it still more so. This, as well as the superior heat experienced there, is owing to its position in a deep bottom, surrounded on all sides by the mountains La Decouverte, Le Pover, Pieter-bôt, and Long Mountain; a position which deprives it of the immediate action of those cooling and salutary breezes from the south-east and south-south-east, of which I have before spoken.

Barometer.] Except on occasions of hurricanes, the barometer maintains itself in the north-west port between 27 inches 9 lines and 28 inches 3 or 4 lines; but in the more elevated plains of Moka this instrument very rarely exceeds, and is almost constantly lower than 27 inches.

Salubrity.] These remarks on the physical state of the Isle of France are not only important in a meteorological view, but as they refer to the health of the inhabitants. For it cannot be difficult to apprehend from the observations I have adduced, that the more active, cool, and lighter air of Moka, the plain of Wilhems, &c. agrees much better with weak constitutions and convalescents than the stifled atmosphere of the north-west port; or that, on the same account, the lively air of the plain of Wilhems is prejudicial to persons of weak and delicate lungs: now experience, in both these cases, confirms the deductions of reason and analogy. Notwithstanding this inconvenience, complaint would be unjust, as it is to these same qualities of the air that the Isle of France is indebted for its justly merited reputation of salubrity, and the absence of those dreadful fevers common to Batavia, the Philippines, Moluccas, Madagascar, and the major part of the equatorial countries.

Endemial Maladies.] We must not, however, with some enthusiasts, imagine the Isle of France exempt from every endemial malady; unfortunately it is subject to many, the more formidable from the difficulty of their being avoided. Indeed, not to mention complaints in the chest, which are very common, and of the leprosy, which, anciently unknown in this island, at this time reckons a number of victims, even among the white population: every kind of affection of the urinary passage is known here in an extraordinary number of instances, disorders that seem especially to depend on the quality of the waters, which, from the chemical analyses of M. Delisle, appear to hold in solution a great proportion of calcareous carbonate.

Geological picture of the Soil.] I have now given from my individual observations, and from the general results I deduced from those made by Messrs. Ceré, Monneron,

* 82⅔° of Fahr. † 84⅕° Fahr. ‡ 85 1/10° Fahr. § 86° Fahr.

and

and above all M. Liſlet-Geoffroy, a haſty ſketch of the meteorology of the Iſle of France. The mineralogical and geological details which follow are not in my eſteem leſs intereſting nor leſs novel: they are the offspring of our mineralogiſt M. Bailly.

"The Iſle of France is entirely volcanic; but many centuries have now elapſed ſince the extinction of its fires, and ſome great revolution appears to have changed the primitive ſtate of this ancient crater. In fact, all the mountains of this iſland are ſpread around it like a girdle of immenſe ramparts; all of them ſlope in a greater or leſs degree towards the ſea, while, towards the center of the iſland, their ſides are abrupt and oftentimes perpendicular. All theſe mountains are formed of parallel layers inclined from the center of the iſland towards the ſea: theſe beds have, the one with the other, an exact correſpondence; and where they are interrupted by intervening vallies or deep fiſſures, they are ſeen reproduced at relative heights on the oppoſite ſides of each of the mountains which form the vallies or fiſſures. From theſe obſervations, it inconteſtibly reſults that all of them have the ſame origin, all the ſame date of formation; and that, formerly united, they could only be ſeparated afterwards by ſome violent and ſudden revolution.

"What can this laſt revolution have been? All facts unite to prove that the whole iſland once formed one enormous burning mountain *; that exhauſted, if I may ſay, by its eruptions, it bent under its weight, engulphed in its abyſſes the major part of its maſs, and left ſtanding of its immenſe vault nothing but its foundations; the wreck of which, opening at different points, forms the preſent mountains of the iſland †. Some elevations (pitons) of conic form, in the center of the country, the Piton du Centre, for example, appear of an origin poſterior to the falling in of the crater, and ſeem to have been the laſt vent by which the ſubterranean fires exhaled their vapours.

Mineral Productions.] "Such is, generally, the phyſical organization of the Iſle of France. I ſhall abſtain from entering more largely into the ſubject, as it would be incompatible with this relation; there remains I ſhould ſpeak of the rocks that compoſe the ſoil: they chiefly belong to that claſs deſignated by Dolomieu, under the name of argilo-ferruginous lavas; are porous in a leſs or greater degree; moſtly porphyritic, with cryſtals of peridot ‡ of divers ſhades, occaſionally priſmatic; of

* M. Gentil, Royal Academician, who minutely examined the geology and mineralogy of the Iſle of France, and whoſe memoir is publiſhed in the Memoires de l'Academie Françoiſe, 1764, denies this poſition altogether, and adduces arguments of far greater validity than the theoretic aſſumptions of M. Bailly, aſſumptions altogether unſupported by analogy. Neither calcined or melted ſtones, lavas, pumice, or ſcoriæ, found wherever volcanoes have exiſted, are, according to M. Gentil, ſeen any where on the Iſle of France; while ſchiſtus, freeſtone, granite, and flints, in their natural ſtate, and without having been fuſed, are found in various parts of the iſland, which could not be, had, as M. Bailly aſſumes, *this iſland formed one immenſe burning volcano.* Tr.

† Should not then theſe mountains participate in the nature of volcanic matter? The reverſe is the fact: for although on the ſhore near the Iſland of Amber ſome volcanic indications appear, they are undoubtedly the reſult of a volcano which once exiſted on the ſpot now the Iſle Platte; ſince Bory de St. Vincent relates that M. Liſlet before noticed by M. Peron, informed him that, having viſited this iſland, he had noticed the exiſtence of a crater; and ſince the Iſlet Columbia is repreſented by the ſame Bory de St. Vincent, (a companion in the voyage,) to be no other than an enormous column of baſaltic lava. This would not, however, have required annotation here, had not M. Gentil, (whoſe obſervations are aſſuredly more valuable than thoſe of the diſciples of the new ſchool, ſince theirs, in this inſtance, are derived not from facts, but from theory alone,) noticed the exiſtence of volcanic indications on the coaſt near the Iſland of Amber, and computed theſe to have proceeded from the Iſland of Bourbon. The other iſlets in this quarter are black or brown, according to Bory, but the Iſle Platte of a dazzling whiteneſs. Tr.

‡ A precious ſtone of the emerald kind, whoſe green colour inclines to yellow; when brilliant-cut, it poſſeſſes oftentimes, like the tourmaline, the property, on refrigeration, after having firſt been heated, of being electric. Tr.

pyroxene

pyroxene, and of feld-ſpar, almoſt always in a ſtate of alteration from their priſtine condition.

" Theſe rocks are eaſily decompoſed, and their ruins, carried away by the rains, form in the low parts of the iſland thick beds of a reddiſh ſort of clay, uſed in potteries for making alcarrazas or permeable vaſes for the frigeration of water, pots for claying ſugar, &c.

" In the pores and cavities of ſome lavas, carbonated lime is found in a cryſtallized ſtate, of various forms; primitive chabaſia zeolite; phoſphate of lime, of iron, &c. Oxided-hematites of iron, in grains the ſize of a nut, are found in ſome low and marſhy places: this ſubſtance was formerly worked, but the ſcarcity of wood, and the high price of labour, ſoon put a ſtop to the foundries and forges.

" To conclude this geological ſketch of the Iſle of France, I muſt add that it is ſurrounded on all points by a girdle of madrepores, which renders approach to it exceedingly dangerous: theſe madrepores ſpread themſelves every day; many iſlets are formed by them; others alſo are continually forming of the ſame elements, with a growth ſo rapid as almoſt to be viſible; and the principal iſland, by their means, is conſtantly receiving a new acceſſion of territory. Of the extreme quickneſs of accumulation of theſe zoophytes, we ourſelves ſaw a moſt extraordinary ſpecimen. A veſſel, on board of which the admiral's flag was hoiſted, ſome little time after our departure ſunk in the port; on our return, that is to ſay, two years and a half afterwards, the madrepores had ſo completely ſurrounded the ſhip, as to identify it with the rock on which it fixed*.

Vegetable Earth.] " The ſoil of the Iſle of France, as we have ſeen, is eſſentially volcanic; but widely different in this reſpect from that of Teneriffe: it is covered almoſt uniformly by a bed of vegetable earth of tolerable thickneſs, which equally admits water to filter through it, and promotes vegetation. To judge from my individual obſervations, it appears evident that the principal element of this valuable ſoil is the lava itſelf, changed and decompoſed by the united action of a long ſeries of ages, heat, moiſture, vegetation, &c. I noticed in thoſe maſſes of compact lava, which form the mountains of the iſland, a gradation of change, which, from the moſt ſolid baſalt,

* Iſlands at great diſtance from continents, the origin of which is demonſtratively volcanic, riſe chiefly, perhaps excluſively, from a conſiderable depth of ſea, as is ſhewn in all the inſtances noticed by M. Bailly himſelf of the volcanic iſlands of the Atlantic, (ſee chap. 2d of this work), and is the caſe with the the Iſland of Bourbon: the ſides of ſuch iſlands, moreover, towards the ſea, are rugged and ſteep; now in neither of theſe points does the Iſle of France aſſimilate to them. The depth of water round its ſhores is not conſiderable; for at the diſtance of ſeveral miles from them are different iſlets formed by banks of madrepores, the diminutive artizans of which do not carry on their labours from any great profundity to the ſurface; moreover, the reefs which ſurround this iſland, many of them above the ſea, are of coral or madrepores; and that off Coral Point, weſt of the bay of the cape, according to Bernardin de St. Pierre, riſes fifteen feet above the ſurface, and evidently points out a retroceſſion of the ſea in this part. Again, the ſhores in only a few parts are lofty, and where they are the rocks are almoſt conſtantly compoſed of madrepores, fragments of which, triturated and pulverized by the action of the ſea, not only form the beach, but alſo all the low bordering lands of the iſland. Hence, as no craters, nor the leaſt ſimilitude of them, appear on the iſland, as lava, volcanic glaſs, melted ſtones, puzzolana, and ſcoriæ, are not any where found; for what Mr. Bailly denominates, after M. Dolomieu, argillo-ferruginous lava, may certainly be doubted to be truly lava; as, on the contrary, primitive earths are found on the iſland, ſchiſtus, beds of ſhells, undecompoſed by fire; ſtones of many kinds, capable of fuſion, but in an original ſtate; beds of flints between rocks; an infinity of large pebbles, on the very ſummits of La Decouverte, and the other mountains and vallies between them, of different nature to the components of the rocks, and unchanged by fire; hence, I ſay, the hypotheſis of M. Bailly, preſuming this iſland to have been the crater of one immenſe volcano, muſt fall to the ground, and be reckoned equally gigantic and vain. Tr.

ſeems

ſeems to deſcend, by a multitude of intermediary degrees, to the vegetable earth itſelf. On expoſing this earth to the action of a violent fire, it ſhortly aſſumes a very deep red-ochre colour; a conſequence, no doubt, of the increaſed oxidation of the iron, in almoſt a metallic ſtate, contained in the unchanged baſalt.

Fertility of the Soil.] " Whatever the origin of this vegetable earth, it is of excellent quality; and, wherever of ſufficient depth, the progreſs and ſtrength of vegetation is extraordinarily great, and the number of plants cultivated with ſucceſs on the iſland is in conſequence truly prodigious: what is moſt remarkable, in midſt of ſuch a profuſion, almoſt all theſe vegetables are exotic, yet naturalized have all equally ſucceeded. In order to form a juſt idea of this fertility in the country we are deſcribing, a viſit to the garden of the Government, in the plain of the Pamplemouſſes, is indiſpenſable. Here it is that the reſpectable M. Cerè, in the ſpace of thirty years, has ſucceeded in naturalizing an incredible number of trees and ſhrubs, brought, ſome from the burning plains of Africa, others from the humid ſhores of Madagaſcar, others from China and Pega, and others again from the banks of the Indus and the Ganges; many are indigenous of the ſummits of the Ghauts, others of the exuberant vallies of Caſhemire; moſt of the iſlands of the great archipelago of Aſia, Java, Sumatra, Ceylon, Bornea, the Moluccas, the Philippines, even Otaheite, have been put under contribution, to encreaſe the vegetable wealth and ornament of this garden; the Canaries, the Azores, have offered their tribute; the orchards and ſhrubberies of Europe, and the foreſts of America, in the ſame view, have been robbed of their charms: here many of the productions of Arabia, of Perſia, Brazil, the coaſt of Guinea, and Caffraria, ſpring into life and breathe a foreign air; and we ourſelves enlarged its ſtore by numerous ſpecimens of the ſingular vegetables from the foreſts of Auſtral climes. Here, wandering through long and ſilent alleys, are ſeen collected all theſe precious gueſts, aſtoniſhed to find themſelves the inmates of our home: how ſweet the ſenſation I experienced, on contemplating the teak-tree, coloſſal lord of the equinoxial woods, whoſe timber forms the almoſt imperiſhable ſhips of India! the bread-fruit tree, whoſe ſavoury food ſupports the nations of the great equatorial ocean; the raſia of Madagaſcar, that valuable palm, which yields the delicate and corroborative ſago; the nutmeg-tree, which, raviſhed by the reſpectable M. Pouvre from its natal ſoil, will ſhortly releaſe us from the tribute we yet pay to the Dutch; the clove-tree, whoſe numberleſs fruit of a beautiful roſy hue, produce ſuch a fine effect, and which already yields more than a ſufficient ſupply of cloves for the conſumption of our iſlands; the badamier, with large leaves of a mild green, which refreſhens the ſight, and which bears a ſmall elongated almond of more delicate flavor than our fineſt walnuts; the ebony-tree, to which we are indebted for a wood of ſo much value in the arts, ſo precious on account of the beautiful poliſh it takes, and its ſhining black colour; the Pamplemouſſe-tree, the fruit of which is a kind of orange of the ſize of a ſmall melon, and its rind made into excellent ſweetmeats; the tamarind-tree, the pads of which yield that ſweetly tart pulp ſo uſeful and ſo grateful as a medicine; the dwarf orange-tree of China, only a foot in height, bearing fruit the ſize of the coffee-berry, and which, like that, is diſtinguiſhed by its grateful lemon odour; the Hymenea, a charming tree, whoſe leaves oppoſed in pairs, ſymbol of a happy union, ſeem conſtantly inclined to join each other; the areca-tree, whoſe elegant ſtem riſes aloft, and produces thoſe elements of areca nuts ſo much in requeſt for the maſticators of betel, of which they form the eſſential baſe; the carambolier, the fruit of which has four ſalient ſides, and contains abundant juice of a ſlightly acidulous taſte; the jaquier, a counterpart of the bread-fruit-tree, which throws out, the

whole length of its ſtem, fruit of an enormous ſize, and of the ſhape of a long pumpkin, the precious aliment of ſlaves * ; the litchi, the tuberculous and coriaceous bark of which encloſes a pulp of extreme fragrance; the mangooſtan, a native of China as well as the preceding, and which in that country the people ſtill perſiſt in aſſerting to be the fineſt of all the known fruits; the coffee-tree, ſo well known at this time in Europe, the little berries of which, containing each two grains, are enveloped with a beautiful ſcarlet coat; the manguier, reſembling our pear-tree, and which, modified by culture, like that preſents numerous varieties; the banana-tree, the mere name of which awakens ſo many pleaſing ideas, ſo many grateful remembrances; the cocoa-tree, ſo much celebrated in all relations of voyages, and of ſuch fine effect in equatorial ſcenery; the palmiſta, or cabbage-tree, which only once bears the precious cabbage at its ſummit, and maturing this, dies, a cabbage which may be prepared in ſo many different ways; the velongos of Madagaſcar, whoſe fruit, ſymmetrically diſpoſed in an immenſe bunch, ſo perfectly repreſents a cluſter of cray-fiſh; the jambos, the fruit of which, ſimilar to ſmall black damaſcenes, like them have an odorous and ſugary pulp; the jam-malac, or royal jam, which forms ſuch beautiful fences; the thorny bamboo, ſo well adapted for impenetrable hedges; the raventſara, the leaf and fruit of which are ſo ſuſceptible of furniſhing a cheap and grateful ſpice †; the avocacier, the fruit of which, cloſe and yellowiſh, bears ſome reſemblance to our melting pears, but, more inſipid, requires to be ſeaſoned ‡; the guava-tree, which in the midſt of foreſts furniſhes a ſalutary refreſhment §; the cinnamon-tree of Cochin China, the bark of which is not inferior to the cinnamon of Ceylon; the baobab, monkey's bread, or adanionia, the largeſt and wideſt ſpread tree that is known; the vacois, whoſe ſhoots, of an immodeſt ſhape, deſcend from its ſtem to form new roots, and whoſe leaves are employed for ſo many uſeful purpoſes; the frangipanier ‖, whoſe beautiful alabaſter-like corollæ exhale ſuch an exquiſite perfume; the cotton-tree, that yields us its down, after the maturity of its grains which it ſerved to ſwathe; the iron-wood-tree, a valuable tree of rapid growth, which thrives in the moſt arid ſpots, and might poſſibly be naturalized in our ſouthern provinces; the attier, the turberculous fruit of which, encloſed in a hard, thick, and coriaceous ſhell, is a ſavoury and delicate pulp, compared by ſo many travellers to ſugared cream; the China-roſe, which, growing naturally in the midſt of foreſts, conſtantly unites its blooming flowers to thoſe of the odorous jeſſamine, and the beautiful pervenche of Madagaſcar; the papa, whoſe milky and cauſtic juice is employed as an excellent vermifuge, and whoſe fruit is the choiceſt at the table of the epicure; the ravinal or traveller's tree, ſo named from its property of furniſhing abundance of excellent water when pierced at the baſe of its leaves; the jamroſa, which bears fruit of the moſt beautiful roſe-colour, and from which, after fermentation, a ſpirit of ſuch delicious fragrance is diſtilled; the caſſia-tree, which furniſhes pharmacy with one of its moſt ſimple and mild purgatives; the date-tree, the carroulier, the myrabolan, the ben, varniſh, and incenſe trees, the milk-wood-tree, the tree of Venus, the latanier, the rouſſaille, the tallow-

* Its coat reſembles ſhagreen, and is of a greeniſh hue; it is full of grains, the coats of which alone are eaten: theſe conſiſt of a white gelatinous and ſweet ſkin. Tr.

† This is a ſpecies of nutmeg-tree: the eſſence prepared from the leaf unites the fragrance of the clove, cinnamon, and nutmeg; and the oil extracted from it is, in the Indies, preferred for culinary preparations even to cloves themſelves; the fruit, of a globular form, flattened at the extremities, yields a more delicate perfume, but is not ſo ſtrongly fragant as the leaf. Tr.

‡ It is eaten with ſugar and lemon-juice, and though pleaſant, is of a heating quality. Tr.

§ The tree reſembles a medlar; the flower is white; the fruit, which ſmells like bugs, is frequently made into jelly. It is aſtringent, and is the only fruit in the iſland which breeds maggots. Tr.

‖ Jeſſamine-tree.

tree,

tree, tea-tree, Aden coffee-tree, the wax-tree of Cochin-China, ſoap-tree, cubeb, lilipè, the longana of China, the wattier, vancaſſay, cacao-tree, the roocoo, cherembellier, bibaſſier, velvet-tree, &c. &c.: but ſuch is the profuſion of uſeful vegetables which the induſtry of man and his fortunate activity have ſucceeded in collecting on ſo narrow a theatre, that even to enumerate them all would cauſe me greatly to exceed the natural limits of this chapter; and, when one reflects that this aſtoniſhing multiplication of intereſting vegetables is the reſult of a few years dedicated to experiments and their production, the honourable fruit of the zeal of a ſmall number of individuals, one feels ſtrong ſentiments of gratitude toward the authors of ſuch numerous benefactions, at the head of whom are to be claſſed La Bourdonnais, the immortal Poivre, Hubert de Cerè, Commerſon, Du Petit Thouars, and Martin. The importation of the cherry into Italy illuſtrified the name of Lucullus among the Romans, and renders it dear to us ſtill. How many modern naturaliſts have done a hundred times more for the happineſs of the human ſpecies, yet have lived unfortunate, and unknown even to their fellow countrymen.

In order to complete the general ſketch I have given, I ſhould now ſpeak of the animals of the Iſle of France and of its inhabitants; but other climes and different races call for our enquiries; let us then haſten the termination of what further relates to our ſtay on this iſland. Proportionately great with the gratitude due from the individuals of our miſſion to the inhabitants for their kind reception, were with our chief the grounds for repenting his having touched at this colony; but, without entering into the unpleaſant detail of this portion of our hiſtory, I ſhall content myſelf with obſerving, that the third veſſel we were to have taken up here was refuſed us; that we were unable to obtain any of the moſt indiſpenſable proviſions; that we loſt here forty of our beſt ſailors who deſerted, and that a great number of officers, naturaliſts, and artiſts belonging to the two veſſels, weary of the bad treatment they had experienced from our commander, or reaſonably alarmed for the future, remained in the colony.

It is generally allowed that the wood of hot countries is more heavy and ſtronger than that of the trees of more temperate regions; the experiments of Mr. Liſlet powerfully ſupport this opinion: from them it reſults, in fact, that the oak of Europe, compared in theſe two reſpects with twenty-two different kinds of wood of the equatorial regions, ranks but the ſeventeenth in point of ſpecific gravity, and only the nineteenth in ſpecific ſtrength. (See the annexed table.)

COMPARATIVE TABLE

Of the relative Weight and Strength of ſeveral kinds of Wood of the Iſle of France made by Mr. LISLET GEOFFROY, *Captaine du Genie Militaire, and formerly Correſpondent of the Academy of Sciences.*

Vulgar Names.	Botanical Names.	Weight of the Cubic Foot.	Specific Strength.
		lbs. oz.	
Iron Wood	*Stadtmania*	87 12	3872
Stinking Wood	*Fœtidia*	75 2	3141
Small leaved Natte	*Imbricaria*	74 1	3100
White Olive	*Olea*	63 2	2917
Red Tacamahaca Teak	*Tectona grandis*	53 2	2720
Large leaved Natte	*Imbricarii*	72 1	2660
Red Iron Wood		84 10	2367
White Cinnamon	*Laurus*	56 8	2317
Black Cinnamon	*Elæocarpus*	41 14	2290
Red Olive	*Rubentia*	56 6	2037
Red Colophonia	*Colophonia, Burſeria*	59 2	2087
White Apple	*Eugenia*	61 4	2015
Benzoin	*Terminalia Benzoin*	57 4	2005
Monkey Apple Natte	*Syderoxyton*	57 3	1900
Marbled Cinnamon	*Elæocarpus*	58 14	1880
White Iron Wood	*Syderoxyton*	58 4	1783
Red Apple	*Eugenia*	60 0	1750
Louſteau	*Antirrhœa*	56 8	1750
OAK	*QUERCUS robor*	56 1	1702
Red Tacamahaca Fir	*Colophyllum Caloba*	52 5	1618
Bigaignon	*Eugenia*	64 3	1500
Baſſin	*Blackwellia*	47 11	1500
White Colophonia	*Merignia*	49 3,	1350

Experiments to determine the relative ſtrength of the different woods may be made in various ways: that employed by Mr. Liſlet was the following: he prepared priſms of equal dimenſions every way, as nearly as poſſible, of the different woods; laid them on two ſupporters firmly fixed in the ground; and ſuſpended from the middle of the priſms the weight requiſite to break them. The weight required determined the relative ſtrength of the different woods to be as in the table above.

BOOK II.

FROM THE ISLE OF FRANCE TO TIMOR INCLUSIVELY.

CHAP. V. — *Voyage from the Iſle of France to New Holland: Leuwin's Land.*

[From 25th April to the 19th June 1801.]

THE 25th April 1801, we ſailed from the Iſle of France, directing our courſe to New Holland: we had ſcarcely got under weigh before it was announced to us from our commander that, from that day, we ſhould only have an allowance of half a pound of newly-baked bread every ten days; that the allowance of wine per diem would be changed for three-ſixteenths of a bottle of the bad rum of the Iſle of France, bought for a trifle in that colony; and that biſcuit and ſalt meat from that time was to be our only food. Thus, on the very outſet of a voyage, as tedious as difficult, we were at once abridged of bread, wine, and freſh proviſions. Woeful prelude to, and chief ſource of the misfortunes which afterwards overwhelmed us.

The 26th and 27th we had guſts of wind and rain; the 29th, in latitude 25° ſouth, the barometer had riſen from $28^p\ 3^l$ to $28^p\ 4^l\ 5^l$: through the whole of the night it rained, but gently. By the 5th May we reached the 29th degree of latitude and the 64th of longitude eaſt. From the 5th to the 11th we had cloudy, damp, and rainy weather, produced and maintained by the winds from the north-eaſt, north, and north-north-weſt; theſe winds at length brought on a violent gale of three days duration, in the courſe of which the barometer ſunk nine lines. The 9th, eſpecially, was a ſhocking one; the ſea run high and was covered with foam, the winds blew in impetuous guſts, and the torrents of rain were perpetual till the next day at noon.

From the 11th to the 15th we continued our courſe under the parallel of about 33° of latitude, the barometer maintaining itſelf at $28^p\ 4^l$ to 5, and the thermometer gradually ſinking from 22 to 12°. The temperature of the ſea at its ſurface exceeded, but in the ſlighteſt degree, that of the atmoſphere.

From the 15th to the 20th we continued to make but little way towards the ſouth, on the laſt day not having advanced beyond the 35th degree: but we already were 100° eaſt of Paris, and were conſequently not more than about 150 leagues from the weſtern point of New Holland, which our commander was reſolved to make.

In fact, the length of time occupied in our paſſage from Europe to the Iſle of France, and our ſtay at this laſt place, much longer than it ought to have been, had cauſed us to loſe a part of the ſeaſon favourable for the proſecution of our deſigns, and our chief was fearful of making Van Diemen's land; he conſequently reſolved on commencing his exploratory expedition with the north-weſt point of New Holland, reſerving for the ſpring his voyage to the ſouth. This determination gave uneaſineſs to us all, becauſe it was not imperatively exacted by our real poſition; the ſeaſon, though already far advanced, was not ſo much as to hinder our proceeding to double the ſouth cape; and as, from that point, we had to return to the equatorial regions, it ſeemed to us but a prudent part to have more cloſely reſpected the inſtructions of government, which we knew to be the reſult of profound meditation and the moſt extenſive reſearch. In ſucceſſion will be ſeen how much this firſt change in the order of our operations was, from its conſequences, productive of others.

From the 21ſt to the 25th May we continued to near the eaſtern coaſt of the continent we came to explore; we nevertheleſs were more than 100 leagues diſtant from

it, and already all the meteorological inſtruments experienced the influence of its neighbourhood: in fact, during the firſt part of our voyage, I obſerved that the eaſt winds were uniformly moiſt; that they were almoſt conſtantly accompanied by fogs, ſhowers, and even violent torrents; all the inſtruments ſhewed a progreſſion analogous to the ſtate of the atmoſphere. By theſe ſame winds the thermometer was raiſed, the hygrometer propelled towards ſaturation, &c. and the mercury lowered in its tube; but ſcarcely were we under the lee of New Holland before *theſe winds, which could not reach us till after traverſing this continent at its broadeſt part, exhibited a character completely the reverſe.* Under their influence the atmoſphere was clear and ſerene; the hygrometer gradually denoted leſs humidity; the barometer roſe; only the thermometer marked ſtill the ſame or a ſlightly increaſed temperature: ſurprized at a change ſo rapid and complete in the meteorological phenomena, I reflected on all its circumſtances, analyſed all its elements, and at length concluded, I might deduce from it the remarkable conſequence, that the part of New Holland to which we proceeded muſt be chiefly a low country, deſtitute of high mountains, of great foreſts, and of large collections or even conſiderable ſtreams of water. It is not for me to digreſs in order to enter into a detail of the memoir which I digeſted on this ſubject; it will be ſufficient I ſhould obſerve, that our commander, the aſtronomer, and thoſe of my friends to whom I communicated it ſeveral days before we came in ſight of land, though ſtruck with the congruity of the deductions I drew with the phenomena, were yet unwilling to admit of them, until forced to yield by experience, they granted the importance of this new application of meteorological phenomena to the phyſics of great continents. Hereafter I ſhall return to this ſubject, where I ſhall have occaſion to ſhew, towards the extremity of New Holland, a manifeſtation of the ſame phenomena with winds from the north-weſt, as thoſe I have here indicated with winds from the eaſt and north-eaſt.

The 27th, at day break, we deſcried for the firſt time the land of New Holland, its humble profile reſembling a blackiſh line extended from north to ſouth: we endeavoured to approach it, but the currents and winds were ſo adverſe that the remainder of the day was ſpent in uſeleſs efforts; in the evening we laid to; of this circumſtance we availed ourſelves, my colleague Maugè and myſelf, to throw out the drag: this inſtrument, moſtly employed for fiſhing coral, is ſo adapted as to bring up from the bottom of the ſea whatever bodies it may meet with. We hoped, by means of it, to obtain the firſt articles of our Auſtralaſiatic collections, and the reſult ſurpaſſed even our wiſhes.

Deceived by the charts furniſhed us in Europe, we expected in the evening of the 28th to make Cape Leuwin, which forms the moſt weſtern point of New Holland, and north of which directly began the portion of Leuwin's Land, yet unknown, which we now deſcried. According to theſe obſervations, this cape ſhould be placed in latitude ſouth 34° 7′ 50″, longitude eaſt of Paris 112° 26′, but our after-operations taught us that, in this firſt recognizance, we were miſtaken as to the point which ought really to be regarded as Cape Leuwin.

That day the land we had in ſight appeared extremely low, barren, ſandy, and of an obſcure colour, relieved by ſome white ſpots. A number of whales approached very near to our ſhip. About midnight the drag was again caſt, and again brought up a multitude of intereſting objects, on the deſcription and drawing of which M. Leſueur and myſelf were employed during the remainder of the night, as we had been the day before.

The whole of the 29th we coaſted at a very ſhort diſtance aſhore, almoſt entirely the ſame as that of the days before; it is thus deſcribed by M. Depuch: "Along the whole

ſpace

ſpace we traverſed the land is low, or of little elevation; the inequalities of the coaſt are gentle and rounded; often, indeed, the coaſt is ſo even, that a conſiderable portion of it might be deſignated by a gently undulating line; the ſhores are every where bordered by gentle riſings. Theſe hills have a blackiſh and mournful aſpect; in many parts are remarked white places of more or leſs extent, one of which ſtretches the ſpace of half a mile, is of the whole height of the coaſt, and may furniſh an important point of recognition for navigators. By examining this point I diſcerned all the characters of a ſandy ſoil, of which compoſition the whole of this unknown coaſt appears to be. The dark aſpect it wears in common is cauſed by a wretched and feeble vegetation; the ſpots deprived altogether of vegetation are white."

The 30th in the morning we doubled a cape; in front of it a reef projects about a quarter of a league out to ſea, againſt which the ſea breaks with violence. We found it to be the point of entrance into a great bay, which, from the name of our principal corvette we called the Bay of the Geographe: the cape I ſpeak of was denominated the Cape of the Naturaliſte; it lies in 33° 28′ of ſouth latitude; longitude 112° 35′ 7″ eaſt of Paris. On the outſide and nearly about the middle of the bay is a very dangerous reef, which we termed the Reef of the Naturaliſte. At five in the afternoon, we caſt anchor at the entrance of the bay we had juſt diſcovered. The barometer during the five laſt days ſtood at from 28^{p} 3^{l} to 28^{p} 6^{l}; the thermometer varying from 14° to 17; the hygrometer from 78° to 90°. The atmoſphere was perfectly clear, thanks to the dry and cold winds which then predominated from the ſouth.

The 31ſt in the morning, the commander ſent his long boat, under the direction of M. Picquet, to determine exactly the poſition of Cape Naturaliſte: "But," ſays M. Boullanger, who was charged with this miſſion, "we found this point defended on all ſides by large rocks, on which the ſea broke with fury; theſe breakers extend along a part of the coaſt of the bay, and ſome even ſtretch out to ſea. We endeavoured to find a paſſage between theſe breakers, but in vain; the coaſt every where appeared to refuſe a a landing: we were obliged to paſs the remainder of the day in the boat, the whole of the night alſo, and part of the next day, without being able to regain the ſhip, the wind continually driving us away, and keeping us at diſtance."

While our unfortunate companions, exhauſted with fatigue, and drenched with ſea-water, wandered about the ſport of the waves, a ſecond embarkation under M. H. Freycinct ſucceeded in effecting a landing. Meſſrs. Dupuch and Riedlè were the only ones of our aſſociates who accompanied him, and the firſt Europeans who ſet foot on theſe unknown ſhores. They were able to remain there but a few hours, during which they made divers remarks on the phyſical quality of the ſoil, and the productions of the vegetable reign: as we ſhall have occaſion to revert in another part with more particularity to this object, it will be ſufficient here to notice that M. Dupuch found, at the bottom of the bay where they landed, a very beautiful ſpecies of granite, in regular and very numerous ſtrata, a mode of diſpoſition of granitic ſubſtances ſuſpected by Sauſſure, but the reality of which till now had been diſputed. This remarkable phenomenon, rendering that part of the bay eſpecially intereſting, we thought it but juſt to give it the name of the naturaliſt who firſt obſerved and deſcribed it. The Creek of Depuch is eaſt of Cape Naturaliſte, at a ſhort diſtance from that headland.

The 1ſt June, after ſhipping our long boat, we ſet ſail for the purpoſe of exploring the ſouthern coaſt of the bay of the Geographe: at noon we were abreaſt of a large headland, which we denominated Point Picquet, from one of our moſt eſtimable officers. At ſeven we anchored near the bottom of the bay. Hitherto we had not diſtinguiſhed the leaſt trace on theſe melancholy ſhores of their being inhabited; but this

evening a large fire, which ſuddenly roſe beyond the Downs, evidenced the exiſtence here of ſome wild hordes of the human ſpecies.

At this period we obſerved highly ſingular effects of mirage, or refraction of terreſtrial objects; now the moſt even and loweſt lands appeared to us raiſed above the water and deeply torn in every part, now their creſts or ridges ſeemed reverſed, and in this ſtate reſting on the waves; at every inſtant the eye was cheated by the viſion of long chains of reefs and breakers, which fled before us as we advanced*. This phenomenon, curious in itſelf, had its diſadvantage; for, as all aſtronomical obſervations are dependent on the ſtate of the atmoſphere, its refrangent quality at this time, by its variation, occaſioned in all thoſe we made a moſt vexatious diſparity; thoſe of the evening, for example, giving us greater way to the eaſtward than thoſe of the morning. This phenomenon of refraction appeared to me to reſult chiefly from the prodigious changes of temperature and moiſture that took place at this time in the atmoſphere of theſe regions, as I ſhall have occaſion more eſpecially to remark elſewhere.

The 2d and 3d we continued to explore the bay; the latter day we anchored, at eight in the evening, about two leagues from land, in twelve fathoms, with a bottom of fine and whitiſh ſand.

The 4th, at dawn, in company with Mr. Breton, who commanded the ſmall boat in which we embarked, and Mr. Leſchenault, a botaniſt, I made for ſhore. Soon as we gained the ſtrand, I haſtened towards the downs of ſand which bordered the coaſt, and directed my ſteps towards the interior in ſearch of the natives, with whom I anxiouſly wiſhed to eſtabliſh a communication; but vainly did I follow through the foreſts the recent footſteps I diſtinguiſhed; and, after a fatiguing ſearch of three hours, I retrod my ſorrowful ſteps to the ſhore, where my companions, alarmed at my abſence, already awaited me; we embarked, but were ſix hours in reaching our veſſel, ſo contrary were the winds and currents.

Meſſrs. Bernier, Riédlé, Depuch, and Maugè, likewiſe landed at another ſpot, and ſhortly returned. More fortunate than we had been, they had diſcovered a native fiſhing on the ſhore near the place where they landed. This individual ſeemed to them to be an old man; he had a beard, was of a brown colour, and had no other covering

* Theſe refractions are very common, although but little noticed, generally ſpeaking: they are frequently obſerved in the Straits of Meſſina, and there they are termed *fatu morguna*, the peaſants and fiſhermen aſcribing theſe pictures in the air or on the water to the fay Morgan. By the Engliſh, Iriſh, and Erſe inhabitants of our weſtern ſhores, theſe optical deluſions are likewiſe often ſeen, and by the two latter are called *ſeadhreagh mairethme*, and *duna ſeadhreagh*, ſea fairies, or fairy caſtles; they are likewiſe viſible occaſionally in Norway, Iceland, and Greenland, in Swizzerland, in South America, on the higheſt ſummit of the Andes, in the midſt of the Atlantic ocean, and in the Mediterranean, (ſee Swinburne's Travels, Spallanzani, Crantz's Greenland. Icel. Ann. Ortelius in Theſauro Geog. Saxo. Antiq. Poema. Phil. Mag. vol. xiii. p. 336, where is a very able diſſertation on this ſubject by Mr. W. Beaufort, A. M. Phil. Mag. vol. xiv. p. 176.) This note is chiefly added for the purpoſe of a remark of conſiderable intereſt as it reſpects the continent of New Holland; M. Peron notices that the refraction occaſionally preſented the land, which he conceives to be the low ſhore contiguous, as *deeply torn in every part*; now, as in the laſt authority quoted, Phil. Mag. vol. xiv. p. 176, it is obſerved, that Mount Ætna, which is 160 mile diſtant from Malta, was clearly repreſented on the ſurface of the water the 17th April 1785, at a diſtance, from an obſervation made by C. Dangos from the obſervatory of Malta, of only 18000 yards, or about eleven miles; and as theſe refractions are conſtantly faithful repreſentations of objects; as alſo the coaſt being flat, could not have been that refraction which appeared *deeply torn in every part*. Is it not highly probable that, on this occaſion, the accidental refraction may have preſented the naturaliſts of the expedition with a picture of the interior of the country, at, poſſibly, ſome very conſiderable diſtance in the line from the ſhip where the refraction was noticed; a country highly mountainous, (for, if diſtant, it muſt have been ſo to have been repreſented,) and its lofty mountains deeply torn and ſeparated by profound ſciſſures from each other? Tr.

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than the ſkin of a kangaroo, thrown over his ſhoulders, and which ſcarcely covered his loins. The aſpect of theſe unknown beings did not at firſt ſeem to create much uneaſineſs in the fiſherman; but perceiving they made towards him, he haſtily ſeized three lances laying by him on the ground, and preſenting a bold front, addreſſed them in a very animated manner, repeatedly pointing to the ſhips, and apparently bidding them return. Equally ſurprized at the appearance of this new Scythian, the warmth of his addreſs, and the loftineſs of his gait, our colleagues halted, that they might give him no interruption. When he had finiſhed, Mr. Depuch, a mineralogiſt, advanced ſingly and unarmed towards the ſavage, exclaiming taïo, taïo (friend, friend), and preſenting him a necklace of glaſs beads, the luſtre of which ſeemed to excite the livelieſt admiration in the old man; ſtill he ſhewed no leſs repugnance to letting Depuch approach him, and, on his continuing to advance, the old man took to flight with a ſpeed which aſtoniſhed all who ſaw him. While this was paſſing on one part of the coaſt, five or ſix other ſavages made towards the long boat, guarded at the time only by a ſingle ſailor: on ſeeing theſe wild beings approach, this man, juſtly alarmed, cried out luſtily to recall our people, on the return of whom the ſavages haſtily fled over the downs as ſwiftly as the fiſherman.

The beneficent Riédlé, on this expedition, made an ample collection of new plants, in return for which tribute from theſe ſhores, he ſowed or planted in their ſtead a quantity of wheat, maize, barley, oats, pear-trees, apple, apricot, peach, and olive-trees, with a large number of European vegetables. Affecting exchange, one ſuch as ever ſhould have been the baſis of relations between different people, and ſuch as was conſtantly repeated by us in the places where we were enabled to effect a landing.

In imitation of our commander, Captain Hamelin ſent out his boats to reconnoitre the bay in the ſouth-ſouth-eaſt part. The officer who commanded one of theſe expeditions, Mr. Harriſon, reported on his return, that he had diſcovered the mouth of a river, which ſeemed to proceed from a great diſtance inland. This report was the more grateful, from our having been unable hitherto to diſcover the leaſt trace of freſh water on the land of Leuwin, and from our not being ignorant that the navigators, who had before us examined ſeveral points of the north-weſt coaſt of New Holland, had not been more fortunate than we. It was therefore agreed, that on the morning of the next day, the long-boat of the Geographe, under the command of Captain Lebas, and the ſmall boat of the Naturaliſte, with Captain Hamelin, ſhould examine this river, and aſcend it as far as poſſible. Meſſrs. Depuch, Leſchenault, Riédlé, Leſueur and myſelf were allowed to accompany the expedition, and with us our phyſician, M. L'Haridon.

On nearing the ſhore, our two captains agreed that, as the long boat drew too much water for an expedition up the river, it would be better to let her lay at anchor in the Offing, under the ſafeguard of part of the crew, the remainder aſcending the river along its banks; while the ſmall boat ſhould proceed as far as the depth of water would permit.

Theſe arrangements concluded, I left my colleagues, and proceeded along the ſtrand: it was low water, and conſequently the beſt ſeaſon for collecting the productions of the ſea. I gathered together, in a ſhort time, a very large number of new objects, among which a beautiful ſpecies of orbulites, alive. It is well known that the orbulite is a ſmall ſpecies of ſolid zoophytes, confounded, before the obſervations of M. de la Marck, with real nummulites, and that hitherto theſe ſingular anaimals had been diſcovered in a foſſile ſtate alone. This is not the only diſcovery of the kind we

ſhall have occaſion to preſent in the courſe of our narrative, for the ſhores of New Holland will afford, on many occaſions, proofs of great cataſtrophes of nature.

The anxious deſire I felt, however, to make my remarks on the inhabitants of theſe regions, ſhortly drew me from the ſhore: I paſſed the downs, and almoſt immediately afterwards was ſtopped by a pool, the margin of which was every where covered with ſalicornias, and on its ſalt waters numerous flocks of black ſwans diſplayed their elegant forms. Beyond this marſh, the ſuppoſed river, the mouth of which my friends were gone to enter, has its courſe. A vaſt number of the footſteps of the natives ſeemed to announce that many of them had recently paſſed it, and there I reſolved to join on the other ſide. While in ſearch of the moſt favourite place of paſſing, I heard the report of a gun at a ſhort diſtance, and truſted that, in the ſportſmen, I ſhould meet with ſome companions in my project; but Meſſrs. Levillain and Bailly, to whom I addreſſed myſelf, far from being inclined to accompany, endeavoured to diſſuade me from my intentions. I was not to be turned from what I had reſolved upon; but, undreſſing myſelf, paſſed the river before them, and plunged into the firſt which ſkirts its left ſide. It was eleven o'clock, the ſky was clear, the temperature mild; theſe circumſtances added to my ardor, and full of hope to meet, in a ſhort time, with ſome of the people of theſe ſhores, I continued my purſuit till it became ſuſpended by a ſingular diſcovery.

Near the ſpot where I landed I perceived a valley, extending towards the interior, and apparently marking the courſe of ſome ſmall rivulet; I conceived it my duty to aſcertain the fact; unfortunately my ſuſpicions were not verified, and I began to reſume my ſteps, when a cluſter of large trees, which by their colour were readily diſtinguiſhed from thoſe which ſurrounded them, attracted my attention. All theſe were white from the baſe of their trunk to the extremity of their branches.

Surprized at this appearance, I advanced precipitately towards this ſpecies of bower, equally excited by intereſt and curioſity. Both one and the other ſoon increaſed. Twelve trees of a larger ſize, amid many ſmaller, and irregularly confounded with them, formed a ſemi-circle, the two extremities of which terminated on the bank of the river. All theſe trees belonged to a new ſpecies of Melaleuca, remarkable for the extreme thickneſs of the bark, or rather the liber *, by which it is enveloped: this liber, of very fine texture, and very pithy, adheres ſo ſlightly to the wood, that the leaſt effort ſuffices to tear it off, in long ribbons, from the foot of the tree to the very extremity of the branches. In this manner the trees I allude to, had been deprived of their bark, and as the middle bark † is remarkably white, their colour reſulted from the abſtraction of the outer coat.

Within the area of the ſemi-circle formed by theſe white trees, were deſcribed three other ſemi-circles gradually leſs, as within each other, and ending with their extremities like the outward one at the river. The firſt of the interior ſemi-circles was a kind of ſeat of turf, raiſed about ſix or eight inches above the ground, and two feet wide; the turf was compoſed of a fine, light and very ſhort graſs, which grows abundantly near the ſpot: this verdant ſeat was feſtooned on that ſide which fronted the river, and each of the intervals between the feſtoons had evidently ſeemed as a ſeat for one individual; and twenty-ſeven feſtoons ſerved to indicate an aſſembly of a like number of individuals.

In front of this bank of turf was a clear ſpace, two and a half feet wide, covered with a black ſand, found in abundance on the ſea ſhore, and which forms a portion of

* External part of the bark.

† The bark of a tree is compoſed of the epidumis or ſkin, the middle, and the outer bark or liber.

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the ſoil of the interior; it ſeemed to have been trodden by the individuals ſeated on the bank of turf.

A line of ruſhes ſeparated this ſecond ſemi-circle from the third; theſe ruſhes, very cloſe to each other, and in a regular line, were cut at the height of ſix inches from the ground.

The third and laſt ſemi-circle was wider than the preceding, and covered with the other ſpecies of ſand, which I have obſerved is found at different places of the ſea-ſhore, and is diſtinguiſhed at a diſtance by its ſhining whiteneſs.

On this floor of fine and very even ſand, a vaſt number of ruſhes had been planted, each at an equal diſtance from the other, and ſo diſtributed as to form a ſeries of figures, or rather regular characters: all theſe ruſhes had been burnt to the level of the ground, ſo as to preſent ſo many round black points, plainly diſtinguiſhable from the floor of white ſand in which they were planted; hence the characters deſcribed by theſe ſeries of points, were expreſſed in the moſt ſtriking manner imaginable.

Theſe figures, no doubt, coarſe and whimſical, yet poſſeſſed ſomewhat original and deliberate: they repreſented eſpecially a great number of triangles, of lozenges, and irregular polygons, ſome parallelograms, ſome irregular ſquares, but no circles whatever.

The remainder of the ſhore, to the brink of the river, was covered with a fine light and lively verdant graſs. Laſtly, on the very margin of the river, was a large tree, the venerable patriarch of this bower: its white trunk, bending to the waves, projected over them majeſtically; and its branches, more horizontally ſpread than in the others, formed a kind of terrace of verdure. This remarkable tree ſeemed to have been more elegantly adorned than the reſt; in fact, not only had it been rendered white like the others, but its trunk and principal branches were decorated with wreaths of verdure.

The river ſerved as a boundary to this retreat, and increaſed the charms of its poſition; its cool and limpid waves, beating gently on the banks; its courſe, viſible to the ſea; the numerous fiſh diſporting on its ſurface, and in its boſom; the more than common ſtrength of vegetation on both its ſides; every thing in this ſimple and charming ſpot conſpired to awaken the gentle affections of the heart. How ſweet! oh, how truly ſweet, the pleaſure I experienced for a few ſeconds in abandoning myſelf to reflections incident on ſuch a diſcovery! "This charming ſpot," ſaid I to myſelf, "is, perhaps, conſecrated to ſomewhat myſtic, either of a public or private nature. Can the worſhip of a Deity be its object! From the river and the marſhes that bound it, the inhabitants, in great meaſure, are ſupplied with the aliment neceſſary for their ſubſiſtence.—Perhaps, new Egyptians, like the ancient inhabitants of the Nile, they have conſecrated the river that feeds them.—Perhaps, at ſolemn epochs, they come to its ſhores to render a tribute of homage and gratitude.

Adverting afterwards to the ſingular figures ingeniouſly traced on the ſand, they brought to my mind thoſe famous Runic characters, formerly in uſe among the people of the north of Europe, and which, as well as theſe, conſiſted in a ſeries of figures, coarſely traced, of circles, ſquares, and triangles, yet ſuſceptible, from their different combinations, of tranſmitting all the ideas of the people who employed them; like theſe I had juſt diſcovered, they were traced on the ground, on the barks of trees, and on rocks: thoſe of which latter alone have paſſed down to our time: they likewiſe reminded me of thoſe clumſy hieroglyphics which the Mexicans uſed in deſcribing the annals of their hiſtory, and many of which conſiſted of figures badly expreſſed, of circles, ſquares, parallelograms, &c.; thoſe groteſque ſketches diſcovered by Captain

Philipps on the rocks and trunks of trees, in the ſouthern part of the Continent on which I was ſituate, likewiſe occurred to me; thoſe alſo which, at the ſouthern extremity of Africa, the Boſhmans are wont to engrave at the extremity of their caverns; and thoſe again, ſtill more worthy of admiration, and, moreover, of far greater antiquity, which are ſeen in different parts of Ceylon, precious monuments of a people who appear no longer to have exiſtence; from all theſe aſſimilations, I concluded that the deſire of communicating ſenſations and ideas has exiſted at all times, in all climates, and among all people; that this ſo precious art of writing is of far greater antiquity than all tradition, and than all hiſtorical monuments; and I hence regretted the more ſenſibly, my incapacity of diſcovering in the characters before me, the ſentiments and ideas of the uncivilized beings of whom they were the work.

After paying all the attention due to this bower, I left the bank of the river for the interior of the foreſt. Every where I found my paſſage eaſy, on account of the diſtance the trees were apart; the ſurface was generally clothed with a ſhort, light, and delicate graſs. I was unable however to diſcover any traces of freſh water. In ſome ſpots, where the ground appeared more moiſt than uſual, I dug into the earth; the water which trickled into the hole was brackiſh and ſalt: this ſaline nature of the ground appears to act as a repulſe to all animals; at leaſt, I was able to diſtinguiſh none, and the traces of the kangaroo I perceived on the ſand were extremely rare. Even inſects were ſtrangers on theſe ſhores, if the ant alone be excepted; black legions of this inſect indeed, though its ſpecial cantonments were the back of the downs, preſented themſelves in every part, and were as numberleſs as troubleſome. I collected many new ſpecies of them, one of which, remarkable for its ſize, much reſembles the formica guloſa of Fabricius; but the hiſtory of theſe animals will be given more in detail in another part of my works.

A ſecond remark I ſhall make on the ſingular country I then traverſed: ſpite of the prodigious variety of trees and ſhrubs of which its vegetation was compoſed, no fruit was diſtinguiſhable that could apparently ſerve as food for man or animals. This remark was repeated over all the remainder of New Holland, with very trifling exception. Is it to this extraordinary abſence, or at leaſt this exceſſive ſcarcity of edible fruits, that the non-exiſtence on this continent of animals, excluſively frugivorous, is to be attributed? Hitherto, it is an eſtabliſhed fact that no ſpecies has been found, or even the leaſt trace of any. The monkey, for example,—innumerable companies of which are diſperſed through ſo many parts of the world, which is found in ſo many iſlands, and even at the very door of New Holland, at the Moluccas, in abundance,—the monkey, I ſay, does not appear to exiſt in this great country; and truly it ſeems difficult to conceive the manner in which animals of this deſcription could ſubſiſt. Elſewhere we ſhall return to theſe intereſting relations of the nature of the ſoil to its different productions.

In the mean time the chief object of my excurſion ſeemed to fly before me in proportion as I advanced. The ſmall outlets of the foreſt towards the river were now no longer ſeen, yet ſtill I could only find a few traces of men imprinted here and there on the ground; no dwelling ſhewed itſelf; the moſt profound ſilence reigned throughout the foreſt, and nothing indicated its ſerving for the habitual reſidence of man. Yet, on every ſide, I diſtinguiſhed a number of burnt trees, and veſtiges of fires. By the ſide of ſome alſo I remarked a ſort of bed, formed of the ſingular liber of the melaleuca, which I have before deſcribed, and which appeared to have been the reſting-places of men, either united or alone. In ſhort, every thing confirmed me in the opinion that the ſavages had no fixed habitation in theſe deep woods; and that they preferred the

borders of the ſalt river, the contiguous pool, and the vicinage of the ſea, whence with greater eaſe they might procure the means of ſubſiſtence. In fact, it was in theſe places that we excluſively found ſuch of their cabins as we ſaw, and of which we ſhall ſhortly ſpeak. This too was the caſe with their wells or ſprings of brackiſh water, which, in a little time, was that to which we were ourſelves reduced.

Determined by theſe reflections, and warned by the decline of day, I returned, croſſed again the river, and forded again, but with ſome riſk, the pool. On deſcending to the ſhore, I felt ſome alarm at not finding the boat, eſpecially as it was now five in the evening, as the weather, ſo calm in the morning, had changed, and a ſtrong breeze blew with violence from the ſea. I was not, moreover, ignorant that the exploring of the ſuppoſed river could not have long detained our ſeamen and geographers, as I had acquired the certitude recently of this imagined river being but a very narrow inlet ſtretching ſome leagues in to the land, the bottom of which, as well as of the neighbouring marſhes was muddy, and the waters of which had no other ſenſible motion than that occaſioned by the tides of the ocean, with which it unites by the ſpecies of mouth we have previouſly deſcribed; its waters, moreover, were to the full as ſalt as thoſe of the neighbouring marſhes: from all theſe conſiderations I had reaſon to think their examination of the river muſt have been ſoon completed, and I was apprehenſive of having arrived too late for the general embarkation.—How agreeably then was I ſurprized on meeting with my friend Leſueur and M. Ronſard, who, as well as myſelf, were in ſearch of the boat: this, during our abſence, had unfortunately approached too near to the mouth of the inlet, and in conſequence had got too much to leeward of the point of rendezvous.

Meſſrs. Leſueur and Ronſard had had an interview of a ſingular nature with a female ſavage, and M. Leſueur communicated to me the following account. Independent of the ſmall boat of the Naturaliſte, commanded by M. Hamelin, a ſecond was ſent from that veſſel in the courſe of the day. This was on the point of returning when M. Leſueur and M. Ronſard arrived at the ſhore. While converſing with the party from the Naturaliſte, they diſcovered in the diſtance two perſons proceeding along the ſtrand. At firſt they took them for ſome of our ſailors; but found them at length to be two natives. Theſe people, miſtaking them, no doubt, for their countrymen, continued to advance. When near enough to have hope of joining them, Meſſrs. Leſueur, Ronſard, and St. Cricy, the laſt the captain of the ſecond boat of the Naturaliſte, haſtened with ſpeed towards them, but were not quick enough to prevent one of the two, whom they diſtinguiſhed to be a man, from eſcaping over the back of the downs, plunging into the thickets, and diſappearing in midſt of the marſhes. The other was a woman in a very advanced ſtate of pregnancy; deſpairing, without doubt, owing to her condition, of outſtripping her purſuers, this woman inſtantly ſtopped, and ſquatting on her heels, and hiding her face with her hands, ſhe remained, as if torpified by fear and ſurprize, in a perfect ſtate of immobility, and apparently inſenſible to all that was paſſing near her. This wretched woman was altogether naked; a ſmall bag made of the ſkin of a kangaroo, and faſtened by a band made of ruſhes round her forehead, hung down behind to her loins. Our friends found nothing in this bag but ſome bulbs of orchys, after which the poor inhabitants of theſe ſhores ſeem to be very anxious, but which unfortunately are exceeding rare and ſmall, the largeſt we ſaw ſcarcely exceeding a common nut in ſize.

In the colour of the ſkin, the nature of the hair, and the poſitive and relative proportions of the body, this woman perfectly reſembled the other ſavages of New

Holland, which we ſhall have to deſcribe more minutely in courſe of the work. In other reſpects ſhe was, and that by the allowance of thoſe the leaſt nice in matters of the kind, moſt horridly ugly and diſguſting. In every part ſhe was meagre and deſtitute of fleſh; her breaſts, eſpecially, were flabby, and hung down to her thighs. The utmoſt filthineſs ſtill added to this natural uglineſs, and alone had been ſufficient to have revolted the leaſt delicate of our ſailors.

After examining this unfortunate child of nature with that intereſt ſhe could but inſpire, our friends loaded her with preſents: they gave her biſcuit, mirrors, knives, ſnuff-boxes, necklaces, and what were ſtill of greater value, a hatchet and two handkerchiefs. But, conſtantly ſeated on her heels, the poor creature continued in a ſtate of ſtupor; and, unable to induce her to accept any of their preſents, on leaving her, they left them at her ſide.

As we were ſtill at a ſhort diſtance only from the ſpot where this interview took place, M. Leſueur conducted me thither; but already the woman had diſappeared, leaving on the ground where ſhe had ſquatted the moſt unequivocal teſtimony of her fright, manifeſted, it ſhould ſeem, among uncivilized people as with thoſe in a poliſhed ſtate by ſpontaneous evacuations. However, the unfortunate being took away with her no part of the preſents, to which we made an addition of others.

After this ſhort and uſeleſs excurſion, we proceeded towards the point where we expected to find the boat: night was approaching, and we had yet two leagues to go, we were conſequently obliged to quicken our pace; ſtill, ſpite of our accelerated walk, it was with difficulty I endured the cold occaſioned from the wetneſs of my cloaths. By the way M. Leſueur related to me that he had remarked ſeveral cabins of the natives; that they were all ſituate on the humid banks of the ſalt marſhes on the right bank of the river, and were of one ſame coarſe ſtructure; they were formed of ſmall branches of trees ſtuck into the ground, faſtened at their bent extremities above in form of an arbour, and exteriorly were coated with the liber, or bark; I have ſeveral times noticed; they were about three feet high, as many wide, and five or ſix feet long; in front of each of them were remains of fires, in the aſhes of which were diſtinguiſhed remnants of fiſh, kangaroos, and black ſwans' bills. M. Leſueur had taken a ſketch of theſe cabins, from which I felt a perſuaſion that more wretched dens it would be impoſſible could be found,—I was nevertheleſs miſtaken; we were yet far from having ſeen not only in what reſpected the dwellings, but alſo many other peculiarities, phyſical and ſocial, of theſe ſhores, the utmoſt term of human ignorance and miſery.

My companion further informed me that he had ſeen a number of holes dug ſome feet deep into the earth, which ſerved as wells for the inhabitants. Near them commonly ſmall tubes are found, formed from a few plants of wild celery that grows on different points of the bay. Of theſe, the uſe without doubt to which the inhabitants applied them, M. Leſueur availed himſelf to draw up ſome of the water; but he found it ſcarcely potable.

As we advanced, we diſtinguiſhed a groupe of our companions making towards us: the party conſiſted of Captain Hamelin, part of the naturaliſts, and a major part of the crew of the long boat and the canoe: we learned from them that, the long boat being to leeward, and the wind blowing in ſhore, not admitting them to luff, part of the men were employed in towing it, while the remainder of the crew coaſted the beach on ſhore. As the progreſs of the boat was ſlow, and the wind blew very cool, we determined, in the interval of its arrival, to kindle a large fire at the back of the downs.

All hands were employed for the purpoſe, and ſhortly an immenſe pile was in flames. Some of our party had killed different kinds of birds; theſe were ſpeedily ſacrificed for a common meal.

During the preparation of our dinner, Meſſrs. Depuch and L. Freycinct gave me an account of their excurſion. "After vainly endeavouring," ſaid Mr. Depuch, "to effect a landing on the left of the river we aſcended, or rather the immenſe marſh we miſtook for a river, which extends many leagues inland, and of which, though in the ſmall boat, we with difficulty paſſed the bar at the mouth, after alſo finding ourſelves in ſuch ſhallow water by the time we had proceeded four or five miles as to be able to advance no farther, we determined to return, and for this purpoſe were on the point of making the right bank, along which we intended to walk, near a ſpot which we concluded was a ſmall iſland, when piercing and repeated cries occaſioned us to turn our eyes towards the foreſt on the oppoſite ſide, where we diſtinguiſhed a number of ſavages, who apparently noticed us with curioſity: their cries were directed to us. Captain Hamelin ſteered towards them, but his courſe was ſoon impeded by want of water: in the mean time the natives continued to obſerve us, ran about in every direction over the ſhore, and reiterated their exclamations in a quicker and louder tone. With permiſſion of the captain, accompanied by four of the naturaliſts, I jumped into the water, and readily forded the ſpace between us and where we ſaw the natives: theſe fled to the foreſt; with one of our party, I followed their ſteps to its ſkirts, and the remainder kept at a diſtance behind us.

"Here we heard their exclamations repeated, apparently calling to each other, in a very quick manner: the only words I could diſtinguiſh, which were frequently repeated, were *veloo! veloo!* We likewiſe fancied we heard the barking of a dog; but ſhortly after it appeared to us they checked him, and the barking ceaſed.

"In order to make them comprehend we had no ill intentions, we depoſited in the moſt conſpicuous ſpots, glaſs beads, mirrors, knives, &c., and afterwards retreated, leaving various articles of this deſcription purpoſely in the way. But ſhortly we diſtinguiſhed ſeven or eight natives, each armed with two ſpears and a club, advancing with haſty ſteps, as if to cut off our retreat from the river. We were fortunate enough to prevent this deſign, but as they trod cloſely on our heels, we formed a junction with our party, and facing theſe audacious characters, without doubt ſtrangers to our formidable arms, we kept them thus at a diſtance of about fifteen or eighteen paces. They brandiſhed their ſpears with much ſtrength, and threatened us; and hurled their clubs around with great rapidity, exclaiming in a frightful tone, *mouye! mouye!* By their geſtures they ſeemed to invite our going away, and even to point out the road by which we came, and that, as we ſuppoſed, which communicated with the ſea.

"In the mean time, purſued as we were by theſe ferocious men, we had not an inſtant to loſe: we had no option but to fire or continue our retreat in good order; the latter we preferred, ſteadily reſolved however to anſwer the firſt ſpear that ſhould be lanced, by a diſcharge of ſmall ſhot, and the next with ball; leaving them, as a counterpoiſe to the ſuperiority of our arms, the advantage of a firſt attack.

"Ignorant of what might be the number of our aſſailants, and, eſpecially, being ſatisfied it would be eaſy for another band to ſurround us, and cut off our retreat, we withdrew, facing them, walking backwards, and imitating them in their brutal cries and menacing geſtures, with leſs violence, indeed, but in a manner which could leave them no doubt of our reſolution to anſwer any attack by one ſtill more deſtructive. In this manner we arrived without accident near the ſpot where we landed.

"We took to the river, the ſavages ſtill cloſe to us, and were in it up to our waiſt,

waiſt, uncertain whether in this particular ſpot it was fordable. Now it was the ſavages were neareſt to us: our muſquets were all pointed, and our ſafety, long in a doubtful ſtate, would have obliged us to have repulſed the attacks which indubitably would have taken place, when we perceived Captain Hamelin, followed by the crew of the boat, who, having landed on the other ſide of the iſland, was haſtening to our ſuccour.

" At ſight of this reinforcement, the ſavages halted, and we availed ourſelves of this to join our friends. We were now in front of them, and merely ſeparated by the inlet which was every where fordable. To their continued exclamations of mouye! mouye! and their pointing to our road back, we replied by pointing to the preſents we had left behind, and thoſe we intended for them in addition, inviting them, by laying down our arms, to come and receive them, but in vain.

" Nevertheleſs one, who appeared to me the youngeſt of the party, and conſequently the moſt hazardous, advanced to a third of the diſtance between us, and there, aſſuming a warlike attitude, with one ſpear and his club held behind him, and handling the other ſpear with all the ſtrength and ſuppleneſs in his power, and marking in his looks the greateſt boldneſs and diſdain, he ſeemed to provoke, or rather did actually challenge us, with much energy, to ſingle combat; the other ſavages, uneaſy at firſt at this reſolute conduct on his part, yet ſoon applauded it. We called out to him repeatedly, Taio! taio! He pronounced this word firſt to himſelf, as if inquiſitive of its meaning, and afterwards repeated it to his companions, who likewiſe repeated it themſelves with loud ſhouts of laughter. We afterwards cried out to them in ſeveral French words, which they pronounced in an inquiſitive manner, and conſtantly with much exactitude, and with burſts of laughter. The words they uttered beſt were, oui, non, viens ici. Some one exclaimed, " Poorah, get away," in the Malabar language, and this appeared leſs foreign to them than the reſt. Still they did not advance; the challenger kept his poſt, and maintained his martial and diſdainful air.

" Deſirous of eſſaying our laſt means of conciliation, I advanced to the margin of the river, depoſited my arms at a ſhort diſtance, pointing them out to this native, who obſerved minutely all my actions. I next advanced, with the branch of a tree in each hand, to about half the diſtance between us, calling out Taio, taio, a word ſo well known to the inhabitants of the South Sea: I made him every ſign I could think of to inſpire confidence; but all was vain: the ſavage receded, but in the ſlighteſt degree, before me; and his comrades came forward to ſecond him, threatening us anew. Our party now repeated their invitations and friendly ſigns, laid down their arms, which were replaced by green branches and white handkerchiefs: the perverſity of this people was inſurmountable. We again ſhewed them mirrors, beads, &c. and offered them as preſents, making ſigns we were about to depart, and we actually retired. Curioſity induced two of them to croſs the water, the one who had challenged us and another, highly remarkable from the deep red colour of his hair and beard: they both proceeded with precaution, picking up the articles left on the way, to wit, a mirror, and a handſome pocket handkerchief; the latter they laid down again immediately without appearing to ſet the leaſt value on it. The red-haired ſavage it was who took up the mirror: ſurprized at ſeeing his own image in the glaſs, he turned it round ſuddenly, and finding nothing at the back, threw it down with an air of vexation, and ſeemed more enraged at us than ever; he had not threatened us with half the grace before, that is to ſay, with half the fury and vivacity he now exhibited. Captain Hamelin now ſhewed them a red tobacco-box: the ſight of this occaſioned a very viſible emotion of ſurprize in theſe men, which was even expreſſed by a loud exclamation; he threw it towards the neareſt of the two, and we receded, that they might take it up; this the ſavage

ſavage did, but immediately afterwards the exclamations and menacing geſtures were reiterated in the ſame frantic manner.

"We were now on the ſame ſide of the river again as the ſavages, and all our endeavours to inſpire them with confidence ſerved only to encreaſe their audacity; ſuch was it, in ſhort, that we had only to chooſe between a precipitate retreat or firing; we choſe the former, and haſtened on board without experiencing any hindrance. Perhaps this was all they required; perhaps, alſo, they were impatient to examine the rich preſents we had made them.

"The ſavages we encountered were entirely naked, a cloak excepted, made of the ſkin of a dog or kangaroo, which was thrown over the ſhoulders of ſome of them, and a covering over the privities of others, with a ſort of girdle round the loins. They ſeemed to me of a much leſs dark colour than the negroes of Africa; their hair was ſhort, even, ſtraight, and ſmooth, their beard long and black, their teeth extremely white."

I have deemed it eſſential to repeat here the whole detail of M. Depuch, that the reader may judge of the determination of theſe people to avoid and even repulſe ſtrangers. We ſhall have further occaſion to notice this characteriſtic, ſo oppoſite to the welcome and ſolicitude with which the nations of the Great Pacific Ocean received the Europeans who firſt viſited them, and to the intereſt felt by the majority of ſavages at the firſt appearance of navigators on their ſhores.

Succeeds in the narrative of M. Peron, an account of the foundering of the long boat on the ſands, and the difficulty experienced in regaining the ſhip, which, of minor intereſt, is paſt over, the relation being reſumed from their return to the ſhip.

As ſoon as our boats returned on the 8th, we haſtened to get them on board: we had not an inſtant to loſe; the ſwell of the ſea was ſo great, and the ſhip pitched in ſuch a manner that we had great difficulty in preventing our larger boat from being ſhivered againſt the veſſel. At twenty minutes after ten we were under ſail. The Naturaliſte had the day before loſt one of her anchors, and at the inſtant of weighing ſhe loſt again another. At half-paſt three in the morning we were off the cape, with the main-top ſail cloſe reefed. At this inſtant the winds blew in guſts; a ſmall rain fell, and the thick fog, by which we were ſurrounded, prevented our diſtinguiſhing any object about us. We now parted from the Naturaliſte, which, being unable to keep ſo near the wind as our veſſel, could not double the entrance of the bay. We ourſelves indeed ſucceeded but with great riſk, manœuvring, with dreadful weather, in from 12 to 20 fathoms water.

The tempeſt continued throughout the whole of the 9th; the winds blew with violence, and drove us conſtantly towards the dangerous coaſt we were anxious to fly from: in one of the tacks, the ſhip not anſwering the helm, we were expoſed to the moſt imminent danger.

The 10th we had ſight of ſeveral large whales, ſporting in midſt of the angry waves; one, that we ſaw at ten in the morning, was battling with a ſword-fiſh, and the rage of the two combatants ſeemed to encreaſe with that of the tempeſt. This day at noon, we thought we diſcovered, by means of a flaſh of lightning, Cape Leuwin, which, if the object we ſaw, would have been nine miles from us towards the weſt. The barometer at this period had ſunk to its loweſt point; it ſtood at $27^{p}\ 7,\ 5^{l}$ and, conſequently, ſince the 5th June, *had declined* 10 *lignes* 9-*tenths*; *which correſponds well with the violence and duration of the tempeſt.* At ſix in the evening, a rapid decreaſe of ſoundings, and the nature of the bottom, added to our alarms: we were running on the formidable reef called

called the Naturaliſte, which we recognized on the 30th May. We had great difficulty in avoiding it, and to effect this were obliged, ſpite of the violent guſts, and at the hazard of carrying away our maſts, to hoiſt all the ſail we could.

This horrible tempeſt continued from the 11th to the 16th without interruption; the ſea was ſo violently agitated that we were frequently gunnel-under, and were incapable of keeping the deck; and many of our officers and men, and the commander even himſelf, had dreadful falls.

The 16th at noon we were in latitude 32° 42′ 57″ ſouth, longitude 111° 46′ 14″ eaſt of Paris. M. Maugè and myſelf availed ourſelves of a moment of calm to drag along the coaſt again: it added to our treaſures ſome new articles, among others a kind of ſponge of a beautiful purple, from which a liquor of the ſame colour was obtained by the ſlighteſt preſſure, and different ſubſtances ſtained with it completely reſiſted the action of the air, and even of ſeveral waſhings.

The 17th the ſky was clear, the ſea pleaſant, and an agreeable breeze ſprung up from the north-north-eaſt: So many favouring circumſtances held out the proſpect of intereſting operations; but a new chain of breakers, in the firſt inſtance, and afterwards a ſtorm from the north-north-eaſt, whence the winds blew, obliged us again to leave the coaſt. The part along which we ſailed like all the reſt was low, and without any remarkable inlet, but at the ſame time was not of equally ſterile appearance with the bay of the Geographe; and beyond, we diſtinguiſhed a range of hills higher, but almoſt as regular as the coaſt itſelf.

The 18th brought with it neither the fine weather nor the calm we needed; our ſhip ſeeming to be much ſtrained, we reſolved on bearing to the north; at two we made the iſland Rottneſt, ſix to ſeven leagues diſtant: As this was the firſt rendezvous appointed by Captain Hamelin, we depended on anchoring here, either to receive or wait for intelligence reſpecting our conſort, on whoſe fate we were not without inquietude, its ſlow ſailing promiſing to render more great to her the dangers we had encountered in the bay of the Geographe. What then was our ſurprize and conſternation univerſally, when, almoſt at the inſtant of our making that iſland, we heard our commander iſſue orders for making the bay of Sharks, in Endracht's Land. We then gave up all expectation of being joined by the Naturaliſte during the remainder of the voyage; and our forebodings were but too exactly verified.

In the afternoon the winds varied from weſt to weſt-ſouth-weſt; torrents of rain again began to fall, and the guſts that blew were violent, and frequently made us tremble for our maſts; at eight in the evening the wind veered to the ſouth-eaſt; the rain fell in torrents; the lightning was almoſt unceaſing, and the continued roar of thunder added to the horror of a night as dark as pitch. A more critical ſituation ſeemed impoſſible, till a truly real and imminent peril inſpired us with additional alarm.

From twenty-five fathoms, with a ſandy bottom, the ſoundings diminiſhed ſuddenly to nine and a half and twelve, with a rocky bottom. The conſternation was general; officers, naturaliſts, ſeamen,—every ſoul was on deck. Never were orders more ſimultaneouſly obeyed, never was greater zeal exhibited. Nothing ſhort, indeed, could have enabled us to eſcape the dangers of every deſcription with which we were threatened throughout this dreadful night.

The 19th, the ſea continuing to run high and covered with foam, and the crew being exhauſted with fatigue, the commander reſolved to abandon theſe ſhocking ſeas, and bear away to a latitude nearer the equatorial regions, and conſequently warmer, and leſs ſubject to tempeſts.

Thus

Thus terminated our firſt recognizance of Leuwin's Land, on which many obſervations remain for me to make; but as we ſhall again reviſit theſe ſhores, till that period I defer ulterior details reſpecting this part of the great Southern continent.

CHAP. VI. — *Endraght's Land.*

[From 19th of June to 12th of July 1801.]

After making the iſle Rottneſt as I have before noticed, we bore away north-weſt-by-north, to avoid the Abrothos of Houttman, fearfully famous for the ſhipwreck of Pelſar, and the 22d June in the morning, had the firſt ſight of Endraght's Land. This part of New Holland preſents nearly the ſame aſpect as Leuwin's Land, that is to ſay, a conſtant continuance of low coaſts of nearly uniform level, ſandy, ſterile, reddiſh or grey, furrowed at its ſurface in different parts by ravines, almoſt perpendicular in every part, oftentimes ſhielded by reefs; in ſhort inacceſſible, and perfectly juſtifying the epithet beſtowed on it by M. Boullanger of Iron Coaſt.

The following days we coaſted the great iſland Dirk Haſtighs, an iſland ſtill more bare than the coaſt of which it appears a continuance; poſſeſſing the ſame phyſical character, it appears no leſs inacceſſible, and the ſea daſhed with violence againſt the weſtern ſhores along which we ſailed.

Shortly after we diſcovered the iſle Dorre, even more wild if poſſible than that of Dirk Hartighs; doubling then, northward, a ſecond barren iſland, which, after the general ſyſtem of nomenclature of that part of the land of Endraght, M. L. Freycinct denominated the iſland Bernier, we found ourſelves on the 26th June, in the evening, at the northern opening of the great bay of Sharks.

The next day, the 27th, we entered it, having the iſles Dorre and Bernier on the right, and the continent on the left, the aſpect of which, at this point, is equally inhoſpitable with the countries ſeen on the preceding days. In no part of it, in ſhort, was any mountain to be diſtinguiſhed, any traces of rivers, of rivulets even, or torrents; in every part the coaſt conſiſted of a red or white ſand, utterly deſtitute of verdure, other than that of dingy, ſtunted, and ſlender ſhrubs, diſperſed at conſiderable diſtance one from the other.

The ſea, on the contrary, appeared as if pleaſed with oppoſing in contraſt to this frightful ſterility, the moſt varied and numberleſs productions. We were on every ſide ſurrounded by large banks of ſalpa, doris, meduſæ, beroës, and porpites, ſpecies of molluſcæ and zoophites, we have noticed in the 3d chapter, or ſhall have occaſion to allude to: the prodigious number of theſe animals, their uniform and extraordinary ſhape, their beautiful colours, and the ſuppleneſs and celerity of their movements, were to all our companions, and eſpecially to my friend Leſueur, my colleague Maugè, and myſelf, a ſpectacle which excited pleaſure and admiration in extreme.

In midſt of theſe innocent and graceful legions were diſtinguiſhed a vaſt number of dangerous reptiles, which, gliding lightly over the ſurface of the waves, ſeemed in reſolute purſuit of a heap of ſmall clupeæ, which fled precipitately towards the open ſea.

Theſe marine ſerpents, which we ſhall frequently have occaſion to mention, have hitherto been ſo imperfectly noticed by naturaliſts, and even by travellers, that it appears to me imperative I ſhould be more particular in ſpeaking of them. The whole of theſe ſea-reptiles are diſtinguiſhed from land ſerpents by their tail, which is flat and oar-ſhaped, and by their narrower body, which reſembles that of an eel, and terminates below almoſt in an angle. They are of very various and ſometimes extremely brilliant hue. Some have one uniform colour, ſuch as grey, yellow, green, or blueiſh; others

have rings of blue, white, red, green, black, &c.; theſe again are marked with large ſpots, diſpoſed with leſs or greater regularity, while thoſe are diſtinguiſhed by very ſmall ſpecks elegantly diſtributed over the body. One of theſe ſpecies is remarkable among the reſt by the colour of its head, which is of a brilliant purple red: this is the red-headed ſea-ſerpent of Dampier, who was the firſt that remarked it in theſe parts.—Like the land reptiles of this kind, ſome of them are perfectly innocent, others appear armed with venemous fangs: their length is various, from 30 to 40 centimeters* to 3 and 4 meters†.

Their range is not only along the ſea-ſhore; we have noticed many at a diſtance of three or four hundred miles from any land; but, what is moſt ſingular, we never ſaw any on the continent or on the iſlands: I certainly do not mean from this remark to draw the concluſion that they do not live on land; but we ſaw none at any time; and when ſpeaking of animals ſo ſingular, an impartial obſerver ſhould omit no important fact, even when he finds himſelf unable to conceive or explain its cauſe.

It is in midſt of the hotteſt countries of the globe, in the Indian Ocean eſpecially, the Perſian Gulf, the Red Sea, and that which bathes the north-weſt and north of New Holland, that marine ſerpents are excluſively produced; at leaſt ſuch is the reſult of my own obſervations, and the numerous reſearches I have made into the narratives of travellers: the high temperature of theſe ſeas, the calm they habitually enjoy, the multiplicity of animals which are generated in its boſom, and on which theſe ſerpents feed, appear to be the principal cauſes of their predilection for the equatorial ſeas.

On opening the ſtomach of ſeveral animals of this kind, I have found it chiefly filled with ſmall and ſhell fiſh; while they themſelves in turn become the prey of numerous ſharks, the movements of which are ſo inactive, ſo clumſy; but more minute obſervations of one of the habitudes of theſe animals, as I ſaw more of them, ſhewed me the probable cauſe of this ſpecies of phenomenon. Oftentimes theſe ſerpents are ſeen aſleep on the ſurface of the waves; their faculties are then ſo completely abſorbed, that our veſſel paſſing by them, notwithſtanding the noiſe it made, and the motion it gave to the ſurface, and notwithſtanding the conſtant clamour of the ſailors, failed to awake it from its ſomnolency. Without doubt, it is at theſe moments of lethargy the unwieldy ſharks are enabled to ſeize theſe nimble animals; at leaſt, it appears to me difficult to account otherwiſe for their taking them. As to the cauſe of this deep ſleep, it is not unlikely to be that ſpecies of ſtupor, which, as in many animals of the ſame family, is the accompaniment of digeſtion.

Theſe reptiles ſwim and dive with equal facility; oftentimes, when we reckoned to encloſe them in the nets we threw, they diſappeared; and plunging to conſiderable depth beneath the waves, remained half an hour or longer without aſcending again to the ſurface, or made their appearance at a very conſiderable diſtance from the ſpot where they ſunk.

All theſe different habitudes, and this varying organization, uniting to diſtinguiſh pelagic ſerpents from terreſtrial, I have deemed it proper to rank them as a ſeparate family: ſtill more particular reaſons for this diſtinction will be ſeen in another part of my works.

While the minds of all were fixed on ſo many different objects, we diſcovered on a ſudden a large number of whales, advancing towards us with that velocity of which theſe animals are capable. Never before had I contemplated ſuch a ſight. The multitude of theſe cetaceous animals, their coloſſal ſize, their rapid evolutions, the water ſpouted

* 13 to 17 inches Engliſh. † 10 to 13 feet, Engliſh meaſure.

from

from the two holes in their head, all this appeared to me leſs extraordinary, than to ſee theſe powerful leviathans of the deep throw themſelves perpendicularly out of the water, ſupport themſelves, as it were, on the extremity of their tails, diſplay their immenſe fins, fall back on the waves, and open, with their immenſe weight, a paſſage to the abyſs below, in the midſt of broken waves, and foam, and ſhowers of ſpray. Now a numerous troop of them advanced on a ſingle line, ſeemingly contending in ſuppleneſs and velocity: now, on the other hand, ranged in file, they ſwam deliberately, alternately diving beneath the ſurface and re-appearing. Oftentimes they were noticed to wheel away in pairs, with a mutual complacency, which made me ſuſpect this the ſeaſon of their loves.

In midſt of theſe grand objects of admiration, the evening appeared to fall with ſpeed unwonted, and when the entrance of night enforced us to caſt anchor, our attention ſtill was fixed on the diſport of the whales.

However formidable theſe animals from their dimenſions, the ſtrength of their fins and their tail, and the rapidity with which they cut the waves, nature has yet oppoſed to them two rivals, and the terrible ſword-fiſh on theſe ſhores wages with them an implacable and ſanguinary warfare. This ſouthern ſword-fiſh materially differs from that of the north, in having two long fringes or bands of 25 to 30 centimeters long* by a breadth of from 8 to 10 millimeters †, and which, placed by the ſides of the ſword, towards the middle, float freely in the water. Like that of the north, the ſouthern ſword-fiſh is ſuſceptible of attaining a large ſize, and many of them appeared to me no leſs than 4 or 5 meters ‡ in length. I have before mentioned, in the chapter which treats of Leuwin's Land, a combat of one of theſe animals with a whale; we were preſent again at a ſimilar one in the Bay of Sharks. This took place cloſe to our veſſel in the night time, the moon then ſhining with ſplendor. The two adverſaries ſeemed to fight with equal reſolution. The whale, eſpecially, made prodigious leaps, ſpouted up water almoſt uninterruptedly, and ſeemed exceedingly fatigued with the conteſt it had to maintain. The iſſue of the combat we were unable to learn, as the two champions inſenſibly got to a diſtance.

This extraordinary abundance of whales in the Bay of Sharks, cannot fail one day to render it of great importance, the fiſhing here preſenting as much facility as advantage. Strangers to every ſpecies of attack from man, the whales of theſe regions, unalarmed at his preſence, have not yet learned to dread his ſhafts; ſuch indeed was their diſregard of us, that we frequently were apprehenſive of their ſtriking againſt our boats, as they came to the ſurface to breathe, immediately cloſe to their ſides.

Freſh water, unfortunately, is generally, and altogether wanting in this part of Endraght's land, yet great as this diſadvantage, it is not without remedy, for elſewhere we ſhall have occaſion to ſhew that Captain Hamelin was enabled, with a ſingle ſtill, to obtain daily eighty pints of ſoft water, and thus ſupply a conſiderable part of thoſe of his ſhip's crew who were on the continent. To our ſhip-owners, eſpecially of the Iſle of France, is it that this untried branch of induſtry promiſes benefit; and did not the nature of this work exclude detail on undertakings of this deſcription, it would be eaſy for me to prove that there exiſts, perhaps, no kind of ſpeculation more honourable or more certainly lucrative; but, to return to our navigation towards the interior of the bay.

The 28th of June we anchored oppoſite the Iſle Bernier, on which next day I landed. It is of a narrow, elongated figure, ſcarcely fifteen miles long, by a breadth

* 9¾ to 13 inches Eng. † 3 to 4 tenths of an inch Eng. ‡ 13 to 16 feet Eng.

of five or ſix. Its weſtern coaſt, altogether expoſed to the fury of the wind from ſea is briſtled with breakers, againſt which the waves daſh with a frightful noiſe. In front of its northern extremity is the little iſlet, Koks (Cox), a wild rock joined to the main nearly by a chain of reefs. All the eaſtern ſide is indented and craggy; but here the waves break with leſs impetuoſity than in the weſt; on which account it is eaſy enough to land from the little creeks.

The ſand of the ſhore is quartz mixed with a large portion of calcareous ruins much attenuated. The ſubſtance of the iſland even is compoſed, in its inferior beds, of a calcareous ſhelly freeſtone, ſometimes whitiſh, ſometimes red, depoſited in horizontal layers, the thickneſs of which varies from two to three decimeters *, and which, being extremely uniform in their projection, offer for maſon's work ſtones already half prepared by nature.

The ſhells encruſted in the maſs of theſe rocks, are almoſt all of them univalve; they belong moſt particularly to the genus natice of M. De Lamarck, and have great affinity to the ſpecies of natice found alive at the foot of theſe rocks: they, doubtleſs, have been petrified many ages back, for, ſeparate from their being exceedingly difficult to extract from the ſtone, in conſequence of their cloſe adheſion, they are obſerved at the depth of more than 50 meters † below the preſent level of the ſea.

However great the regularity of theſe layers in general, they are yet not all of them homogeneous in their ſubſtance; there is in particular a variety of ſpecies of theſe rocks more remarkable in their ſtructure. Theſe are aggregated calcareous pebbles (ſiliculi), in ſandy, ochrous earth, which adheres to them with ſuch tenacity, that the gangue is not to be ſeparated from the pebbles but by breaking both. All theſe pebbles are of globular form, and are compoſed of a great number of concentric zones which ſurround a kernel conſiſting of a hard and browniſh freeſtone that yields ſparks. The different ſtrata round the kernel are but a few millimeters in thickneſs, and have different colours, from a deep red to a bright yellow. The general diſpoſition of this breccia gives it a coarſe reſemblance to the globular granite of the iſland of Corſica, while, by its ribbony and concentric beds, it has ſomewhat the appearance of the agathes-onyx. It is moreover ſuſceptible of poliſh, and might be rendered ſubſervient to different objects of ſervice, or even of luxury,

The beds of freeſtone of different kinds conſtitute, to ſpeak properly, the entire of this country, but on the rocks themſelves is impoſed a ſtratum of ſand of leſs or greater depth, which is ſpread over the whole iſland, riſing near its edges into a ſort of girdle of very moveable downs, from 20 to 26 meters ‡ high. This ſand, ſimilar to that of the ſhore, is very calcareous, of an extreme fine grain, which ſhould ſeem to render it liable to be readily diſperſed by the winds, and conſequently to cauſe the face of the iſland to be changed according to their caprice and violence. We ſhall ſpeedily ſee the counteraction of nature to prevent diſorders of this kind.

The mineralogical account I have ſketched of the iſland Bernier applies in the moſt preciſe manner to the iſlands Dorre and Dirk-Hartighs; what I am about to ſay of the animal and vegetable productions of this iſland is alſo equally applicable to the others. Under this point of view, its hiſtory in general becomes more intereſting, and is deſerving that detail which I have deemed juſt to give of all its conſtituent parts. Let us only add to theſe primary conſiderations, that in no part whatever are any ſources of ſpring water to be found, or any trace of conſtant moiſture.

On ſuch a ſoil it is of ready conjecture vegetation can but be wretched, and in a

* 7½ to 12 inches Eng. † 163 feet Eng. ‡ 65 to 84 feet Eng.

languiſhing

languiſhing ſtate; ſtill it is not ſo abſolutely negative as might at firſt be ſuſpected. In fact, there are found here a tolerable variety of ſmall trees and ſhrubs, among which is a kind of fig-tree, the fruit inſipid to the taſte, and ſcarcely ſo large as a walnut; two or three ſpecies of ſmall mimoſæ, with pleaſing and odoriferous flowers, a ſmall melaleuca, ſome atriplices, a rumex, &c.; but of its vegetable productions there are three on which a greater ſtreſs appears to me requiſite to be laid, as the hiſtory of theſe is combined cloſely to that of the ſoil.

The firſt of theſe plants is a ſpecies of ſpinifex, or was at leaſt eſteemed to be ſo by our botaniſts: it grows in the moſt arid places, forms a ſort of turf ſometimes of pretty large extent, which is naturally ſpread in a thouſand pleaſing forms, preſenting here long and regular alleys, there a number of ſmall wavy paths, here again a variety of figures more or leſs extraordinary, counterfeiting in ſhort the moſt picturesque and varied parterres. This ſingular plant is compoſed of an infinite number of leaves, capillary, radical, ſeſſile, ſtiff, and ſo ſharp that it is impoſſible to touch any of theſe verdant brambles without being pierced by a thouſand little darts, which remain in the ſkin, and occaſion the moſt vexatious pain. The prodigious tenuity of theſe leaves, or rather theſe thorns, render them ſuſceptible of a decompoſition as rapid as complete; and this plant muſt be regarded as the eſſential ſource of that ſmall quantity of vegetable earth which is found in ſome parts of the iſland.

The ſecond ſpecies of plants which on theſe ſhores is worthy of notice for its extraordinary character, is a mimoſa, whoſe knotty and ſtunted trunk ſcarcely riſes to the height of 7 to 10 decimeters * above the ſoil, but which furniſhes a variety of branches from 5 to 7 meters † long, horizontally ſpread at a ſmall height from the ground, and ſo tufty and interwoven, that the ſmall animals which come to ſeek for ſhelter in its ſhade, are obliged, as we ſhall ſhortly deſcribe, to work themſelves a covered way through the inextricable labyrinth of branches, leaves, and boughs.

While, by means thus ſingular, the vegetable bed gains growth, while the plants fade on the ſurface of the earth to brave with more impunity the fury of the tempeſt, and to concentrate in ſome meaſure the rains and dews beneath their ſhade, the moving downs of ſand are found enchained and faſtened to their appointment by an immenſely wide-ſpread net of living and natural cords. There are ſtoloniferous § roots of a large ſpecies of cyperus, the hard and brittle ſtem of which riſes from 7 to 10 decimeters ‖ above the ſoil, and terminates in a globular ear of the ſize of the fiſt, and in every part briſtling with a long beard. This ſpecies of gramen, which we ſhall have occaſion again to remark on different points of New Holland, is the more intereſting, from its yielding a farinaceous grain like that of wheat; but, unfortunately, almoſt all the flowers of it are barren, ſo that oftentimes it happens that ſcarcely two or three grains are collected from the bulky ear. Poſſibly theſe abortions might ceaſe were the plant to be cultivated in a leſs arid ſoil; but without pauſing on a matter ſo doubtful, let us be content with noticing that the acquiſition of this cord-rooted gramen might not be without its utility in Europe; and aſſuredly, it would be a circumſtance not a little remarkable if the devaſtating ſands of the neighbourhood of Cadiz ſhould ultimately be chained with fetters brought from the barren ſhores of the Auſtralaſian continent. M. Riedlé had

* 27 to 39 inches Engliſh.

† 15½ to 23 feet.

§ From σόλος, abundance ſent out from any thing or place: perhaps in the new coinage of words, one of more happy choice for the expreſſion it is to convey, was never ſent from the mint of France. Tr.

‖ 27 to 39 inches Engliſh.

formed

formed this uſeful plan; but death ſelected this eſtimable and laborious character for his firſt victim, and many ſimilar deſigns died with their benevolent author.

There are no inhabitants of the human ſpecies on this iſland, nor any convincing proof of their ever making it a place of reſidence, or caſual reſort.

The only animal of the mammiferous kind is the ſtriped kangaroo *, the ſmalleſt and moſt elegant ſpecies of this extraordinary genus of animals peculiar to New Holland: it is moſt particularly characterized by the conic form of its body, the diſproportion of its legs, the pocket in front in which it carries its young, &c.

The ſpecies in queſtion is immediately diſtinguiſhed from the others of its genus hitherto known, by twelve or fifteen tranſverſal ſtripes acroſs its back, of a ſlightly browniſh red, leſs regular, and leſs diſtinct at the upper part of the ſhoulders where they begin, and increaſing gradually in deepneſs of colour and appearance towards the tail, at the baſe of which they terminate. Theſe ſtripes are loſt on the ſides, and have no exiſtence on the belly; the face of the animal and the feet are of a lightiſh yellow, the abdomen marked by grey but whitiſh, the reſt of its body of a hare-grey, varying its ſhade in different animals: the ears of this ſpecies are ſhorter in proportion to the ſize of it than in any other of its genus; the ſame may be ſaid of its tail, which is likewiſe weaker, and which, entirely bare of hair, has much ſimilitude to that of a rat. As to other matters, its form is ſimilarly cone-ſhaped, the diſproportion between its fore and hind legs is the ſame, as is the diſtribution of its toes, nails, &c. All theſe details, however, which will be given in the zoologic part of our works, are foreign to this narrative: it is ſufficient I have deſcribed the prominent characteriſtics of this pretty animal.

The ſtriped kangaroo peoples with its herds the three iſlands of Bernier, Dorre, and Dirk-Hartighs; but of this ſpecies we found none in any part of the continent, or in any of the iſlands which we ſurveyed in ſucceſſion. The ſame phenomenon will hereafter be ſeen with reſpect to all the various ſpecies of kangaroos; that is to ſay, that each ſpecies will be ſeen to exiſt on ſuch and ſuch iſlands, or on particular portions of land, without any one of them appearing beyond the limits peculiar to its ſpecies.

Deſtitute of every means of attack or defence, like all other feeble animals, and eſpecially like the hare of our climates, the kangaroo is timid, and gentle in extreme. It is alarmed at the ſlighteſt noiſe; a breath of wind will even make it fly. Hence, notwithſtanding their numbers on the iſland Bernier, we found it at firſt extremely difficult to take them. Within the impenetrable thickets I have deſcribed, theſe animals could brave the activity of our hunters with impunity; and, when they left them, iſſued by ſome unknown inlet, and bounded with the utmoſt ſpeed to another favouring covert, without the hunters being able to conceive how it was poſſible they could penetrate and diſappear ſo promptly in theſe mazy ſhelters; but ſoon they diſcovered that each of theſe little thickets had ſeveral covered ways terminating at the centre, and leaving them a choice of iſſue as circumſtances required. No ſooner known was this circumſtance than their deſtruction was aſſured; our ſportſmen united, and while ſome beat the thicket, others placed themſelves at the ſeveral entries, ſo that the animal, a prey to ſuperior guile, on ſeeking to eſcape, preſented itſelf to almoſt inevitable deſtruction. The fleſh of this animal appeared to us, as it had done to Dampier, much like that of a warren-rabbit, but far more aromatic, a conſequence, no doubt, of its aliment, which is plants, almoſt generally odoriferous. It is moſt aſſuredly the beſt meat we met with

* Kangurus faſciatus. N.

from

from the kangaroo, and the acquiſition of this ſpecies would be a real benefit to Europe.

At the time we were on theſe ſhores all the females that were full-grown had in their pocket a young one of tolerable ſize, which they endeavoured to protect with truly admirable courage; were they wounded, they fled, carrying their young in this pocket, and never abandoning it, until overcome with fatigue, and exhauſted with loſs of blood, they could ſupport its weight no longer; then they ſtopped, helped the young one out of the bag, and pointed out to it the ſpot where it had the greateſt promiſe of ſecurity: they then continued their flight with what celerity they could; did it happen the hunter gave over the chace, or ſlackened his purſuit, the wounded mother returned to the thicket which had given its offspring an aſylum, called it by a ſpecies of grunting, careſſed it with affection, as if to diſſipate its fears, made it reenter the pocket, and ſought, with this precious burthen, ſome new ſhelter where the hunter might not be able to diſcover it, or force it from its retreat. Similar were the marks of intelligence and affection theſe poor mothers exhibited when they felt themſelves mortally hurt: their whole care was laviſhed on their young; far from ſeeking to eſcape the huntſman, they ſuddenly ſtopped, and their laſt efforts were expended in the preſervation of their young. — Generous ſelf-devotion, of which the hiſtory of animals preſents ſo many examples! and which the human ſpecies is ſo often reduced to envy.

During our ſtay on Iſle Bernier we caught a number of theſe young animals; but the major part, as yet no doubt too weak, did not long ſurvive their captivity. One only remained of theſe and became tame; this animal ate bread with pleaſure, and ſeemed to reliſh exceedingly the ſugared water we gave it. The laſt taſte is the more extraordinary, as on the iſlands which theſe animals inhabit there is not any ſoft water to be found. This young kangaroo was accidentally killed at Timor: we felt its loſs the leſs ſenſibly, as, having but one of the ſpecies, we could not hope to naturalize it in Europe; this firſt attempt, however, proves clearly that the ſpecies in queſtion might eaſily be tamed, and I again repeat, would be a moſt valuable acquiſition to our parks and yards.

If a few troubleſome or injurious animals be excepted, which we ſhall notice, all are rare on the unhappy ſoil of which we treat; the claſs of birds, for example, is confined to wretched cormorants, divers kinds of boobies, petrels, lari, ſea eagles, and oſtralegæ *, which far from man and his ſhafts, multiply their voracious flights on theſe unproductive rocks. The land-birds are the fly-catchers, the ſpeckled magpye, and a beautiful ſpecies of titmouſe, with a blue collar, which will, as it deſerves, be further noticed.

The reptiles conſiſted of a ſpecies of lizard †, one of the largeſt of that genus, and the very ſhort and large tail of which makes the animal appear at firſt ſight with two heads; a beautiful ſpecies of tubinambis ‡ 12 to 16 decimeters long §; a geeko ‖ of from 10 to 13 centimeters ¶. The hiſtory of theſe ſpecies, all of which are new, will be preſented with the correſponding details in the zoological picture of New Holland.

Perhaps no country in the world abounds more in fiſh than the great Bay of Sharks; but this abundance is unknown off the ſhores of the iſle Bernier. In the boſom of the neighbouring havens it is that theſe animals go to ſeek the calm and aliment they

* Oyſter-catchers.
§ 4 to 5 feet Engliſh.
† Scincus tropicurus. N.
‖ Geeko Dorreenſes. N.
‡ T. Endrachtenſis
¶ 4 to 4½ inches Engliſh.

require;

require; we ſhall mention them at a future occaſion. Here all that is neceſſary to ſay is, that our fiſhing was almoſt wholly fruitleſs, our collections in this department not having been enriched here by more than ten new ſpecies.

In midſt of the ſea-boat-rocks of the iſland Bernier, inhabit different ſpecies of polypi, ſome of which attain extraordinary ſize; many that I ſaw were from 9 to 13 decimeters long *, when their arms were extended.

In teſtaceous animals, properly ſpeaking, theſe ſeas were more abundant; but, if muſcles and oyſters be excepted, which delight in rocks and angry waves, all of them were univalve. In the bottom of the bay, buried in the mud and ſand, numerous and magnificent bivalve animals abound. We ſhall at a future period tear them from their peaceful beds, but, not to anticipate the natural order of the relation, we ſhall content ourſelves with indicating here ſome of the moſt remarkable ſhell-fiſh collected at the iſle Bernier.

Of all the ſpecies of muſcles hitherto known, that which I have diſcovered here is inconteſtibly the moſt handſome and ſplendid: ſtripped of its marine coat, it reflects all the moſt vivid colours of the priſm and precious ſtones; it is even dazzling. I have deſcribed it under the head Mytilus effulgens.

From other cauſes the oyſter of theſe parts † deſerves particular attention; its inferior valve is a ſpecies of greatly lengthened cone, 16 to 19 centimeters ‡ long, and more or leſs regular. Fixed on the rock by its point and one of its ſides, it is covered by a ſecond valve, which much reſembles the ſame piece of our oyſter, and which ſerves as a cover to the lower ſhell I ſhall next deſcribe: the whole depth of the lower ſhell is not filled by the animal; it is found placed in the upper part of the cone, the lower part of which is occupied by a number of tranſverſal diviſions, much ſimilar to the glaſſes of a watch, and which are continued to the extremity of the point which ſerves as a ſupport to the ſhell. Their concave ſides are turned upwards, and between them are vacant ſpaces filled with an aeriform fluid, the nature of which it would have been worth determining. However ſingular this oyſter-ſhell, its inhabitant was not the leſs delicate, for all united in praiſe of its excellence.

Among the univalve conchology peculiar to this part of Endraght's land, I muſt not omit to point out a beautiful ſpecies of trochus §, of the moſt deep and lively green; a ſpecies of patella which, owing to its ſize, I denominated gigantia; a magnificent volute ‖, ſprinkled with white ſpots, repreſenting ſo many flocks of ſnow, and above all a cone or rouleau ¶, about 40 millimeters** long, of a light orange colour, and diſtinguiſhed by a band three lines broad, which follows the windings of the ſpiral, and which, in a ſhell newly taken from the water, is of a ſplendid blue like the lapis lazuli. Two ſpecies of terreſtrial ſhells in aſtoniſhing abundance cover large ſpaces in the interior of the iſland, but all of them uninhabited; one was a ſpecies of helix, the other belonged to the genus bulime of M. Lamarck.

The family of cruſtaceæ counts no great number of ſpecies on theſe ſhores, but of theſe are two of the genus Portune of M. Latrelle ††, which cover the rocks in myriads. Some of theſe crabs are but four or five inches long, and the fleſh of them is excellent; on occaſion they would furniſh a food equally inexhauſtible and ſalutary.

Inſects in general are not numerous on this iſland, if ants alone be excepted; of theſe the number of ſpecies is five or ſix, and their legions are innumerous. After

* 3 to 4 feet Engliſh.
§ Trochus ſmaragdinus. N.
** 1½ inch Engliſh.
† Oſtrea ſchyphophillu. N.
‖ Voluta Nivoſa. N.
†† Portunus pleuracanthus et P. Euchromus. N.
‡ 6 to 7¼ inches Engliſh.
¶ Conus dorreenſis. N.

the ants come blattæ or kannerelæ, one ſpecies of which attains conſiderable ſize. Of graſshoppers, crickets, &c. we diſtinguiſhed ſome curious ſpecies. I muſt under this head obſerve, that the family orthopteres, which commonly prefer arid and dry ſituations, preſent a great number of ſpecies on the continent of New Holland, and that each of them appear to have ſingularly multiplied. More than on one occaſion will it occur to us to remark the intereſting affinity of the nature of the ſoil with its various productions.

In midſt of the indented rocks I have deſcribed live many echini, which are ſometimes very difficult of ſeparation from the calcareous rock, to which they ſeem encruſted. In the ſame ſpots dwell ſeveral ſpecies of ſea ſtars of the genus ophiura; one one of theſe * is remarkable for its long arms of from eight to ten inches, articulated, fragile, and briſtled with ſmall thorns. From its retreat between the chinks of the rocks this animal ſtretches to a diſtance its long tentaculæ, and uſes much dexterity in ſeizing its prey, and dragging it to its little cave. A ſecond ſpecies of ophiura† ſhone during the night like a beautiful ſtar, by means of five glands or tubercles placed on its diſk.

In the claſs of ſolid zoophytes, beſides ſome ſpecies of milliporæ, is a branching madrepore from ſix to ſeven inches high, the extremity of which is diſtinguiſhed, when in a freſh ſtate, by an extreme lively and pure roſe colour.

From all the obſervations I have preſented in the zoology of the iſland Bernier, and the ſea by which it is beaten, there reſults that the terreſtrial animals are few, and, except the kangaroo, all of them either troubleſome or injurious; that the ſea on the contrary is remarkably fecund, and that from the bulky whale to the microſcopic polypus, the whole of the claſſes of the animal reign have numerous and intereſting families; and when, in another part of this relation, we ſhall have indicated the various productions of the great gulf at the entrance of which we now halt, it will without doubt be granted, that few ſeas have been more laviſhly endowed by nature than thoſe which bound their ſhores.

M. Peron here deſcribes the dangers he ran in his reſearches on the iſland, from loſing his way, and from falling aſleep where a boat was ſent to bring him on board; he commemorates likewiſe the kindneſs and affection of Lieutenant Picquet, who even ventured to diſobey his orders, by continuing his ſearch beyond the time by which, if he ſhould not find him, he was ordered to return, and leave him behind. This narrative, as of inferior intereſt, is paſſed to reſume the thread of the relation.

In the mean time the Naturaliſte not making its appearance, our commander reſolved on proceeding farther into the Bay of Sharks in ſearch of it, and there to await its arrival. In this view we weighed anchor on the 30th of June. We made but little way during the day, throughout the whole of which we ſteered amidſt immenſe ſhoals of fiſh, of which, as we ſailed along, we caught great numbers. All the ſpecies were new, and belonged to the genera labræ, baliſtæ, cones, oſtracions, chetodonæ, &c. The whole evening alſo we diſtinguiſhed an enormous quantity of whales, many of which came very near to our ſhip. We likewiſe ſaw many ſea-ſerpents five or ſix feet in length.

At length, on the 2d July, we anchored in Dampier's Bay, on the north of a point of land, which, like the previous navigators, we conſidered an iſland, but which M. L. Freycinet, as will hereafter appear, found to be a conſiderable peninſula. Scarcely were we anchored, before the ſky was involved in big clouds, and on the

* Ophiura telactes. N. † Ophiura phoſphoria. N

 ſucceeding

ſucceeding day, the 3d, we were aſſailed by ſo violent a ſtorm, that we were obliged to weigh anchor precipitately, to make for the north, where we had proceeded the day before. This hurricane cauſed us to run great hazards the whole of the night between the 3d and 4th; as, to avoid the weſtern iſles, we threw ourſelves among the numerous banks of the eaſtern coaſt, between which we were conſtrained to luff up until day-light. In one tack, by the veſſel not anſwering the helm, we were on the point of ſtriking on the point of the high banks, which forms the northern boundary of Dampier's bay.

Fortunately this ſtorm was as ſhort of duration as it was violent; and the next day, 4th of July, finding ourſelves oppoſite to the iſle Bernier, our commander again caſt anchor, determined to await there the junction of the Naturaliſte, which we expected daily to take place. In conſequence of this reſolution, two tents were erected on the back of the downs, deſigned, one for the naturaliſts and the aſtronometer, the other for the commander himſelf.

On the 6th at day-break, I proceeded towards the weſtern coaſt of the iſland, which, more ſheltered from the fury of the winds, ſeemed to promiſe a numerous and important collection, nor was I in this point deceived; but, as if the iſle Bernier was deſtined to be conſtantly fatal to me, I ran the greateſt poſſible riſk of being buried in the waves. After having traverſed the ſea-ſhore for a long time, without being able to find the beautiful ſpecies of trochæ, patellæ, cones, and volutes, I have before deſcribed, other than dead, I reſolved to paſs a dangerous reef which projected into the ſea, in the ſinuoſities of which I hoped to meet with living ſhell-fiſh. There were there abundance of theſe indeed, but while moſt intent on diſengaging them from the rock, a big wave ſtruck with ſuch force over the ridge of the reef, as to bear me with it againſt the rocks contiguous: my cloaths in an inſtant were torn to pieces, and I was covered with wounds and blood. I collected myſelf notwithſtanding, and exerting all my ſtrength, clung firmly to a point of the rock, and thus avoided being borne away by the returning wave, which without doubt would have been my deſtruction. Leaving now the ſea, I dragged myſelf along to the ſhore, which I had no ſooner gained, than I fainted from pain and loſs of blood. In this ſtate I remained till night, without power to reſume my way to the tents. My right knee eſpecially was ſo painful, and ſo much cut, that it ſeemed to me impoſſible I ſhould be able to walk; but gradually the pain abated, and I plucked up courage; a large fire, which I diſtinguiſhed on the ſummit of a down of ſand, ſerved to direct my ſteps, and by midnight I rejoined my companions.

Seeing me covered with contuſions and wounds, and bathed in blood, many of my friends were affected to tears, and even the commander himſelf ſeemed to feel for my deplorable ſituation. I was ſhortly after attacked with fever, pretty ſtrong at firſt, but the chief of my wounds turning out to be of little conſequence, I was ſoon in condition, if not to reſume my excurſions, yet to make a curious ſeries of obſervations and experiments on the relative temperature of the atmoſphere, and the interior of the earth, at different hours of the day and night. The reſult will with additional intereſt appear in ſpeaking of the inhabitants of Endraght's land and their ſingular dwellings.

In the mean time all our labours advanced towards their cloſe; the aſtronomer had determined by numerous obſervations the poſition of the iſlands on which we were encamped; Meſſrs. Boullanger and Mauronard, in a long and tireſome excurſion, had ſurveyed the entire eaſtern coaſt; and by one of my colleagues and myſelf the whole of the productions of the ſoil had been collected. Nothing therefore detained us longer on theſe ſhores but the Naturaliſte, and ſtill this ſhip did not make its appearance; it was requiſite at length we ſhould give up expecting her; and the 12th July, in the morning,

morning, we weighed anchor to purſue our examination northward of Endraght's land.

On the ſame day we doubled a large cape which forms the north-eaſt point of the bay of Sharks, and which has the appearance of an enormous baſtion; we called it Cape Cuvier in memory of a learned naturaliſt of that name.

In the night, between the 14th and 15th of July, we paſſed the tropic of Capricon for the fourth time; the thermometer was from 16° to 18° *, the barometer from 28^{p} 1^{l} to 28^{p} 3^{l}. The portion of land we coaſted, like the reſt of theſe unpleaſing ſhores, was naked, ſterile, low, uniform, ſandy, and wettiſh. The 15th, at noon, we were in latitude 22° 17′ ſouth, 110° 46′ eaſt of Paris.

From the 18th to the 22d we had ſight of the river King William, which in no reſpect is deſerving of the importance that, from the ancient charts of this part of New Holland, one would feel inclined to give it. The opening of it is narrow, barred by rufs, and embarraſſed by rocks; and the direction it ſeems to affect inclines me to imagine that, like all the other pretended rivers of this continent, it is only a ſort of channel by which the waters of the ſea penetrate a greater or leſs depth in land. Moreover, at its mouth, no ſenſible difference is obſerved in the colour of the waves; in croſſing it no current is experienced; and the continent in this part preſents the ſame picture of barrenneſs and monotony to which I have had ſo often to advert.

The ſame may be ſaid of the north-weſt cape of New Holland, which we deſcried the 22d July and which we denominated Cape Murat. In front of this important cape a pretty extenſive reef is projected, againſt which the ſea breaks with violence. On the north, and, as it were, on the ſame line, ſeven ſandy, low, and barren iſlands preſent themſelves, called the Iſlands Rivoli, in memory of the celebrated victory of that name. Theſe iſlands are inconſiderable, the largeſt of them not exceeding three leagues in length; but they are very eaſy for navigators to reconnoitre, and their poſition in front of Cape Murat renders them of importance.

Immediately beyond the cape, and the iſlands I have juſt deſcribed, begins De Witt's Land, a new theatre of troubles and perils which we are about to pourtray in the ſucceeding chapter.

CHAP. VII. — *De Witt's Land.*

[From the 23d July to the 16th Auguſt 1801.]

UNDER the name of De Witt's Land is generally comprized all that part of New Holland which, from the north-weſt cape extends to the north cape of this vaſt continent, thus comprizing ten degrees nearly of latitude by fifteen of longitude. It was diſcovered, according to common opinion, by William de Witt, a Dutch navigator, who gave it his name; but the epoch of this diſcovery is uncertain; ſome ſtate it to have taken place in 1616, others in 1623, or even 1628. In this laſt year alſo it is that Vianen is reputed to have been wrecked on this coaſt. In 1669 Dampier appeared off theſe ſhores; but repulſed by ſimilar obſtacles, which will be ſeen to have multiplied themſelves around us, he was obliged to abandon them. At length, in 1705, three Dutch ſhips were expedited from Timor to reconnoitre De Witt's Land, and that of Van Diemen on the north; but this laſt voyage never having been publiſhed, all circumſtances relating to it remain unknown; it appears, however, that to this laſt under-

* 60$\frac{4}{5}$° to 64$\frac{2}{5}$° of Fahrenheit.

 taking

taking are owing the details, exceedingly inexact, from which this part of New Holland is laid down in the common maps. From that epoch a century has elapſed without any European ſhip having been ſeen in theſe ſeas, and ſhortly it will appear that it was not without reaſon that navigators have kept at a diſtance from theſe dangerous ſhores.

The 23d July we paſſed within ſight of a low and barren iſland, about three leagues in length, called Hermit Iſland, from the brave officer in the navy of that name.

From the 23d to the 25th we had flagging winds and dead calms, which did not admit of our making much progreſs, and the currents carried us far enough from the ſhore to prevent our having ſight of it. The temperature of the ſea at its ſurface was then 20° of Reaumur*, and multiplication went on rapidly in its boſom. Independent, in fact, of a prodigious number of meduſæ, ſalpæ, porpites, &c. we were ſurrounded by fiſh of different kinds, eſpecially baliſtæ, chætodons, clupeæ, &c. which muſt be placed at the head of equatorial fiſh. Large ſharks were ſeen at every inſtant about the ſhip, and every where whales and turtles in profuſion. We likewiſe diſtinguiſhed two new ſpecies of ſea-ſerpents, the one from eight to ten feet (Engliſh) in length, of a green colour, ſpotted with red and brown; the other, from three to four feet long, of a duller green, was diſtinguiſhed by large yellow and black ſcales on its back.

The 27th, we had ſight of a ſmall archipelago, which we called Foreſtier's Archipelago, in honour of the chief of the firſt diviſion of the miniſtry of marine. Theſe iſlands, which we afterwards examined with greater exactitude, are at a ſhort diſtance from thoſe of Roſemary, and the Archipelago of Dampier. We reckoned ſix principal ones, the largeſt but from three to four leagues in length: they appear to be generally low and ſterile, like thoſe of Rivoli; one of them, however, deſignated the Iſland Depuch, and which lays in latitude 20° 35′ 30″ ſouth, longitude 115° 12′ 50″ eaſt of Paris, preſented itſelf under ſuch a particular appearance, that the commander thought right to examine it with greater nicety. For this purpoſe M. Ronſard ſet off in the long boat. Vainly did the naturaliſts requeſt to be put on ſhore, not one could obtain this permiſſion. M. Ronſard returned by ten the next morning; he related that Depuch Iſland was only from four to five miles long; that a boat can readily land; and that from different marks of the tides upon the rocks, the greateſt difference of high and low water appeared to be 26 feet (Engliſh).

By the mere appearance of this iſland we could diſcover that its character and nature were different from all we had hitherto ſeen. In fact, the land was higher, the figure of it more marked, and proportionately as we advanced this difference became more evident. Inſtead of thoſe uniform coaſts preſenting no point, no eminence whatever, on this iſland were ſeen pointed and ſolitary rocks, which like ſo many needles ſeemed to ſtart from the ſurface. The whole iſland was volcanic, priſms of baſalt, generally pentædra, heaped one upon the other, and moſt commonly lying on their angles, conſtituted its entire maſs. There they aroſe like walls of hewn ſtone; here they preſented themſelves in form of a pavement, ſimilar to the Giant's Cauſeway, ſo much renowned. In ſome parts, excavations were ſeen, of various depths; here the water, which ran from neighbouring parts, uniting, formed a kind of fountains, in which our ſeamen met with ſome excellent water of ferruginous nature. In theſe ſpots, more moiſt than others, vegetation was rather active, and about them grew ſome handſome ſhrubs, with trees of higher ſize, which formed very pleaſing groves; the reſt of the iſland, with a different diſpoſition, preſented likewiſe as different a perſpective:

* 68° of Fahrenheit.

among

among theſe heaps of lava, pil.l in the rudeſt diſorder, a general ſterility reigns; and the blac.x colour of the volca.zed rocks added to the mournful and monotonous aſpect of the little iſland. Walking is attended with difficulty on account of the baſalt'c priſms which, horizontally diſpoſed, preſent their angular and ſalient edges vertically. "The colour of this baſalt," ſays my intereſting friend Depuch, who poſſeſſed different ſpecimens of it, "is grey, inclining to blue; its texture is very cloſe, its grain fine, and in appearance like petro-ſilex; brilliant lamina, irregularly diſpoſed, are diſſeminated throughout the whole maſs; without acids it does not effervesce, nor does it ſenſibly anſwer the magnet; its exterior has ſuffered ſome change, produced by ferruginous particles: this decompoſition does not commonly extend to a greater depth than a line or two."

M. Ronſard imagines there is ground for conjecture, from the general conformation and colour of the neighbouring portion of the continent, that it is of ſimilar volcanic nature. This would, without doubt, have been an object of the more conſequence to verify, from nothing volcanic in New Holland having hitherto been noticed, and from our having, until this inſtant, met with nothing of this kind; but our commander, without any concern for a phenomenon which yet has important relation to the geography of this part of New Holland, ordered the continuance of our courſe.

Depuch Iſland is the moſt eaſtern of the cluſter that forms the archipelago of Foreſtier, and is one of the ſmalleſt, but its volcanic conſtitution gives it a prominent character. It is not commonly inhabited; but the ſavages from the main land may poſſibly viſit it occaſionally, as M. Ronſard found traces of fires formerly kindled on the ground, and fractures of baſalt recently effected, which appeared to be the reſult of human exertion. Only one quadruped was ſeen, which at a diſtance appeared to be a dog; a conjecture rendered more probable from that ſpecies being ſpread over every point of the neighbouring continent. One of our ſailors, indeed, thought he diſtinguiſhed a kangaroo, of a ſmall ſpecies. The only birds were ſome fly-catchers, and ſea-fowl. A grey ſerpent was brought thence, ſix feet long, of the genus boa. Inſects were numerous, of the genera ant, graſshopper and cricket, and eſpecially a ſmall kind of fly, which from its ſwarms was ſingularly troubleſome to our people. Among the ſhell-fiſh muſt be noticed a beautiful ſpecies of pyrulæ *, elegantly adorned with ſmall aurora-coloured ſpots.

Behind the archipelago of Forreſtier the continent ſeemed to be deeply indented; the bay between the lands we termed Foreſtier Bay. The 28th July, at five in the evening, we diſcovered a pretty extenſive bank, which we had much difficulty to avoid: the ſea broke againſt it with violence, and the ſoundings diminiſhed ſo rapidly, as we approached it, that in a few inſtants they gave leſs than eight fathoms. We called this bank the Shoal of the Geographe.

The ſame day we had ſight of land at different points: the points appeared to us even leſs elevated than thoſe obſerved the day before; and, notwithſtanding we were only in ten fathoms water, ſcarcely could we perceive them from the deck. We, however, at intervals of ſpace diſtinguiſhed ſeveral large columns of ſmoke, which ſatisfied us of the preſence of man on theſe melancholy ſhores.

The 30th, in 19° 33′ ſouth, longitude 116° 31′ 45″ eaſt of Paris, we diſcovered a low and ſandy iſland, which we called Iſle Bedout, in honour of the brave officer of that name, who on board Le Tigre ſupported one of the moſt glorious combats the French navy can boaſt.

* Pyrula Eoſpila. N.

The

The 31ſt we again had ſight of land, which however, on account of the ſhallow water, we were obliged to make from. It perfectly reſembled that of the day before, and was ſcarcely apparent as a thin blue line on the ſurface of the ſea: here alſo we diſtinguiſhed ſmoke.

The 1ſt Auguſt we experienced a pretty violent ſtorm, during which I had occaſion to obſerve meduſæ of prodigious dimenſions; the majority were not leſs than two feet and a half (Engliſh) in diameter, and weighed from fifty to ſixty pounds. Many ſpecies of the ſame genus furniſhed us with obſervations valuable for the hiſtory of the phoſphoreſcence of the ſea.

At this period, we were in 18° of ſouth latitude, and conſequently within the equatorial regons; ſtill the temperature we experienced in theſe ſeas ſcarcely exceeded from 14° to 17° of Reaumur*, which gives a mean inferior to that we had experienced in a correſponding northern latitude. The barometer, on the other hand, kept at 28^{p} 2^{l} to 28^{p} 3^{l}, giving a mean much higher than was obſerved in correſponding latitudes on the other ſide of the line.

On this occaſion alſo we confirmed by experiment a valuable remark of Dampier on the atmoſpheric variations of theſe climates: pretty ſtrong winds prevailed from midnight till ſix in the morning, blew with violence during part of the day, began to fall towards evening, and till towards midnight degenerated into a perfect calm. Theſe ſingular circumſtances, attendant on the meteorology of theſe ſeas, add greatly to the danger of reconnoitring the land, at leaſt in the ſeaſon of the year we were there.

Similar is the character of conſtant ſerenity in the atmoſphere of theſe regions. Never, in fact, did the heavens appear to us more clear, or leſs loaded with vapours and moiſture. Nor had this phenomenon eſcaped the celebrated navigator I have juſt noticed. "Ever ſince our departure from the Bay of Sharks," ſays Dampier, "we conſtantly had fine weather, nor was it haſty to leave us; the ſky was ſerene, and not a ſingle cloud was viſible." I merely point out theſe meteorological obſervations in this place; in another, we ſhall ſee them identified in a curious manner with the phyſical hiſtory of the great continent of New Holland.

The 3d of Auguſt, we ſailed all day in a very ſhallow water, without, however, ſeeing land even by night-fall, which induced our captain to purſue his courſe towards it; but at ten o'clock, the appearance of a great fire on the coaſt gave us notice of the imminent danger we hazarded. We immediately tacked, and laid by for the night.

The 4th we were conſtantly in ſight of land, but were obliged to keep at conſiderable diſtance from it on account of the ſhallowneſs of the water; oftentimes, in fact, the lead gave but eight, ſeven, ſix, and even five fathoms, which at length obliged us to anchor. The land we had in ſight, although generally low, uniform, ſandy, and whitiſh, ſeemed notwithſtanding rather leſs ſterile than any which we had hitherto examined, and the back of the downs was pleaſingly marked by a curtain of verdure and ſhrubs. Proportionate to the ſuperior fertility of theſe more favoured ſhores, apparently, was their greater population, at leaſt if a judgment of it could be formed from the multiplicity of fires kindled on the coaſt, which, from their extent, preſented the appearance of a foreſt on fire. The coaſt in this part, as we ſhall preſently ſee, forms a large bay which we called Laplace Gulf, from the illuſtrious learned man of that name, to whom phyſics and aſtronomy are indebted for ſo many uſeful and valuable diſcoveries.

* 57½° to 62½° of Fahrenheit.

The

The 5th, we diſcovered a new groupe of ſmall iſlands, ſandy, but covered with ſome verdure; we called them Lacepede Iſlands. Theſe iſlands, of which we ſhall have to ſpeak further in another place, conſiſt of four principal ones, ſituate at but little diſtance from the continent; the largeſt is three leaugues in length: they ſpread from north to ſouth on a line nearly twelve leagues in extent. The poſition of the ſhip at noon was 16° 43′ 30″ ſouth, longitude 119° 33′ 30″ eaſt. In front of Lacepede Iſlands, projects a very long chain of reefs, and immenſe banks of ſand which we denominated the Banks of Whales, on account of the vaſt number of theſe animals we ſaw. We likewiſe perceived all day long large ſhoals of molluſcæ, a number of fiſh and many ſea-ſerpents. Our collection was increaſed by ſeveral ſpecies of each of theſe claſſes of animals.

North of Lacepede Iſlands, appeared a large whitiſh cape named by us Cape Borda, from the learned geometrician of that name, who, by perfecting the reflecting circle, has juſt claim on the gratitude of navigators of all countries. Cape Borda lies in 16° 36′ S., long. 120° 8′ E. of Paris.

The 7th Auguſt we found ourſelves at very little diſtance from the ſhore; it appeared to us extremely low, ſterile, and ſandy: the land forms here a ſmall bay of tolerable depth, which we termed Berthoud Bay, from the commendable artiſt to whom the navy (of France) owes its beſt chronometers.

The north point of this bay is formed by a very large cape, called by us Cape Mollien: here the coaſt ſuddenly takes a direction more towards the eaſt.

In front of Cape Mollien a ſmall iſland is ſeen, and with it ſeveral banks of ſand, which we diſtinguiſhed very near us on the 8th; the Iſle and Banks of the Geographe is the deſignation we gave them, from the name of the ſhip deſtined to publiſh the diſcovery of them to Europe.

The 9th and 10th of Auguſt we paſſed by an archipelago of iſlands and iſlets, termed Champagny Archipelago; all the iſlands of which it is compoſed are ſterile and whitiſh; the major part are of whimſical and pictureſque conformation; one of them eſpecially was remarkable from its perfect reſemblance of a bowl turned downwards. We called it Freycinet. It is eaſily diſtinguiſhed from the others, not only by its ſingular form, but likewiſe by its elevation, ſuperior to that of the reſt. Not far from this iſland is another, which preſents the appearance of the ruins of an immenſe edifice; Lucas was the name beſtowed on it, in honour of the captain of the ſhip who, in the Redoubtable, did himſelf ſo much honour contending with the Victory. Some other iſlands of this archipelago received the denominations Forbin, Commerſon, Agueſſeau, Du Gueſelin, &c.

The whole of theſe iſlands are ſmall, the largeſt not exceeding three leagues in length, while fifteen or ſixteen that we enumerated ſcarcely ſurpaſſed half a league. The continent, which faintly ſhewed itſelf beyond the iſlands, continued ſterile, and fatiguingly uniform. The ſeas here are conſtantly well ſtocked with fiſh, and increaſed our collections by ſeveral ſpecies of baliſtæ, chætodons, lophi, pelagic cruſtaceæ, and ſoft zoophytes.

The 11th, in lat. 14° 47′ 50″ S., long. 122° 11′ 32″ E. of Paris, we diſcovered a new groupe of iſlands, in front of which we anchored. An officer immediately left the ſhip to reconnoitre the coaſt more nearly, and find a place fit for the debarkation; but in vain did he ſail along theſe formidable iſlands for ſeveral hours, he found them at every point defended by long chains of rocks, againſt which the ſea beats impetuouſly, and which had no vacancy or paſſage between them. The number of theſe iſlands is ten or twelve. and they form part of the great archipelago of the north-weſt,

which we ſhall ſhortly more fully particularize; they were termed the iſlands D'Arcole, and the more remarkable among them received the appellations Colbert, Buffon, Deſſaix, Kerauden, Bernoulli, &c. &c.

While at anchor off the iſlands Arcole, the difference of ſoundings ſhewed that the tide here riſes from 20 to 25 feet, which confirms the obſervation made by M. Ronſard in the iſland Depuch, and agrees with the account of Dampier. This celebrated navigator was on the point, as is known, of falling a ſacrifice to theſe extraordinary tides, his veſſel grounding in the very ſpot where the day before he had found five fathoms water. This circumſtance adds greatly to the danger of navigating theſe ſeas, and ſeems to be the chief cauſe of the violent currents experienced here.

The 12th, we continued along the great archipelago, the firſt points of which we recognized the day before: it offers, collectively, the moſt whimſical and moſt wild appearance. In every quarter iſlands ariſe under a thouſand ſhapes, ſandy, barren, and white; ſeveral reſemble immenſe antique tombs; ſome appear connected by chains of reefs; others are defended by large ſand-banks; all, likewiſe, that can be diſtinguiſhed of the continent, has the ſame hideous aſpect of ſterility, the ſame monotonous colour and conſtitution.

In midſt of theſe numerous iſlands nothing ſmiling appears; the ſoil is naked; the burning ſky ſhews itſelf always clear and void of clouds; the waves are never agitated ſave by the nocturnal gales of which I have ſpoken: the human race ſeems to avoid theſe ungracious ſhores; at leaſt, we ſaw no traces of the habitation of man, or even of his having occaſionally frequented them. The ſeaman, appalled as it were at the frightful ſolitude, aſſailed by dangers ever renewed, is aſtoniſhed, and turns away his aching ſight from ſuch unhappy ſhores; and when he reflects that theſe inhoſpitable iſlands border, I may ſay, on thoſe of the great archipelago of Aſia, iſlands in which nature has laviſhly poured out her treaſures and her bleſſings, he finds it difficult to conceive how ſuch perfect ſterility can have an exiſtence by the ſide of the moſt overflowing fruitfulneſs. In vain does he ſeek for the real elements of this oppoſition in the ordinary laws of nature; neither can he fathom them, nor form the leaſt conjecture. But this is not the only phenomenon, ſingular in its kind, which the phyſical conſtitution of New Holland preſents; we ſhall find equal ſubject for aſtoniſhment and meditation in each of the different parts of the hiſtory of this great continent.

The 13th Auguſt, we continued through the archipelago, ſucceſſively paſſing from fifteen to twenty iſlands, of greater or leſs dimenſions, but abſolutely the ſame as thoſe of the previous day, and to which we gave the deſignations, Forbin, William Tell, Suffren, Berthier, Tournefort, Corviſart, Juſſieu, &c., as in the chart.

The 14th, we continued pretty cloſe along the land, which apparently forms part of this archipelago; it was bordered every where by reefs and breakers, againſt which the ſea daſhes with violence, riſing in long foaming ſheaves.

Objectæ Salſâ ſpumant aſpergine cautes. VIRG. ÆNEID.

Never before had a ſight ſo aſtoniſhing come under our notice. "Theſe breakers," ſays M. Boullanger in his journal, "form in appearance ſeveral lines parallel to the coaſt, and but little diſtant one behind the other; above them the waves riſe, ſucceſſively daſhing with fury, and for a ſpace of nearly fifteen leagues preſent one horrible caſcade!" We ſteered at this time between banks, where oftentimes the plummet gave but ſix fathoms water, then even, when we were ſeveral leagues from and perfectly out of ſight of land. At noon we had a dead calm, and the currents bearing us towards the reefs, we let fall an anchor, and kept where we were until 11 at night. It

was not until after we had anchored that we were ſenſible of the previous imminent peril of our ſituation; we then diſcovered that the currents, in the direction of the horrible ledge I have deſcribed, ran two knots an hour. This part of New Holland is truly frightful: all the iſlands of it that we ſaw were ſhockingly ſterile; of theſe the moſt conſiderable received their names from Mollein, Dupleix, Monge, La Place, Caſſini, &c. &c.

Through the whole of the 15th we continued our navigation between ſhallows and ſand banks, obliged to tack repeatedly, and only eſcaping one danger to encounter another.

Still, dangerous as this navigation, it did not derange M. Leſueur and myſelf from our ordinary occupations; and this day was commemorated by an important diſcovery, that of a new genus of fiſh, (Baliſtapodus Wittenſis N.) allied to that of the baliſtæ, but differing in the total abſence of a ventral fin: this laſt characteriſtic forms the firſt type of a new order in the ichtyological ſyſtem of my maſter, the illuſtrious Lacepede. This celebrated naturaliſt, in fact, has not confined himſelf, in his general claſſification of fiſh, to preſenting all the ſpecies hitherto known; but, riſing to more general and philoſophical conſiderations, he has compared all the chief relations of the organization of theſe animals, and determined all the poſſible combinations of the principal exterior organs. Analyzing, then, all the combinations hitherto known, he deduced the exiſtence, or at leaſt preſumed on the poſſibility of the exiſtence, of thoſe which till then remained without a type or diſtinction in nature; and from that inſtant, foreſtalling time and experience, he ventured to fix in tables the poſition which each of theſe unknown groupes ſhould occupy on ſome future day. His grand work on Fiſhes was not yet finiſhed, and already were his bold conceptions realized.

On the 16th there ſprung up a very ſtrong gale from the eaſt-ſouth-eaſt, which obliged us to anchor at day-break, and which continued until the 18th: but already had we terminated our exploration of the north-weſt archipelago. It was denominated the Archipelago Buonaparte, in honour of the firſt magiſtrate of our country, the auguſt patron of our expedition.

At this epoch alſo the great privations to which we were ſubject preſſed heavily on us; the deteſtable food we had been reduced to, ſince our departure from the Iſle of France, had ſhaken the conſtitution of the moſt robuſt; the ſcurvy already exerciſed its ravages, and preyed on ſeveral of our mariners: ſad preſage of the misfortunes this malady was doomed one day to occaſion! Our ſtock of water was near exhauſtion, and we had acquired the poſitive certainty of being unable to recruit it on theſe ſhores. The epoch of the change of the monſoon was at hand, and the hurricanes which accompany it were not to be awaited on ſhores like theſe; finally, we were in want of a new long boat, and ſolicitous of effecting a re-union with the Naturaliſte. Theſe united conſiderations determined the commander to finiſh his further examination of De Witt's Land, with the large archipelago Buonaparte, in latitude 13° 15′ ſouth, longitude 123° 30′ eaſt of the meridian of Paris.

CHAP. VIII. — *Reſidence at Timor.*

[From the 18th of Auguſt to the 13th of November 1801.]

SCARCELY yet had two days elapſed ſince our departure from the arid ſhores of New Holland, and already the lofty mountains of Timor were diſtinguiſhed. Three tiers of frowning mountains, riſing in a line with the length of the iſland, formed a triple amphitheatre, the laſt ſtages of which, projected into the country, appeared the moſt

elevated. Theſe mountains, notwithſtanding their huge dimenſions, preſented a gentle ſlope; their proceſſion was regular and uniform, and their broad ſummits were graduated inſenſibly by gentle undulations, which terminated with the ſhores of the ocean. All the backs of theſe mountains were covered with vigorous vegetation; the valleys all were covered with the verdure of deep foreſts, above the other trees of which in every part were ſeen the elegant ſummits of the cocoa-palm, of arecas, and lataniers, the benignant livery of equatorial climes.

Soon had we paſſed the coaſts of Amaraſſi, and found ourſelves at the opening of the ſtrait formed by Timor and the iſland Rotti, (Pooloo Rotti) an iſland ſtill more celebrated for the beauty of its women than for its mines of copper. On the 21ſt of Auguſt, in the morning, we paſſed this ſtrait; afterwards doubling the northern point of the ſmall iſland Landoo, (Pooloo Landoë) which, in common charts, as well as ſeveral others, is confounded with Rotti; we diſcovered the entrance of a ſecond ſtrait formed by the iſle Simâö, (Pooloo Semawoo) as it bends towards the weſtern promontory of Timor. At two, we caſt anchor in the middle of this ſtrait, and oppoſite to a pretty bay belonging to the iſle of Simâö. A ſite more delightful and pictureſque than that we now enjoyed would perhaps be difficult to find: ſurrounded on all ſides by land, we ſeemed in midſt of a charming lake; fiſh of the moſt varied ſpecies and livelieſt colours, peaceful inhabitants of its waves, were vaſtly multiplied in its boſom; and on whatever ſide the eye was directed, it was greeted by the perſpective of the moſt profuſe fertility. How great the contraſt between theſe and the neighbouring ſhores, ſo monotonous and ſterile, of New Holland!

Aſſoon as we had caſt anchor, M. H. Freycinet ſet off with the larger boat for Coopang, (Kupang) the chief eſtabliſhment of the Dutch at Timor. He was deputed to preſent our paſſport to the governor, and obtain a pilot to conduct us to the anchorage of the bay of Babâö, on the ſouthern ſide of which the town of Coopang is placed. This gentleman did not return till the ſucceeding day: he informed us, that his requeſt had experienced at firſt ſome oppoſition from the king of theſe countries, who, knowing nothing of our nation, confounded us with our enemies the Engliſh. This officer likewiſe informed us, that the iſland abounded greatly in proviſions and refreſhments of every kind, which could be obtained at a very moderate price.

The pilot who came with him was a Frenchman, a native of Bourdeaux, and cannonier in the ſervice of the Dutch company, who had, for the laſt twelve or fifteen years, reſided in thoſe diſtant regions. He related to us, that the Engliſh having rendered themſelves maſters of the iſland ſome years before, by their violence and rapine, had induced the inhabitants to take up arms againſt them; that Fort Concord, into which they withdrew, being carried by aſſault, 70 or 80 Engliſhmen were butchered, and devoured by the ferocious Malays; that ever ſince the moſt implacable hatred ſubſiſted throughout the whole Malay nation towards the Engliſh, and whatever reminded them of theſe conquerors.

While our former countryman was giving us theſe details, we were employed in raiſing the anchor; and ſoon as this was a-peak, we made ſail to leave the ſtrait of Simâö for the road of Coopang. "Nothing can be conceived," ſays M. Boullanger in his journal, and with great truth, "more pleaſing than the ſhort navigation between Timor and Simâö: the channel is but two leagues wide; ſo that at an equal diſtance from the two iſlands both ſhores are diſtinctly ſeen. Every cape we doubled produced a novel proſpect, conſtantly different from the preceding, but as conſtantly delightful and romantic." At ſeven we anchored in the road of Coopang, oppoſite Fort Concord.

The next day, 23d of Auguſt, we went in a body to pay our firſt viſit to M. Lof-

ſtett, the governor-general of the iſland Timor, and the archipelago dependent upon it: he received us with the greateſt kindneſs, and proffered us every aſſiſtance we might require. On the ſame day, two large houſes were ſet apart for us; in one of theſe our commander took up his abode with the aſtronomer, the geographer, Meſſrs. Petit and Leſueur; while the other was made the reſidence of all the naturaliſts.

Behold us now at one of the moſt remarkable æras of our voyage. No country perhaps is more intereſting, and, at the ſame time, few ſo little known as the great iſland Timor. Situate in midſt of the equatorial regions, covered with the moſt uſeful vegetables, and the moſt precious animals, intermediate between New Holland and the other iſlands of the great archipelago of Aſia, it preſents, in its atmoſpherical and geological conſtitution, in its different productions, and in its phyſical and political revolutions, important ſubjects of enquiry and meditation. There are found united three diſtinct races of men, who, placed on the ſame ſhores at a period loſt in the night of time, offer themſelves to the obſerver, even at the preſent day, with all the primitive character of the ancient people to which they ſeverally owe their origin.

To the firſt of theſe races belong the Aborigines, driven now into the interior of the country; ſtill ſtrangers to almoſt all ſocial inſtitutions, ſtill armed with the bow, the arrow, and club of Carnouny; ſworn enemies of the Malays, ſwift of foot, inhabitants of the hollows of rocks, or the deep ſhades of the foreſt, living wholly on fruits and the ſpoil of the chace; ever in arms, ever at war, either among themſelves or with the Malays, ferocious in all their appetites, in all their habitudes, anthropophagi, as it is ſaid, and combining all the character of the true negro race, having ſhort, woolly, and criſp hair, black complexion, &c.

The ſecond claſs of inhabitants is formed of the Malays, with long hair, and of a red copper colour: deſcended from thoſe ferocious inhabitants of Malacca, conquerors, at an early date, of the great Aſiatic archipelago, the men of this race ſtill preſerve an independent character, and with it the audacity and loftineſs of their anceſtors.

Succeed to theſe valorous people, as the third race, the Chineſe, ſettled during many centuries in the major part of the iſlands of the great archipelago; crafty dealers, indefatigable in trade, cowardly and weak, they have never been able to obtain, and never have merited dominion.

Separate, however, from the three people of which I have traced a ſketch, and which, generally ſpeaking, form the population of the country, there are found at Timor ſome meſtee Portugueſe, wretched remains of the conquerors of Aſia, lamentable monuments of the viciſſitudes of nations, and the revolutions of empires*.

Laſtly,

* The French univerſally delight in vilifying, and moſt unjuſtly, the Portugueſe nation. That nation is blameable, no doubt, in having ſuffered the others of Europe to get the ſtart of it in ſcience and the arts; her government, no doubt, has been culpable for having neglected the improvement of the human mind; but, in other points, let us aſk, where is the great deficiency between her flouriſhing commerce of the 15th and 16th century, and that ſhe at preſent enjoys? where the falling-off of grandeur between now and then? where the viciſſitude of nations and revolutions of empire, ſo forcibly dwelt on by M. Peron, in the inſtance of Portugal? Portugal, while other nations are aliens, not even excepting the Engliſh, is the ally of China, and enjoys excluſive immunities and privileges, a friendſhip and a confidence which ſhe has preſerved uninterruptedly for nearly two centuries: of her Aſiatic poſſeſſions, ſhe has for ages preſerved all thoſe which were requiſite for that participation in the trade of the Eaſt, which her rank in Europe warrants: ſhe has conſtantly maintained her ſettlements on the eaſtern ſhores of Africa; while in America the extent and population, the commerce and proſperity of her dominions, rapidly encreaſing, are ſecondary only to thoſe of the United States, and Spain, (unleſs indeed the Weſt Indies be taken into the computation). If Portugal, at one time, ſupplied the whole of Europe with Aſiatic commodities, it was when they were rarities; and, although ſhe but ſupplies herſelf, and ſome few others now, yet, from the greatly

Laſtly, the conquerors of the Portugueſe inhabit theſe ſhores themſelves, with difficulty upholding the ancient glory of the Batavian name, and preſerving no longer, but by dint of policy, and by the forbearance of the people, the dominion earned by ſo many feats of bravery and heroiſm.

In midſt of all theſe intereſting objects, I neglected nothing to render of utility our reſidence at Timor. I collected the different materials for the general topography of this great iſland; I moreover paid particular attention to the hiſtory of the Aborigines of the Aſiatic archipelago, the veſtiges and monuments of whom are found in the interior of the majority of the large iſlands of this archipelago, in Sumatra, Borneo, Macaſſar, Timor, Ceylon, Mayindanao, the Philippines, &c. But this portion of my labours being intended for a diſtinct publication, I ſhall confine myſelf in this chapter to preſenting ſuch details only as more immediately pertain to our hiſtory.

As we have noticed, the French nation was unknown to the people of Timor; and no individual remembered ever having ſeen before a French flag at Coopang: our communication with the natives, conſequently, began under the moſt unfavourable auſpices; and miſtruſt uniting againſt us, with the proud reſerve natural to the Malays, we remained for ſome days in a manner inſulated among them; but they were ſhortly enabled to judge from the deference and reſpect ſhewn us by the Dutch governor and his officers, that we belonged to a powerful and reſpectable nation; this reflection became the firſt pledge of the friendſhip we cemented with them. The frank and generous character which we never ceaſed diſplaying in all our intercourſe with them, completed the hold which reſpect had begun on their affections; and we venture to affirm, that the French name will long be cheriſhed by theſe brave men, to whom we firſt made it known.

The 25th of Auguſt, in the morning, I went down to the ſhore; it was low water, and numerous groupes of Malays were employed in collecting the different animals left by the tide. Never had I ſeen before inſtances of ſuch great fecundity: fiſh, molluſcæ, teſtaceous and cruſtaceous animals, all ſeemed equally multiplied on theſe ſhores; but nothing could ſurpaſs the beauty and ſingularity of the ſpectacle preſented by the ſolid zoophytes, vulgarly termed madrepores. The whole ſhore was formed of them; all the rocks on which we walked then without wetting the feet, were alive, animated, and ſhewed themſelves under forms ſo whimſical and ſingular, of ſuch various, rich, and bright colours, that the eye was even dazzled. Here, the tubipora muſica, proud of the ſplendour of its manſion, ſpread out its green and fringed feelers; on ſeeing the large ſemi-globular maſſes it forms above the waves, one would imagine them ſo many green-ſwards on a bed of coral: in other parts, enormous madreporic rocks, from ſix-

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greatly encreaſed conſumption, the tonnage annually employed for this purpoſe is perhaps equal to what was then employed, and if her trade with the Brazils be included, is more than doubled. Then, as to her grandeur, her dominions are the ſame, but increaſed in population, her proſperity as great, and her children as brave, yes, even as when Henriquez annihilated the Moors. If this be diſputed, let the reader reflect that, aſſiſted by England, they have withſtood the whole might of the continent of Europe, proſtrate at the feet of the ſovereign of France; have for *two* years withſtood, and thinned the ranks of thoſe armies, headed by thoſe generals, which in *a few months* ſubdued Italy, Pruſſia, Auſtria, and Ruſſia; and that thoſe armies, after the two years, poſſeſs no more than a few towns, beyond the ground they ſtand on, in the country. Was it more glorious for the Portugueſe to have overcome the Moors than it is to defy the Lord of Continental Europe, backed by all his means and might? Has Portugal at any period aſſumed a more grand or admirable poſture? Then, if commerce and proſperity be taken as a baſe of grandeur, Portugal is more commercial, her adventures more diffuſed, now than at any period, and her poſitive proſperity equal, if not ſuperior. Nor has ſhe ſuffered viciſſitude, nor her affairs a revolution, unleſs in the brain of ignorance, or irreflection. Tr.

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teen to twenty feet high, roſe from the bottom, hard as marble, and of various hues; theſe gigantic maſſes it is of which all the ſmall iſlands of this bay conſiſts. Theſe it is which play the chief part in the progreſſive diminution of depth in the bay of Babâö, a remarkable phenomenon of which we ſhall ſpeak in another place. In the midſt of the mountains of the interior of Timor, in the deep boſom of the vallies, in the ravines of torrents, every where are found the wrecks of theſe aſtoniſhing animals, while the mind is inadequate to the conception by what means nature has been enabled to raiſe theſe plateaux of madrepores, of ſuch huge dimenſions, to ſo great a height above the preſent level of the ſea. This, however, is not the only phenomenon deducible from the ſtudy of theſe zoophytes: in a Memoire ſur quelques Obſervations Zoologiques applicable à la Theorie de la Terre *, preſented by me to the Inſtitute, I have remarked ſeveral more; and in the hiſtory of Timor we ſhall again ſee others ſtill more intereſting, eſpecially in the zoological part of our labours.

The 26th, Meſſrs. Depuch, Bernier, Leſueur, and myſelf, formed a party on a ſlight excurſion into the neighbourhood of Coopang. We ſoon found ourſelves oppoſite to a moſt charming abode: it was placed in midſt of a beautiful plantation of cocoa-trees; a rivulet of freſh water ran with pleaſing murmur beneath them, and the houſe, ſurrounded by a ſimple but elegant periſtyle, reſembled a ſmall antique temple, at the extremity of a long avenue of bananiers, orange, pomegranate, and other trees, grateful either from their beauty or their fragrance.

Delighted with the appearance of this manſion, we were about to enter the grounds by a gate of open-work which was then open, when a Malay, armed with a long ſpear, placed himſelf in the entrance, and oppoſed our paſſage; his attitude was threatening, and haughtineſs and diſdain were depicted in his countenance. Whilſt we were endeavouring to make him acquainted with our deſire of ſeeing the beautiful plantation before us, a ſecond ſlave preſented himſelf, with a ſpear, like that of the former, and, in a manner ſtill more inſolent than that of his fellow, forbade admiſſion. We went away with a ſentiment of diſguſt for the maſter of the place, which it would be difficult to paint.

In the mean time, in proportion as we penetrated deeper into the interior, our collection rapidly encreaſed, ſo much ſo indeed, that we were under neceſſity ſoon to ſeek a place of reſt. A Malay houſe offered its ſhelter, in which we were received with the frank cordiality characteriſtic of the inhabitants of Timor. Doudou, doudou, bâé oran di France, (be ſeated, be ſeated, good men of France,) was the firſt ſalutation of him who appeared to be the maſter of the houſe. We begged ſome freſh cocoa-nuts; a youth immediately ſkipped away, and with inconceivable agility climbed a neighbouring cocoa-tree, cut four cocoas, and holding two by his mouth, and two with one of his hands, deſcended as quickly from the tree. While we were admiring the ſingular manner in which the loftieſt trees were thus aſcended, a manner I ſhall elſewhere explain, the Malays themſelves examined us with much apparent intereſt; our phyſiognomy pleaſed them, and our youth in particular: Bâé orun mouda, (good young men,) was reiterated from mouth to mouth in a half whiſper.

One of their ſpears excited my attention: I approached to examine it, and deſiring to know the manner in which they uſe it, I begged one of the men near me. to give me a ſpecimen. The manœuvres he had the complaiſance to repeat before me, ſeemed to remind him of the events which had lately taken place in the iſland. Orun ingreſs, ſaid he, Orun boonoo, (Engliſh-men, murderous men): his phyſiognomy was now

* Memoirs on ſome Zoological Obſervations applicable to the Theory of the Earth.

animated

animated, Oran jâhat, repeated he, (wicked men,) and he brandiſhed his ſpear with violence: become now almoſt furious, he took a cocoa-nut, fixed it on the point of his ſpear, and ſignified to us by geſtures in no reſpect equivocal, that after cutting off the heads of the Engliſh, they had paraded them on their lances; that they had had a warlike dance around them, and that after cutting their bodies in pieces they had eaten them.—We ſhall return to this horrible practice of eating human fleſh, a practice much more common formerly in all the iſlands of the Archipelago of Aſia, but which the Europeans have gradually ſucceeded in aboliſhing almoſt every where, and which here eſpecially remains wholly without excuſe, ſeeing that no people was ever more liberally endowed by nature than thoſe which now engage our attention. I ſhall only add, that the thirſt of vengeance was never more exemplified in any nation than in the inhabitants of Timor againſt the Engliſh. In this reſpect they fully juſtify what the moſt exact hiſtorians relate of the character of their progenitors.

To this ſoon ſucceeded a widely different ſcene: the young women, at our approach, had all of them taken refuge in a kind of ſeraglio they generally inhabit, and which I ſhall in another place deſcribe. Still more curious than timid, they never ceaſed looking at us through the interſtices of the bamboos of which the ſides of the hut were formed; and, as we naturally turned our eyes moſt often towards this part, our good Malay, who ſeemed every inſtant better ſatisfied with his new friends, gave us an additional proof of his confidence by making ſigns to his wives to approach. They were five in number, the eldeſt not more than five-and-twenty years of age, and all of them conſpicuous for that regular and elegant ſhape, thoſe delicate contours, and that ſoft and affectionate phyſiognomy, the conſtant appendages of the youthful female of this country.

The ſight of the young ſtrangers ſeemed to make a lively impreſſion; but they quickly laid aſide their natural timidity to receive the different preſents with which we loaded them. Shortly after we left all theſe good people, to reſume the road to Coopang. On our departure the moſt affectionate teſtimony of gratitude was laviſhed on us, even by the females, who had ceaſed to be fearful of directing towards us their large black eyes, and who inſiſted, a piece of gallantry rather remarkable, on making us each a trifling preſent.

The 28th of Auguſt, we received a viſit from the king of the iſland of Saboo, (Sawoo) by name Amadima: he was of the middle ſize, with a pleaſing and lively countenance, and about five-and-forty years of age. We received the monarch in an apartment belonging to my colleague, Depuch, and myſelf, but had reaſon to repent our conduct; for, what with the princes, and the great officers who accompanied the monarch, almoſt all that was moveable was taken away. An inclination to thieving is ſtrongly predominant in the Malays, and their adroitneſs in this art was ſuch, that they made as many contributors as there were perſons on ſhore. They poſſeſs this vice in common with all ſavage or ſlightly civilized people; which clearly proves, as a paſſing remark, that legiſlators have with reaſon made the ſacredneſs of property the baſis of their ſocial inſtitutions.

Of all the articles we exhibited to the good Amadima, that which the moſt aſtoniſhed him, was phoſphorus: its ſpontaneous inflammation, the rapidity of its combuſtion, the colour of its flame, all ſeemed to the ſimple monarch ſo prodigious, that he ſpared no pains to induce me to part with the bottle in which I preſerved ſome ounces of this ſubſtance. After having in vain proffered me in exchange a number of fowls, hogs, and ſheep, he ſeemed deſirous of a laſt temptation. With a confident look, he called to one of his great officers, cauſed a very pretty betel-bag to be brought to him,

him, at the bottom of which was a ſmall bundle of linen; this he took, unrolled, and with an air of aſſurance, as ridiculous as difficult to deſcribe, preſented—a Spaniſh dollar.—He ſeemed to ſay, "For this you can deny me nothing." I ſtill continued to refuſe his requeſt, much to his aſtoniſhment; and the poor king, unable to procure the bottle, was reduced to beg only a ſmall piece of the phoſphorus it contained. In vain did I repreſent the danger which ſuch an article bore with it. Amadima repeated his ſolicitations in ſuch an inſtant manner, that, to preſerve his friendſhip, I at length complied, well aſſured beforehand that the preſent, formidable as that of Medea, would ſoon cure him of his partiality for phoſphorus. I took, therefore, a piece about two inches in length; and, after ſtrongly charging him not to rub it, folded it in ſome damped linen, and preſented it to the Malay prince, who placed it in his handſome betel-bag; when, after ſaluting me on the noſe, according to the cuſtom of the country, he diſappeared, with all his numerous followers. Shortly after, he returned in the deepeſt conſternation; the phoſphorus, as I predicted, had caught fire, the betel-bag was conſumed, and ſeveral of the moſt officious courtezans had had their hands burnt. With difficulty M. Depuch and myſelf ſucceeded in calming the affliction of Amadima, by preſenting him with a handkerchief as an indemnification for the bag deſtroyed by the phoſphorus; while this article, from that inſtant, obtained the name of api taivuſs, (fire that occaſions fright).

This laſt kindneſs completely endeared me to the King of Saboo. "Orun Peron," ſaid he to me, at parting, "thou art the good friend of Amadima; to-morrow he will ſend you a hog." He was good as his word, and came to preſent it himſelf. We kept him to dine with us: French cookery ſeemed to pleaſe him, for he honoured it with hearty appetite; but as we had been wholly deſtitute of wine from the period of our leaving the Iſle of France, we had only ſome bad rum to offer him, which, however, he deemed excellent; at leaſt, he drank of it with ſo much avidity, that we had great difficulty in preventing him from becoming intoxicated. In other reſpects he conducted himſelf with that air of dignity which, a reſult of the habit of commanding, particularly characterizes depoſitaries of power.

The 29th of Auguſt, while I was engaged on a new excurſion into the country with the benevolent Riédlé, Meſſrs. Depuch and Leſueur, our commander, accompanied by ſome of our companions, went to pay a viſit to the widow of the late governor of Timor, Mad^me^ Van Eſten. This lady, a native of Amboyna, of Malay deſcent, and about forty-five or fifty years of age, is very plump, and has much of dignity expreſſed in her countenance. Heireſs of her huſband, ſhe enjoyed, at Timor, a fortune, for thoſe regions immenſe; in fact, ſhe is reputed to have not leſs than from twelve to fifteen hundred ſlaves, and the richeſt plantations of the country belong to her. Many of theſe, unfortunately, are the ſad fruit of the vexatious and arbitrary ſeizures of her huſband. As for her, of a mild and eaſy character, a pleaſing and even lively converſation, ſhe is generally beloved by the natives; and the Dutch governor, M. Loffstett, though envious of a fortune which allows this lady to make a more ſplendid appearance than is in his power, ſhewed her great reſpect: him it was who, on occaſion of the viſit of which I ſpeak, introduced our companions to the lady.

"The country-houſe to which we went," ſays M. Boullanger, "is ſituated on the margin of the ſea: on our way thither we traverſed a delightful country; it was watered by rivulets in every direction; and conſiſted, as it were, of one continued wood of bananiers, mangles, cocoas, and lataniers, with a thouſand other trees unknown in Europe. As we advanced towards the dwelling, theſe trees were leſs cloſe together,

together, and preſented a broad avenue, the middle of which was paved and ſanded with great nicety; beyond, in a verdant pavilion, was a large ſquare baſin, the cool and limpid waters of which were animated by the ſports of a vaſt number of beautiful carp. Farther on, we arrived at an iron gate, and a trellis fence, ſupported with pillars of ſtone. This was the entrance to the dwelling. Oppoſite to this gate was a large periſtyle, with two openings, ſupported by columns, the upper part of which formed a handſome Chineſe pavilion. Beyond the periſtyle was a court, and at the bottom of it the houſe itſelf, defended from the heat with two rows of exterior galleries, ſimilarly ſupported by columns. The pavement of theſe galleries was painted, and rubbed like our apartments in Europe: they were furniſhed with very handſome cane chairs, and vaſes of bronze placed near every one, in theſe regions, where betel is conſtantly maſticated.

"The miſtreſs of the houſe, a Malay, native of Amboyna, awaited us, ſtanding beneath her gallery: ſhe was dreſt in a very rich and handſome robe (pagne). On her left were about thirty young girls, elegantly dreſt in cotton robes, with white corſets, their long black hair braided and turned round the head. On her right were ſome male ſlaves, in waiſtcoats and white pantaloons; in the lower gallery other male ſlaves in long red ſcarfs. The regularity, the uniform and ſingular coſtume, the young girls dreſſed with greateſt nicety, who, like ſo many nymphs, ſeemed to groupe themſelves around their goddeſs, the ſite of this ſcene, the cool of the neighbouring foreſt, the gentle murmur of the rivulet, the view of the ocean on which the manſion was ſeated, altogether poſſeſſed ſo much grandeur, ſomewhat ſo noble, ſo elegant, and picturesque, as enchanted us all.

"After the uſual compliments and courteſies, the ſcene became ſtill more intereſting; the young girls withdrew, and in an inſtant re-appeared, loaded with the different parts of a collation equally coſtly and elegant. Here one gracefully preſented a ſuperb China cabinet; this one handed ſweetmeats; a third poured out tea; others, in ſhort, and with great rapidity, ſucceeded, offering, in their turn, to each of the gueſts paſtry, ſweetmeats, and confectionary of a thouſand different kinds. Their arrival with this collation, their graceful and meaſured deportment, the ſpecies of evolutions they performed, which ſhewed them in ſucceſſion in every point of view, and their deep ſilence, all contributed to remind the French of the charming ſcene of the toilette of Venus in the ballet of Paris.

"The viſit being prolonged till nine o'clock in the evening, we were already under anxiety reſpecting our return, which we feared we ſhould have to effect in the midſt of darkneſs, when, all at once, the red-mantled ſlaves appeared, each of them with a long bundle in the hand of the leaves of the latanier, which, like ſo many blazing flambeaux, ſpread conſiderable light to a diſtance. Then it was that I fancied myſelf with Orpheus, on his deſcent to the infernal regions; for our Timorians with their torches, their dreſs, and natural colour, might eaſily have been miſtaken for the devils of the opera; their mournful and piercing cries repeated at unequal intervals, completed the ſimilitude. Under this romantic and whimſical eſcort did the governor and us arrive at Coopang."

The 3d of September, M. Ronſard, entruſted by the commander with the conſtruction of a new long-boat, to replace that loſt in the bay of the Geographer, ſucceeded in laying it on the ſtocks; but the indolence of the Malays, and the ſmall number of builders, who moreover ſucceſſively fell ill, rendered the proſecution of the work exceedingly tedious and difficult, notwithſtanding the zeal of the officers employed in its direction.

Among the individuals whom I had occaſion to become moſt particularly acquainted with at Timor, was a reſpectable old man, whoſe noble and open countenance every day attached me more and more to him. He had noticed my predilection for the productions of the ſea, and frequently came to tender me the tribute of his fiſhing and reſearches. The liberal manner in which I rewarded his kind officiouſneſs, entirely won the affections of this good old man; I was his Sobatati (the friend of his heart). Often had he invited me in the moſt preſſing manner to viſit his abode, but hitherto my occupations had prevented me.

On the 4th of September, with Meſſrs. Depuch and Bernier, I ſet off for the valley of Oba, a delightful ſpot in the neighbourhood of Coopang, in which was the houſe of the old Malay: one of his young children ſerved us as a guide. We ſhortly reached that beautiful manſion whence we had been ſo rudely driven on our firſt arrival at Timor. I had afterwards been informed that it belonged to Mad^me^ Van Eſten, and that it was the ſame which M. Boullanger deſcribed with ſo much warmth and truth. All that ſurprized me was that our young guide ſhould conduct us thither, when, of a ſudden, he turned out of the road by a bye-path, which led us to a ſmall cabin, ſimilar to thoſe belonging to the pooreſt claſs of Malays in this country. The ſimplicity of this ſort of hut ſeemed to add a new charm to the delightful landſcape around; tufted trees, loaded with flowers and fruit, protected it with their ſhade; a multitude of birds, decked in the richeſt livery, wantoned mid the branches of the trees; and near this aſylum of innocence glided a gentle ſtreamlet.

The old man we came to viſit, was ſeated at the entrance of his cabin, occupied in playing on the ſaſoonoo; a boy, younger than the one who was our guide, accompanied him on the flute peculiar to this region; his wife, a few ſteps from him, was ſpinning watt, a ſubſtance uſed by this people in weaving; and his young daughter, who did not appear more than twelve years of age, was making rice-cakes to carry next day to the bazar, or public market*.

At ſight of us the whole family roſe, and the joy was general. Be ſeated, be ſeated, good Frenchmen, was the firſt exclamation from every mouth. The weather was very warm, and the walk had greatly heated us: for our refreſhment they brought a long cylinder of bamboo filled with buffalo's milk ſtill warm. My companions and I took hearty draughts of it, and afterwards we made preſents to each of our hoſts: the mother received a red handkerchief; the young girl ribbands, a mirror, needles, and pins; to each of the boys we gave a file and a knife; to the father a hatchet and a little ſaw. A demeanor ſo generous won the hearts of all, and the moſt lively joy ſparkled on the countenance of every one.

We took too near an intereſt in this worthy family not to be ſolicitous of more intimate knowledge of it. In anſwer to our inquiries, we learnt that the reſpectable old man was named Neas, his ſweet companion Sorazana; his young daughter Elzerina; the elder ſon Pone, and the younger Cornelis. The laſt, of weaker conſtitution, was of very regular features, his countenance full of candour and expreſſion; he was remarkably lively, and had all the defects and good qualities incident to this character, when united to goodneſs of heart, to a ſprightly imagination, and a quick conception. Pone, on the other hand, of a more robuſt nature, had a ſtronger pronounced and more martial look; he was ſerious and thoughtful: his goodneſs of heart was not inferior to that of Cornelis, but it was concealed beneath a leſs ſoftened exterior.

* A nearly ſimilar tale, as will be ſeen on proceeding, to that given by Sterne, of the Chevalier de St. Louis, in his Sentimental Journey. Tr.

Elzerina ſhone with all the charms that favouring nature ſtamps on the lovely companions of man in theſe regions; brought up under the eye of her parents, ſhe was modeſt, timid, and ſeemed ſtill more affectionate and ſenſible even than her brethren.

While congratulating Neas on the good diſpoſitions of theſe young children, we ſaw ſome tears drop from his eyes; and at the inſtant when grief had the maſtery, in a tone that pierced us to the heart, he exclaimed, "Oran di France ada bâé," (men of France, you are good). He was ſilent, but we readily inferred that he meant to continue —"all the Europeans are not good as you are." At this period we were not ſufficient maſters of the Malay tongue to puſh the converſation much farther; but the geſtures of Neas, a language which, among nations in a ſtate of barbariſm, or but little civilized, poſſeſſes ſo much force and expreſſion, did not admit of our miſtaking the cauſe of his complaint and his tears; and in the after-part of our ſtay, and on our ſecond viſit to Timor, I learned the whole hiſtory of this intereſting man.

Neas had been King of Coopang: to him it was that this magnificent plantation originally belonged, in the midſt of which we have repreſented the manſion of Mad^me^ Van Eſten to be ſituated. This part of the coaſt, as may be gathered from my deſcription of it, and that of M. Boullanger, is one of the moſt beautiful and fertile ſpots of the iſland. The Dutch governors long coveted it; but the anceſtors of Neas, attached to domains inherited from their fathers, pertinaciouſly refuſed to enter into treaty for its alienation: Neas appearing equally obſtinate. M. Van Eſten found means to render him ſuſpected, deprived him of his dignity, and afterwards obliged him, by menaces and ill treatment, to alienate his rich and beautiful inheritance, with reſerve to himſelf of the humble cabin alone, his preſent abode, and a ſmall contiguous encloſure.

Still, though thus deprived of the rank and poſſeſſions of his anceſtors, Neas preſerves in misfortune an exemplary magnanimity. Every day this old man deſcends to the ſea-ſhore to ſeek his ſupport and that of his family. Oftentimes his children accompany him: here I ſometimes ſaw them, and the ſight conſtantly overwhelmed me with ſadneſs and melancholy. Where the virtuous mind feels for the abuſe of power, and the effects of injuſtice, the keenneſs of the ſenſation becomes far more ſharp if the victims be intereſting and reſpectable. Fortunately, as in our country, crimes on theſe diſtant ſhores even, ſometimes receives its meed of puniſhment. M. Van Eſten died wretchedly, execrated by the Malays, who with juſtice accuſed him of having given up their country to the Engliſh as a ſafeguard for his fortune; and deſpiſed by the Engliſh themſelves, who charge him, in defiance of his engagements with them, with having been concerned in the plot of which they became the victims.

So much did the relation I have given endear to me the good King Neas, and ſuch was his attachment to me, that I was conſtrained to yield to his preſſing ſolicitations of changing names with him: I ſhall ſhortly have occaſion to return to this affecting cuſtom of this people.

Of the children of the old man, Cornelis moſt pleaſed me; he frequently came to ſee me at Coopang, and often, as I went to Oba, he conſtantly accompanied me a conſiderable diſtance on my return. One day that he put many queſtions to me reſpecting the country of France, (tanua di France) I enquired if he ſhould not like to go thither with me. Prompted by his natural impetuoſity, he conſtantly anſwered in the affirmative, but ſcarcely had he ſpoke, ere he began to reflect in ſilence; afterwards, reſuming converſation, he made a long ſpeech, the whole of which I could not comprehend. Vexed at not being able to make himſelf underſtood, he ſtopped, and turning to me, "Man Peron," ſaid he, "ſee what I am about to do:" he then made

ſeveral

ſeveral heaps of ſand, greater the one progreſſively than the other; he afterwards uttered the following ſpeech, which he accompanied by geſtures ſo expreſſive, I could but imperfectly ſeize his meaning: "At Coopang, Man Peron, thou art the friend of Cornelis; but when in France, a man will come and ſay to thee: ſell me this red man, and will offer thee a heap of money large as that," (pointing to the ſmalleſt maſs of ſand;) "thou wilt then anſwer, the red man is Peron's friend: thou wilt make the ſame reply to thoſe who come to offer thee money in heaps as large as thoſe other heaps of ſand:" and he deſignated them ſucceſſively, proceeding from the ſmaller to the larger, and indicating by his geſtures that my reluctance would diminiſh in proportion to the augmentation of the volume of money; "but, at laſt, ſome one will tender thee a quantity equal in bulk to this laſt heap, and thou ſhalt ſay: let the red man be a ſlave: then, Man Peron, I ſhall never ſee thee more; I ſhall be obliged to work laborioufly, and poor Cornelis, far from his father Neas, far from his brother Pone, will break his heart with grief."

As he pronounced theſe laſt words, this engaging child became ſo much affected that his eyes were filled with tears. I was myſelf too ſenſibly touched with the juſtice of the reaſoning and ſagacity of Cornelis, not to participate his emotion; I ſtrove to convince him, that ſlavery does not exiſt in France; but, as he was not ignorant that the Dutch, the Portugueſe, the Engliſh, and the Spaniards, who are beſt known in theſe ſeas, have ſlaves, he naturally concluded that the French had alſo; and as, Batavia excepted, they were ignorant whither thoſe were tranſported that were taken from Timor and the neighbouring iſlands; as all they know is, that they are tranſported far, very far away, (jâô, jâô) they are generally perſuaded that they are employed in the moſt laborious and deſtructive works. I have thought fit to relate this curious anecdote at large, as it affords a proof of the underſtanding of the inhabitants of theſe regions, and ſhews the bad opinion they entertain of Europeans.

As we have before noticed, the ſcurvy, which began to ſhew itſelf among our crew, was one of the reaſons for our commander touching at Timor; ten men, afflicted with this cruel malady, were landed at Coopang the day after our arrival, and were ſtationed in an old warehouſe of the Dutch company, which was appointed our hoſpital. Beſides theſe ten men, who were badly affected, there were many others whoſe gums were more or leſs ſpongy, and exuded blood; of the number of theſe I was myſelf one; but theſe ſlight ſymptoms readily gave way to the uſe of freſh proviſions and the land air; and at the epoch I notice, I found myſelf entirely free from any ſcorbutic humour.

On the 5th September, ſignal was made of two Engliſh frigates and ſome ſmall ſhips of war being in the ſtrait of Simâô; alarm now became general, and already preparations were made for calling out the formidable militia of the country, when the diſappearance of the ſquadron reſtored its calm to the colony.

From the 9th to the 15th, I made a variety of experiments with the dynamometer to aſcertain the relative ſtrength of the people of theſe parts, the reſults of which will appear in another place.

The 10th September I had occaſion to make an intereſting remark, which I take blame to myſelf for not having further proſecuted. Among the individuals who came to viſit us, I noticed two who had their fore-teeth ornamented with ſmall plates of ſilver, of tolerable thickneſs, which adhered ſo firmly to the enamel, that notwithſtanding every effort I made with my nails, I was unable to diſengage them. The men who wore them, ate before me, without ſeeming inconvenienced by this whimſical finery; they aſſured me, that they had had them thus ſtuck to their teeth for four or

five months, and that they would remain until uſe wore them away. By what means were theſe men enabled to fix theſe plates in ſuch a ſolid manner on the enamel of the teeth? What is this ſubſtance which reſiſts thus powerfully the diſſolving faculty of the ſaliva and food? Our dentiſts are hitherto unacquainted with any capable of braving their agency; they are reduced to uſe metals, and particularly lead, to defend the careous parts of the teeth; and are abſolutely unacquainted with any means of effecting adheſion to the poliſhed ſurface of their enamel:—the maſtic of the Malays would therefore be a valuable acquiſition to Europe: but, occupied by ſuch a multiplicity of affairs, I neglected reſearch into this matter, and mention it only that after travellers may remedy my omiſſion.

The 11th September, King Amadima, who ſeldom ſuffered many days to elapſe without a viſit from him, preſented himſelf earlier than uſual. "Friend Peron," ſaid he, "come and eat rice at my houſe." His manner, at this inſtant, had ſomewhat more affectionate even than uſual; and, notwithſtanding, there was mingled with it a ſort of myſtery, which fixed my attention: he took me by the hand, and I followed. On entering his palace, or hut, (for either denomination might be applied to his dwelling,) I perceived an extraordinary number of ſlaves decked as for a feſtival. A whole ſheep was at the fire under a neighbouring ſhed; ſeveral of the King's wives were employed in cooking: the purpoſe of ſuch extraordinary preparations I could not conceive. In a ſhort time the ſheep was ſerved up with rice; Amadima diſſected the animal, and preſented me a piece of five or ſix pounds weight at leaſt; took himſelf a ſtill larger piece, and began upon it with tooth and nail, in the moſt expeditious manner imaginable. I was far from being able to equal him in appetite, but I did my beſt.

When the firſt calls of hunger were appeaſed, the good King made a ſign to one of his ſlaves to bring him a bottle of rum, and after pouring out a quantity into a cocoa-ſhell; "Man Peron," ſaid he to me, "thou art the friend of Amadima; King Amadima is the friend of the Man Peron. Man Peron, the King Amadima gives thee his name; wilt thou give him thine?" This ſingular propoſition reminded me of the affecting cuſtom of exchanging names which Cook noticed in the majority of the iſlands of the Pacific, and which occurs even on the moiſt and foggy ſhores of New Zealand. I did not conſequently object to this affectionate teſtimonial of the Malay prince, but, without heſitation, anſwered: "the Man Peron gives his name to the King Amadima." The exchange ſeemed to tranſport him with joy; we cemented this union by ſeveral draughts of rum from the ſame veſſel. From that inſtant I became the Toowan Amadima: Amadima called me by no other name; and, in return, I endeavoured to call him Peron; ſtill, as I was unaccuſtomed to this practice, I frequently made a miſtake: Amadima, however, in the moſt undiſturbed manner imaginable, kindly rebuked me, and never miſſed calling me Toowan Amadima. All the ſlaves preſent at this exchange, were at the ſame time inſtructed to look upon me as the friend of the heart (ſobatati) of their maſter, and to call me Toowan Amadima.

After this epoch I had frequently occaſion to change names; the forms were conſtantly equally ſimple, and ſometimes even leſs ſo than on the occaſion I have deſcribed. Not ſo at Madagaſcar, where a ſimilar uſage prevails. The detail of the ceremony practiſed there not having hitherto been publiſhed, and being connected in ſome meaſure with this part of our obſervations, I give it as extracted from the journal of M. Liſlet Geoffroy.

"Ramafoolak," ſays M. Liſlet, "is chief of this part of the valley of Amboola, and reſides at Anoonoobé; he received us very kindly, owing to the information reſpecting

reſpecting us tranſmitted by Dian-Louve. All his captains made us preſents, as to the king's friend. My determination of taking my departure early the next day did not admit of my accepting the pledge (ſerment) which this chief propoſed between himſelf and one of his captains and me. This pledge, or oath, is an alliance made between two men: they mutually engage to love and protect each other, and each has his goſſip for the ceremony. They cauſe the breaſt of each to be ſcarified in ſeven different places, and receive from the ſcarifications ſeven drops of blood into a vaſe containing brandy, or ſome ſtrong ſpirituous liquor: they next, each of them put into the vaſe a ball and a flint, and dip into the liquor the point of their ſword or lance; afterwards, they preſent each to the other ſeven ſpoonfuls of this liquor, which is ſwallowed. They, in concluſion, affectionately ſhake each other's hand. The inhabitants of Madagaſcar religiouſly obſerve whatever they promiſe on ſuch occaſions, even at the peril of their life, and look on each other as brothers."

The 12th of September was a day which proved nearly fatal to M. Leſueur. While purſuing a troop of monkies among the rocks which obſtruct the courſe of the river Coopang, he was bitten in the heel by ſome venomous reptile. Shortly after, a ſlight numbneſs made him but too ſenſible of what he had to apprehend from the bite. He haſtened towards the town: already, however, his leg had become hard and ſtiff, and he bent his knee with much difficulty. To leſſen the activity of the virus, he tied his thigh very tight above the knee, but in vain; the thigh began to ſwell viſibly, and it was as much as my unfortunate friend could effect to reach the houſe. When there, he ſtretched himſelf on the ground, overcome with fatigue and agony, already experiencing the firſt ſymptoms of a violent fever. I was then abſent from home, but our phyſician M. L'Haridon was there: he immediately, without heſitation, cauterized the wound very deeply, and afterwards applied lint to it, ſtrongly impregnated with ammoniac; of this alſo he gave a ſtrong doſe internally, and recommended the patient to keep as quiet as poſſible. Soon a profuſe perſpiration took place; the pains began to abate; and a few days after M. Leſueur felt no other inconvenience than a difficulty of bending the knee, which continued ſome time, and which he even now occaſionally feels ſomewhat of, on change of weather. This accident ſerved, in our eſteem, to juſtify the exceſſive horror in which the Malays hold reptiles.

On the 15th of September, all our men, affected with the ſcurvy, had recovered; but a far more dangerous malady commenced its ravages. Eighteen were already ſick of a bad and fatal dyſentery, among whom my intereſting friend Depuch, my colleague Maugé, and the good and laborious Riédlé. In the mean time, our anxiety reſpecting the Naturaliſte became greater every day; we had hitherto received no intelligence reſpecting this veſſel, and reflected with pain on her ſituation, when we left her apparently driving to leeward. Every one deſpaired of her arrival, when, on the 21ſt September, ſignal was made of her appearing off the bay of Coopang, and making for the paſs. Joy now was univerſal, and ſhortly we were joined by our companions, who, not having found us at our place of rendezvous, were not themſelves without anxiety reſpecting us.

The Naturaliſte, during her ſeparation, had completed ſeveral intereſting works in the land of Edel Endraght's Land, and elſewhere, which will be deſcribed in the following chapters by M. L. Freycinct, who has taken the trouble himſelf to edite this portion of the work.

Captain Humelin, on his arrival at Timor, had only two men ſick of the ſcurvy, a circumſtance for which he was indebted to his long reſidence on ſhore, his perſonal attention to his crew, and eſpecially to the ſkill of my eſtimable friend Doctor Bellefin, the

the phyſician of his ſhip. This gentlemen had made uſe, with great advantage in this diſorder, of hot ſand-baths, a conception of Mr. Roblet, phyſician on board the Solide, who accompanied M. Marchand in his voyage round the world.

A few days after their arrival, the officers and naturaliſts of our conſort came on ſhore, and were fixed in a third houſe, procured for them by the governor. Our colleague M. Levillain preferred taking up his abode with us; he then enjoyed perfect health, and had little reaſon to ſuſpect himſelf ſo near his end.

From the 25th of September to the 1ſt of October, our commander, who had long laboured under a pernicious intermittent fever, experienced in ſucceſſion three ſuch violent attacks that for ſeveral hours his life was deſpaired of. Not an inſtant was to be loſt in giving a ſtrong doſe of bark; but as that on board our ſhips was of very inferior quality, I did not heſitate an inſtant in ſharing with him the ſmall quantity of that ſubſtance I had brought for my private uſe from Europe. The medicine operated in a moſt wonderful manner, arreſted the progreſs of this formidable fever, and preſumptively ſaved his life. Through the whole illneſs of our chief, M. L'Haridon ſerved him in the ſtead of a comforter, nurſe, and friend. To tell how he was rewarded would ſhock a generous mind.

The 7th of October was a day of mourning and affliction for both the veſſels; M. Picquet, one of our moſt eſtimable officers, on this day ſailed for Batavia. Arreſted by order of his commander, whoſe anger he had had the misfortune to incur, he had been for more than ſix weeks confined in the Dutch fort; and moſt cruel orders were given that, on his arrival at Batavia, he ſhould be ſhut up in the murtherous dungeons of the citadel of that place. On this occaſion, the ſtaff-major of both veſſels never ceaſed from giving M. Picquet the moſt flattering teſtimonials of their eſteem and friendſhip for him. Every day an officer and a naturaliſt went to keep him company in his priſon, and ſhare with him the poor fare they had. On his departure, every one was eager to load him with letters and atteſtations adapted to rebut the calumnies which might be invented to his prejudice. On arriving at Batavia, M. Picquet was declared at liberty by the regency there, notwithſtanding the letters of the commander. Scarcely had he ſet foot in France, before he was promoted from a midſhipman to be a lieutenant. This is ſufficient proof of what his crimes were.

On the 11th, the unfortunate Riédlé was ſtill in a very bad way; and notwithſtanding the moſt ſedulous attention of M. L'Haridon, who, the better to adminiſter ſuccour, had cauſed him to be tranſported into his own room, in the evening of this day all hopes of his recovery were loſt. For ſeveral days before, he had kept his bed; and the inflammation now had proceeded from the rectum to the inteſtinal canal, occaſioning him the moſt excruciating agony.

On the 12th, one of our cannoneers died; the firſt of a long liſt we ſhall have to diſplay ſhortly.

On the 18th, another of the crew expired.

On the 21ſt, the kind-hearted Riédlé gave up the ghoſt; on the 22d he was buried with all the poſſible ſolemnity our circumſtances admitted, in the ſelf ſame ſpot where Nelſon, the botaniſt of Captain Bligh, (and who with him had eſcaped the perils of the ſea when turned adrift by the mutineers of the Bounty, to periſh of fatigue and exhauſtion in reaching Coopang,) had been inhumed. A memorial was raiſed in honour of theſe two botaniſts, over the tomb which incloſed both their remains.

On the 23d, the alarm before excited from the appearance of a Britiſh ſquadron, was renewed, and with more foundation than on the former occaſion. In fact, in the middle of the day, a beautiful Engliſh frigate made its appearance, the Virginia, which, entering the paſſage between Pooloo-Simâö, and Pooloo-Kia, ſeemed to ſteer towards

our anchorage. The Dutch governor inſtantly iſſued orders for making the neceſſary diſpoſition of his force to protect the fort and road; many country-ſoldiers from the environs of Coopang were called in, and deſcended with rapidity from the neighbouring mountains: nevertheleſs, no alarm-gun was fired, the ſignal on which the militia of the interior are bound to repair to Coopang, becauſe theſe troops are compoſed of brutal and ſanguinary men, who are formidable even to the Dutch themſelves. The preparations made were fortunately as uſeleſs on this occaſion as the former. The captain of the Engliſh frigate, after examining our paſſports, which were carried to him by M. de Montbazin, one of our officers, informed him, that being ignorant of our miſſion, and learning at Delly, that two French ſhips were at anchor in Coopang Roads, he had concluded they were merchant ſhips, and reſolved to come and cut them out in ſpite of the battery of the Dutch, which he ſeemed to regard as of little conſequence. This officer, whoſe name I regret not to have heard, conducted himſelf with the greateſt delicacy towards us. Learning that our commander was indiſpoſed, he offered M. de Montbazin a preſent for him of ſeveral bottles of wine; but theſe he did not deem it right to accept. Moreover, M. de Montbazin received information that Ternate, one of the moſt important poſſeſſions of the Dutch, had experienced the ſame fate as Amboyna and Banda had done before, and that in the road of the former of theſe two places, a ſeventy-four gun ſhip had recently taken fire and blown up. After having thus converſed ſome time with our officer, the Engliſh captain regained the paſſage of the bay, and made off without firing a ſingle ſhot, although he was near enough to the fort and town of Coopang to have been able to diſcharge ſeveral broadſides at them. In abſtaining thus from hoſtilities, the Engliſh captain appeared anxious of giving us a proof of the eſteem and reſpect in which he held the object of our voyage*. It appears, moreover, that this deſtructive climate had not ſpared his crew; for M. de Montbazin fancied he ſaw the betwixt decks of the frigate loaded with ſick.

The dyſentery ſtill continued its cruel ravage on the crews of our two veſſels: the number ill was conſiderable; in each ſucceeding day ſome died, and the caſe of others became deſperate. In a diſtinct memoir which I have ſubmitted to the School of Phyſic at Paris, I have given my opinion reſpecting the origin of this ſcourge; it is ſufficient here that I ſtate medical aſſiſtance to have been ineffectual. Meſſrs. L'Haridon, Belle-fin, and Taillefer, had the goodneſs to invite me to their conſultations: we opened ſeveral bodies, and attempted every means which promiſed ſucceſs, but all our endeavours terminated in the melancholy concluſion that *whoſoever was grievouſly afflicted with this terrible malady became its victim.* It purſued us, as will be ſeen, to the very extremity of the globe, and obliged us every where to commit freſh corpſes to the waves.

All our beſt friends were attacked; my laborious colleague Maugé, had long been on the liſts. This eſtimable man abandoned himſelf to his exceſs of zeal even from our firſt landing; too ſoon was he its victim!

I have already obſerved, that ſoon after his landing from the Naturaliſte, M. Levillain had come to lodge with us; it was not long before the formidable climate of Timor cauſed him to experience its malignity: ſtruck with the ſame malady as our other companions, he took to his bed, never to riſe again.

* This is a forced compliment on the part of M. Peron; had the Engliſh captain's inſtructions warranted an attack on Coopang, he might have requeſted the French ſhips to keep out of the way, but he would have followed his inſtructions. Had he wantonly and unprovokedly fired a few broadſides, as M. Peron ſays, he might have done, and occaſioned the death of any in the fort or the town, although our enemies, it would certainly have ſtopped his promotion, if it had not been followed by ſome more rigorous puniſhment. Tr.

At

At the ſame time our head under-gardener, Sautier, who likewiſe reſided in our houſe, was mortally attacked; and to complete our ſum of diſaſters and misfortunes, Depuch, my valuable friend Depuch, received, at my ſide, the fatal ſhaft, his ſummons to the tomb! M. Boullanger alſo, and M. Leſueur were alike on the ſick liſt; the one afflicted by a violent fever and an inflammable cholic, the other by the general malady, the dreadful dyſentery. Even our domeſtics were ſo ill as to keep their beds. The conſternation was general.

In midſt of ſo many diſaſters, I preſerved my health entire; and I alone, of all who lodged in the ſame houſe, was exempt from attack from ſickneſs. This exemption I did not moſt aſſuredly owe to taking reſt; no one, I dare to challenge the teſtimony of all, had more aſſiduouſly given himſelf up to labour and fatigue than me; no one had made more ſplendid or more numerous collections of every kind: and ſtill leſs did I owe it to my conſtitution, naturally weak and delicate. In expreſſing my ideas reſpecting the cauſe of the dyſentery in hot climates, I ſhall point out the precautions, as ſimple as efficácious, by which I kept from this ſcourge; and I have, moreover, the melancholy certainty that the major part of my companions, by ſubjecting themſelves to the ſame care with reſpect to their regimen that I did, would have eſcaped death.

In our lamentable circumſtances, M. L'Haridon did himſelf not leſs honour by his aſſiduity, in attending the ſick, than by his generous conduct with reſpect to them.—Tired of the repeated denials to his applications for the moſt ſimple articles, he employed his whole ſtock of money, ſold every article of exchange he poſſeſſed, and even a portion of his cloaths, to buy what was neceſſary for the hoſpital, thus giving that double example of zeal and generoſity which diſtinguiſhes the real phyſician. Nor is this the only action of the kind which we ſhall have to notice on the part of M. L'Haridon; and we the more gladly proclaim it, as public eſteem alone is the truly grateful reward of deeds like theſe, and as to honour is to multiply them.

The 6th of November, thanks to the unremitting care of M. Renſard, our long-boat was complete, and launched. This day was truly a feſtival, ſince it reſtored us a veſſel of which we had ſuch need: we were far from thinking it was doomed to a fate ſimilar to that which it replaced.

M. Picquet was not the only officer we loſt; M. St. Croix Lebas, the captain of our frigate, was relanded as ſick a few days before our departure, and placed in the Dutch fort, to await there the re-eſtabliſhment of his health, and his return to Europe.

At length, on the 12th of November in the evening, we went to take our farewel of the governor; and the next morning we made ſail from the bay of Coopang, by the paſſage between Pooloo Kéa and Simâö. Our ſtay at Coopang had been prolonged to eighty-four days, and in every reſpect had been to us of fatal conſequence; it had occaſioned a long waſte of time, the death of a number of individuals, and the inconvenience of having many ſick on board: ſuch were the diſaſtrous conſequences of this long ſtay: it even appears highly probable, that if it had been much longer procraſtinated, the remainder of our crew would have periſhed. Who, on leaving the iſland, but thought it would be our laſt viſit to its murderous ſhores?

CHAP. IX.—*Operations of the Naturaliſte at Edel's Land, related by M. Le Freycinct of that Veſſel.*

[From the 8th of June to the 16th of July, 1801.]

THE gale which obliged us to make with ſuch precipitation from the bay of the Geogr· he, on the night of the 8th of June, was nigh proving fatal to the Naturaliſte.

This

This veſſel, an inferior ſailer to the Geographe, and in other reſpects a much worſe ſhip, with difficulty kept from being driven on ſhore by the winds and currents. The violent pitching of the veſſel, and the neceſſity of carrying ſail, made us apprehenſive every inſtant for our maſt, the leaſt damage to which would infallibly have occaſioned the loſs of the ſhip. Every two hours we were obliged to make a new tack, and this for two entire days, without a moment's reſt for the crew; and, ſpite of every effort, at one time we gave ourſelves up for loſt, when a ſlight variation of the wind fortunately enabled us to clear the ſouthern point of the bay.

In the courſe of the night of the 9th we loſt all ſight of our conſort: the wind ſtill continued to blow hard; and not before the 13th were we able to increaſe our ſails. We availed ourſelves of the more favouring weather to ſteer for the iſle Rottneſt, the firſt rendezvous appointed by the commander, and reached it on the 14th. The Geographe, contrary to the expectation of all, not being there, we reſolved on waiting for her; and Captain Hamelin, that his ſtay might be rendered uſeful, ſent different boats to ſeek a landing-place, and examine the different productions of the iſland Rottneſt. In the mean time he diſpatched M. Heiriſſon in one of the boats to examine the mouth of the river Swans, and advance up it as high as poſſible. For this intereſting expedition a week's proviſion was ſtowed in the boat.

The 17th of June, Meſſrs. Milius and Levillain departed to viſit the iſlands S. S. E. of Rottneſt; and, at five in the morning the ſame day, I was myſelf diſpatched in the ſmall boat with Mr. Faure, to reconnoitre with more preciſion the iſle Rottneſt, and complete its geopraphy.

"On leaving the ſhip the weather was fine; but a ſtrong breeze ſpringing up from the N.W. the ſea became very mountainous, and the waves, daſhing againſt the ſides of my ſlight bark, threatened it every inſtant with deſtruction. In this perilous dilemma, as the wind was adverſe, I could not regain the veſſel: I then endeavoured to paſs to leeward of the iſle of Rottneſt, but a long chain of breakers ſtretching out to ſea, prevented my effecting this: we had, therefore, no other alternative than to run aſhore to prevent inevitable ſhipwreck and deſtruction. A ſmall ſand-bank appeared oppoſite to us, for which we ſteered, and on which we were ſhortly thrown by the ſurf. We immediately jumped all of us into the water, and endeavoured to drag the boat on to the beach, but all our efforts were vain, ſhe was covered by the waves in an inſtant, and with difficulty we preſerved, of all our proviſions, ſome few pounds of biſcuit; the remainder diſappeared together with the boat.

"Diſappointed thus of executing the duty with which we were entruſted, by coaſting the iſland, we were yet deſirous of attempting its effectuation by land; but the rocks which bound the ſhore on the northern ſide were too ſteep for us to be able to climb; we were, therefore, reduced to make our way through the woods, which being very tufty in this part, admitted of our making but a ſlow and laborious progreſs.

"Chance conducted us into a pleaſant valley, at the bottom of which were ſeveral ponds: we deſcended to the margin of one of them; a prodigious quantity of bivalve ſhells of one ſingle ſpecies formed round the pond a rim about ſixteen feet broad. The water of theſe ponds was ſalt.

"From theſe ponds, which we denominated, from one of our midſhipmen, Duvaldailly, we made again for the ſhore, in hopes of clearing the rocks which in the firſt inſtance impeded our progreſs; but we found their courſe was uninterruptedly prolonged to the northern cape.

"In traverſing theſe rocks we diſtinguiſhed a piece of wood which fixed our attention, and excited a painful intereſt: it was the bitt-pins of a veſſel of from three hundred to three hundred and fifty tons, the rubbing of the cables againſt which was

ſtill diſtinctly viſible; this, with ſeveral iron rings we noticed, left us no doubt of a recent ſhipwreck.

"This unexpected diſcovery increaſed our anxiety for the fate of the Naturaliſte, which we knew to have been at anchor during the tempeſt near ſome frightful reefs; it moreover forcibly pointed out to us the horrors of our ſituation, which every inſtant became more alarming. In fact, black and ominous clouds were collected at every point of the horizon; guſts of wind blew with violence; the thunder echoed frightfully from the neighbouring vallies; rain fell in torrents, and the waves daſhed impetuouſly on the rocks. In ſhort, we were not ignorant that Captain Hamelin, deſtitute of a long boat, or indeed any other, would be wholly unable to ſend us aſſiſtance during the prevalence of the ſtorm.

"After a few minutes reflection on the ſad poſture of our affairs, we directed our ſteps towards the boat; and by the time we got to it were enveloped in the moſt profound obſcurity. We expected to find it in pieces, the ſurge having conſtantly beat on the bank where it laid, but with pleaſure we perceived it had, in great meaſure, withſtood the rage of the ſea, and that one of its planks only had been driven in. By good luck it was now high water: we entered into the ſea to endeavour to pull the boat on to the ſtrand, and fortunately at laſt ſucceeded.

"Our boat thus ſecured, we ſought a proviſion of water; the iſland appearing to produce none, we ſpread out our ſails to catch the rain, which continued to fall, and dedicated to this object the whole of the night. We likewiſe this and the ſucceeding day killed ſome ſeals, (phocas) the fleſh of which we found very well taſted.

"On the 16th of June we perceived the Naturaliſte under ſail; I obſerved her for a long time with my teleſcope, and by her courſe imagined ſhe was endeavouring to near the iſland. We immediately kindled a large fire to point out the part of the coaſt where we were. Still no ſuccour appeared at hand throughout the whole day; our ſituation became critical; and but for the rain had become much more ſo. I contrived, at length, an expedient to mend our boat, ſo as we might endeavour to regain our ſhip. As we wanted nails, I bethought myſelf of drawing ſome from the inſide of the boat, which faſtened matters of ſmaller import, and were uſed to nail together the broken plank; the tow of untwiſted cordage ſerved to caulk the chinks, which I planned to daub over with the oil of the ſea-calf, and aſhes for want of pitch. Fortunately our labours were rendered uſeleſs: the wind falling during the night of the 19th, our captain haſtened to diſpatch a yawl with proviſions; and, foreſeeing that our boat would have ſuſtained conſiderable injury in the ſtorm, he likewiſe ſent a carpenter for the purpoſe of putting it in repair. This completed, we returned on board by three in the afternoon.

"I then learned that the long-boat, diſpatched to reconnoitre the iſlands bearing ſouth-ſouth-eaſt of our anchorage had been wrecked on the continent; that the boat ſent up the river of Swans was not yet returned, and that great anxiety was felt for her fate; that, on the 18th, at two in the afternoon, the Geographe had been ſeen from the top-maſt eight leagues diſtant, bearing under topſails towards the north. Every one was at loſs to conjecture why the captain, after having himſelf appointed the rendezvous, had not repaired thither to join us. With reſpect to Captain Hamelin, deprived as he was of the long boat, his two other boats, and the chief part of his crew, it was out of his power to make ſail after the Geographe."

The 22d of June the boat ſent up the river of Swans having completed its miſſion, returned. The following details on this ſubject are given by M. Bailly, who accompanied M. Heiriſſon:

"The river of Swans, diſcovered by Vlaming in 1697, received its name from its

its abounding in black ſwans, two of which birds he tranſported alive to Batavia. We ſaw the mouth of it on the 17th of June in the morning: it was obſtructed by a bar of rocks which nearly prevented our entrance; but after ſtriking twice we ſucceeded in paſſing them, on which the ſoundings rapidly increaſed. A prodigious multitude of pelicans take up their abode in this part of the river, but we were unable to kill a ſingle one. The beach was covered with an amazing quantity of white, gelatinous, and tranſparent molluſcæ, abandoned by the tide, and which, without doubt, are preyed upon by the birds that frequent theſe ſhores. The ſoil here is compoſed of downs of ſand, more or leſs elevated; the rock by which they are terminated next the ſea is wholly of calcareous nature, is mixed with ſand, and abounds in excavations and chaſms, apparently the effect of the waves: in theſe downs grow different ſpecies of ſhrubs, ſeveral of which were then in flower. The Eucalyptus reſinifera flouriſhed abundantly; and large flocks of land-birds, eſpecially paroquets, of moſt beautiful plumage, hovered about the trees, and animated theſe unknown, wild, and deſert ſhores.

"At a ſhort diſtance from the ſea, the left bank of the river is precipitous, and preſents a bed of ſandy and calcareous rocks in horizontal ſtripes; ſhortly after, the oppoſite bank is equally precipitous, and has the appearance of a large circular wall ſurmounted with verdure. In every part of theſe ſhores are evident traces of their having once been overflowed by the ſea: the rock is almoſt excluſively formed of incruſtations of ſhells, and roots and trunks of petrified trees, phenomena of occurrence in different parts of New Holland. In other reſpects, the country at this point is flat, and without any eminences of height till after a conſiderable ſpace inland. Beyond the circular wall I have deſcribed, the precipitous appearance paſſes again to the left ſide, with a like ſhew of ruins, and a ſimilar geological conſtitution.

"Shortly after, we came to a large baſin, formed by a low country, over which the river ſpreads more amply; almoſt the whole of this baſin is engroſſed by a ſhallow: on the left bank we obſerved a ſort of branch, or inlet, which ſeemed to open another communication with the ſea; this inlet or branch we named the Entrance of Moreau, from one of the midſhipmen who accompanied us.

"After doubling a very low point, which projects from the left bank pretty far into the baſin, we landed for the night at the foot of a ſteep bank on the right ſide; this almoſt perpendicular bank has a ſmall interval of ſand between it and the river, on which we pitched our tent: we were here in perfect ſecurity, the boat afloat and moored to a tree, and its poop among herbage which grew on the ſhore; we could not be approached but by croſſing the river, or by a deſcent from the ſteep bank, at the foot of which we were; a deſcent of difficult accompliſhment, on account of the ſteepneſs of the hill.

"The ſummit of this hill commands a moſt beautiful view: on one ſide is diſtinguiſhed the courſe of the river which deſcends from a plateau of mountains in the diſtance, on the other its lower courſe is ſeen towards the ſea. Both its banks are almoſt wholly covered with beautiful foreſts extending deeply into the country. The rocky baſe, ſometimes ſeen here, is of the ſame nature as all thoſe I have before noticed; that is to ſay, it conſiſts of ſand and ſhells, and is covered with a bed of ſand, mingled with vegetable earth, which nouriſhes the trees of the foreſt.

"On the 18th of June, at day-break, we re-imbarked to proſecute our voyage. On leaving our reſting-place we met with new flocks of pelicans, which hovered about us; two of them we ſhot. Continuing our courſe now, in half an hour's time we grounded on a bank of very ſoft, unctuous, and adherent mud, from which we were able to releaſe

releaſe ourſelves only after conſiderable labour, and by dragging our boat along for a conſiderable ſpace. The courſe of the river is, as it were, ſhut by a line of ſmall iſlands, either low or entirely overflowed, which we named Heiriſſon Iſlands from the officer who commanded us.

"Near theſe iſlands it was that, for the firſt time, we diſtinguiſhed black ſwans, ſwimming majeſtically on the water: we killed ſeveral; their plumage was entirely black except the pinions, which were white; their beak was red, and their feet black. We obſerved that, in a few ſeconds after death the beak loſt its beautiful red colour, and became entirely black. The whole of the country we ſaw from this ſpot, till night, was low and almoſt inundated; a layer of ſand of large grain, and which ſeems the decompoſed particles of a rock of ancient formation, covers a very thick bed of highly tenaceous, and reddiſh clay. Other important phenomena ariſe from this change of compoſition in the ſoil. Retained by the clayey ſtratum, the rain water and the dews either remain on the ſurface, filter through the quartzy ſand we have noticed, form ſmall lakes, or run in narrow rills towards the river, whoſe waters from this inſtant begin to loſe their ſaltneſs; but hitherto they had been nearly as ſalt as thoſe of the ſea. The ſame evening we pitched our tent in an angle formed by the river and a ſmall branch of it, which Meſſrs. Heiriſſon and Moreau aſcended on foot the ſpace of half a league. Theſe gentlemen in their excurſion ſaw the trace of a human foot, the extraordinary dimenſions of which occaſioned them great ſurpriſe.

"The 19th June, after filling our caſks at a ſmall well I had diſcovered the day before, and which did not appear to me the work of nature, we continued to aſcend the river: from the point whence we then obſerved it, its courſe ſeemed to be from a chain of mountains at little diſtance from where we were; this circumſtance made us hope to be able to aſcend to its ſource: unfortunately we deceived ourſelves reſpecting the diſtance of the mountains; for, after continuing our courſe the whole day long, we perceived they were yet far away. However, at this inſtant, the bed of the river became much more narrow; but its depth continued ſtill, with little variation, from ſeven to eight feet.

"In the mean time three days had paſſed in our aſcent up the river into the interior of New Holland: our proviſions had greatly diminiſhed, and ſcarcely ſufficient remained to ſupport us on our return: this conſideration occaſioned us to renounce our firſt project of continuing our navigation to the foot of the mountains; and the next day, 20th June, we began our return.

"The 21ſt in the morning, we reached the ſhallows which detained us on aſcending the river: we hoped to avoid them by keeping on the right ſide, but we were miſtaken, and had not proceeded more than three furlongs before we ran aground. In vain did we endeavour to drag our boat over the ſhoal; we were ultimately obliged to conſtruct a kind of raft, unload our cargo, or at leaſt the weighty part of it, and afterwards, getting into the water, to puſh it before us. We ſucceeded at laſt by two in the afternoon in ſetting her afloat. Our joy on this occaſion was but of ſhort exiſtence: grounding again on a ſecond bank of ſand, only half a foot under water, we were obliged to labour ſeveral hours in order to overcome this laſt obſtacle; and never ſhould we have ſucceeded but for a ſtrong breeze which happened moſt opportunely to relieve us from our critical ſituation. In fact, at this epoch, we were overcome with fatigue and exhauſtion; for thirteen hours had we been in mud and water up to the waiſt, conſtantly employed in attempting to remove our boat: we had ſcarcely more than one meal's proviſion left; and, as it was impoſſible we ſhould regain our veſſel in leſs than four and twenty hours, we could not repair our exhauſted powers by nouriſhment.

In midſt of this embarraſſment and danger, night came on: we were about to land in order to dry ourſelves and recruit our ſtrength, when all at once a terrible noiſe, reſembling the bellowing of a bull, but much louder, and which ſeemed to proceed from the neighbouring reeds, petrified us with terror. After this tremendous roar we loſt all inclination to land; and, although half frozen with cold, we preferred paſſing the night in the water ſupperleſs, and without once cloſing our eyes, owing to the rain and the cold.

"The 22d, at day break, all jumped into the water to continue their labour at the boat; the tide riſing aſſiſted our efforts, which were at laſt ſucceſsful. Shortly after we halted to kindle a large fire in order to warm our frozen limbs, and take ſome nouriſhment. Continuing afterwards to deſcend the river, we at length arrived at its mouth; we left it by keeping along the left bank, and in the evening got on board, dreadfully haraſſed with fatigue and want of food."

The importance of the relation of Mr. Bailly has cauſed me to give it at length; it is the more valuable as tending to elucidate the phyſical hiſtory of New Holland, and in this point of view poſſeſſes intereſt as well for the naturaliſt as the geographer.

In the mean time the boat, ſhipwrecked on the neighbouring coaſt, had ſuffered conſiderable damage, which neceſſitated the diſpatch of carpenters to repair. Four whole days were employed in this indiſpenſable object, and it was not before the night of the 22d that it returned on board. We then received the following details of the operations and misfortunes of our companions.

On their way to explore the iſlands ſouth-ſouth-eaſt of our anchorage, on which expedition they ſailed the 18th June, they at firſt proceeded alongſide a ledge of rocks of conſiderable extent; they afterwards approached a ſmall barren iſland, denominated by us Berthollet. South of this laſt, they diſcovered a third, nearly as large as the iſle Rottneſt, which we named Buache. On this laſt were a great number of ſea-calves at a ſlight diſtance from the ſea, which appeared as if inclined to diſpute the landing of our ſailors. Their temerity coſt them dear, for many of them were ſlaughtered.

Obliged to reimbark haſtily on account of the wind blowing occaſionally in guſts from the north-north-weſt, our companions luffed all night in midſt of breakers; the ſpray was ſo plenteous, and thrown over our boat in ſuch quantity, as to require three men in conſtantly baling the water. At three in the morning, exhauſted with fatigue, and ignorant what courſe to take in order to avoid the breakers by which they were ſurrounded, they reſolved on letting down their grapple. At day-break they hoiſted ſail on a northern tack, and endeavoured to make towards the veſſel; but the mainmaſt of the long boat was ſoon broken by the violence of the guſts, and, with its ſail, fell overboard into the ſea: in vain did they attempt to ſplice it, the fury of the wind rendered all their efforts abortive. Driven now by the waves on the breakers, our unfortunate comrades reſolved on running the boat on ſhore. Their boat was ſhattered in the attempt by the rocks, but happily no one periſhed; the crew even ſucceeded in hauling it on ſhore and preventing its total loſs.

Fixed now for a time on this wild coaſt, our companions, in the interval of receiving ſuccours from the ſhip, made ſeveral incurſions into the interior. On one of theſe occaſions, having diſcovered a ſpecies of almond, the ſize of a walnut, they gathered a number of its fruit. Cooked in aſhes, theſe almonds had a tolerably good taſte, reſembling that of a roaſted cheſnut; but all who had the misfortune to eat of them felt very bad effects from the treacherous aliment. They were affected with a troubleſome vertigo, and violent retching; every one imagined himſelf mortally poiſoned. Theſe

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ominous ſymptoms, however, ſubſided, and no one died. "For my part," ſays M. Levillain, who himſelf had eaten two or three of theſe almonds, "I was exceedingly ſick. After having rendered the whole contents of my ſtomach, I continued to experience ſuch violent and continued retchings, that I threw up two large glaſſes of blood, and felt the moſt bitter agony. Ever ſince" adds he "I continue to feel acute pains in the ſtomach." Hard fate of navigators, placed in the unfortunate circumſtances I have deſcribed, of either dying of hunger, or expoſing themſelves to even a more agonizing death by feeding on poiſonous aliments!

The pleaſure of ſeeing the different parties ſent with our expeditions all ſafe again on board, ſoon drove from our memories the fatigue and diſaſters we had undergone, but the inquietude which every one felt on account of the abſence of the Geographe became more lively every day. Captain Hamelin, incapable of imagining that the commander would neglect repairing to the anchorage appointed by himſelf, reſolved on prolonging his ſtay on this dangerous coaſt. Our gentlemen availed themſelves of this to make new excurſions to the neighbouring iſlands, and M. Bailly to encreaſe his obſervations on their geological conſtitution.

"The 23d June, in the morning," ſays this naturaliſt, "I ſailed in the great boat to viſit the iſland Buache, at which we did not arrive before night. On our way we ſaw Giraud reef, diſtinguiſhed by the form of one of the rocks of which it is compoſed, a form much reſembling a ſhoe. This rock is a place of great reſort for ſea-fowl. Beyond is the iſland Berthollet, ſmall, with ſteep ſhores, and barren. All theſe iſlands and rocks, diſperſed at a ſhort diſtance from the continent, are connected with each other by a ledge of rocks extending nearly three leagues from the land. Even the iſland Rottneſt itſelf is united to this ledge of reefs: the ſea breaks on many points over this ledge; and in ſeveral places there is no paſſage for a boat of the ſhalloweſt draught.

"The iſland Buache is compoſed of calcareous rocks more or leſs blended with ſand, and contains many impreſſions of ſhells; the rocks lie in horizontal beds of ſmall thickneſs, which appear to extend into the interior of the iſland and to form its ſcantling. Inſtead of conſtituting inſulated mountains, theſe rocks form long continued chains, with, on each ſide, a uniform and tolerably ſteep declivity. The ſoil, although entirely of calcareous ſand, ſupports a vigorous vegetation. No freſh water was any where found, nor is this matter of ſurpriſe, the nature of the ſoil being regarded; for the ſand which forms its ſuperficial ſtrata impoſes on a calcareous rock, the looſe and porous grain of which offers no impediment to the filtration of water."

The 27th June, Mr. Bailly landed on the iſland Rottneſt, on which he made the following obſervations: "The ſhore is covered with a number of calcareous and ſandy rocks of a greyiſh white, and excluſively compoſed of the wreck of petrified ſhells. The hills neareſt the ſhore are of like ſtructure, but covered by downs of ſand almoſt entirely calcareous. Beyond theſe ſandy hills are ſheets of water, ſeparated from each other by ſmall ſandy hillocks, the water of them ſalt as the ſea. The tide has alſo a viſible effect on them: ſo looſe indeed is the ſand of the neighbouring ſoil, that the intereſting phenomenon I have noticed may with much likelihood be aſcribed to the filtration of the ſea. Unleſs indeed this cauſe be aſſigned, it would be difficult to conceive another, as there exiſts no direct communication between the ſea and theſe ſheets of water. We found here two ſpecies of ſmall ſhell-fiſh reſembling the melania, the one of a ſingle ſhell, the other bivalve, but both ſhells of a roſe colour. The margin of the chief of theſe ponds was literally covered with ſhell-fiſh, which were the only animate beings we found there. Moſt of the ponds have ſteep banks, and appear to

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owe their origin to the falling in or depreſſion of the ſoil. In midſt of the largeſt of them is an enormous rock ſtanding by itſelf, which, by its form, ſite, and the horizontal diſpoſition of its layers, evidently announces that it formerly made part of a hill which occupied the ſite of the pond, and was one of the chain which traverſes the iſland Rottneſt lengthwiſe. This conjecture is moreover founded on the exact correſpondence of the ſolitary rock with the ſubſiſting hills. The ſtone of which it is compoſed is wholly calcareous, white, and granulated, and interſperſed with ſhells in good preſervation, diſpoſed, apparently, according to their families.

The period appointed by Captain Hamelin for awaiting the Geopraphe having now expired without any ſight of that veſſel, it was not to be preſumed that we ſhould have chance of ſeeing her by further procraſtinating our ſtay, we therefore determined to ſteer for Endraght's Land, after leaving a flag on Rottneſt Iſland, with a bottle and a letter for the commander, in caſe of his touching there. On the 28th June we made ſail for our ſecond rendezvous: but, before I purſue the hiſtory of our voyage, it ſeems requiſite I ſhould take a general view of that part of Edel's Land we are about to quit.

Rottneſt iſland is of moderate height; the ſides of it are chiefly irregular, indented, and compoſed of rocks of calcareous and ſandy freeſtone, between which are conſtantly found inlets with a very white ſand. The iſland, generally ſpeaking, is well wooded; and the ſoil, though every where ſandy, appeared to me to produce an abundant and vigorous vegetation. The interior, interſected by a multitude of hills, is frequently of highly graceful appearance. Unfortunately we were able to diſcover no ſoft water, and every thing leads us to conclude that it produces none. By digging pits two or three feet deep, at a ſhort diſtance from the Duvaldailly ponds, ſome brackiſh water might, however, poſſibly be found, potable on urgent occaſions.

We noticed here, in great abundance, a ſmall ſpecies of kangaroo about two feet high: we likewiſe met with a ſecond quadruped, the ſize of a large rat, which the Dutch navigators, in fact, took for a rat, but which, according to the obſervations of our naturaliſt M. Peron, belongs to a new and very remarkable genus, deſcribed in the zoological works of that eſtimable and laborious naturaliſt. Phocas are ſeen in vaſt numbers on the different ſandy beaches of the coaſt; they occaſionally penetrate a conſiderable diſtance into the foreſts. We ſaw ſome of them which were very large: they were commonly grey; but ſome were of a reddiſh and others of a black colour. The laſt were the ſmalleſt, and perhaps the moſt young; for we ſaw a female of an aſh-grey giving milk to her ſucklings, which were black. The fat of theſe animals is good to eat when freſh; we frequently made uſe of it to fry our food with, and never found it give the ſmalleſt ſmell or taſte that was diſagreeable. The fur of the majority of them is fine and thick, and conſequently might become of much intereſt, as it would be an eaſy matter for a veſſel to load a rich cargo of their ſkins.

Reptiles (ſnakes) on the iſland are pretty common; many that we found were four and five feet long, by from one and a half to two inches in diameter; their colour was that of poliſhed ſteel. Rottneſt Iſland alſo produces a ſingular ſpecies of lizard, in which my friend M. Peron found a combination of toes hitherto unobſerved in the family of lizards. This one has but two belonging to the forefeet, while the hind have three.

The iſland is not inhabited; nor did it appear to us that it was ever viſited by thoſe who live on the main.

During our ſtay in the roads of the iſland, the wind blew fierce every point of the compaſs. The eaſt wind in general was weak, and brought fine weather; the weſt, ſouth-weſt, and north-weſt, on the contrary, brought on ſtorms and rain.

Fiſhing yielded us a large and excellent ſupply of food: ſome days paſſed, however, without our being able to catch a ſingle fiſh; they appeared to me to be chiefly there when the winds were ſtilleſt and the ſea moſt calm. It is poſſible on ſuch occaſions that the fiſh proceed to greater diſtance from ſhore, and return only when the ſea, too turbulent, renders neceſſary they ſhould ſeek ſhallower water and leſs tumultuous waves.

What alſo, among the fiſh, moſt occaſioned our ſurpriſe, was the multitude of ſquali, or ſharks, moſt of them of enormous ſize, which kept inceſſantly hovering round the ſhip. One which we caught had a much more pointed muzzle than the reſt; it meaſured ſixteen (Engliſh) feet in length, in circumference nearly twelve feet, and weighed twelve hundred weight and upwards. Some that we ſaw even doubled the ſize of this. We may hence infer that in no part the ſea produces monſters of this deſcription of greater bulk, or more formidable. We likewiſe, but chiefly when the ſea was calm, remarked many ſea-ſerpents round the ſhip.

The iſland Berthollet is abſolutely barren, and ſurrounded by rocks and breakers, eſpecially in the ſouthern part: in the north-eaſt is a ſmall ſandy beach, where a landing may be effected.

The iſland Buache, much ſimilar in appearance to Rottneſt Iſland, is ſurrounded by banks which render it difficult of approach, notwithſtanding it has in many parts a ſandy ſhore. The interior is entirely covered with wood; the trees on it are generally lofty, and the ſhrubs of good ſize; vegetation is remarkably active, notwithſtanding its conſtantly ſandy ſurface. I ſaw partridges on the iſland, and crows of a ſmaller ſize than in Europe, but of excellent flavour: ſeals here are found in far greater plenty than on Rottneſt Iſland.

As to the river of Swans, it cannot be conſidered adapted to ſupply the water requiſite for a veſſel: in the firſt place its mouth is difficult to enter, and its courſe is obſtructed by ſand-banks; and ſecondly, in order to find freſh water, boats muſt proceed up the river too great a diſtance.

On leaving Rottneſt Iſland we bore towards the north, deſigning to coaſt along at a ſhort diſtance from ſhore, provided the wind ſhould continue favourable; but a gale ſpringing up in our face, we were under neceſſity of making ſeveral tacks to the weſtward, which carried us out of ſight of land. Still, on our eaſtern tack, we were frequently able to diſtinguiſh it for ſome time together, and thence were enabled to aſcertain its general conſtitution, which we found, along the whole extent of this part of Edel's Land, a mournful counterpart of the monotonous coaſt of Leuwin's Land. As, therefore, contrary winds, and our anxiety to rejoin the Geographe, prevented our dedicating the requiſite time to our making a complete geographic ſketch of this coaſt, we contented ourſelves with tracing the bearings neceſſary for the correction of the manuſcript Dutch chart entruſted to us on our leaving Europe, which contained many ſerious errors.

The 8th and 9th of July, we ſaw the iſlands Turtel Duyf (Turtle Dove), and the Abrolhos, on which Pelſart was wrecked in 1629. We fancied theſe laſt iſlands were placed at too great diſtance from the main, from which, by our reckoning, they were but eight leagues diſtant, and were ſolicitous of paſſing through the intervening channel, which parts them from the continent, to aſcertain their exact diſtance from it; but not being able to effect this point on account of the adverſe winds, we merely aſcertained the poſition of this groupe of formidable iſlands. When at a diſtance of ten or twelve leagues from the main, the Abrothos appeared confounded with it: they are of ſlight elevation, and bounded by red breakers, againſt which the

ſea

ſea daſhes with violence; but theſe breakers do not extend ſo far out to ſea as is marked in the Dutch charts. Yet, as the ſea was little ruffled while we were in ſight of the Abrolhos, it is poſſible that the breakers did not ſeem to us to extend ſo far as they really do.

The 16th of July we were abreaſt of the Thorny or Difficult Paſſage, ſouth of the iſland Dirk Hartighs: we coaſted along that iſland at only two miles diſtance: it is bounded by a ſucceſſion of breakers which run but little out to ſea. By eight in the morning we reached the paſs between the iſlands Dirk Hartighs and Dorre: the plummet indicated a fine ſandy bottom, on which we caſt anchor.

CHAP. X. — *Operations of the Naturaliſte at Endraght's Land.*

[From the 16th of July to the 21ſt of September, 1801.]

SCARCELY had we anchored in the Bay of Sharks ere we anxiouſly ſought if the Geographe lay there, or had left traces of having been at any of the neighbouring iſlands. The boats we ſent for this purpoſe brought us no intelligence reſpecting the veſſel, and we felt firmly perſuaded that ſhe had not been on this coaſt. Under ſuch delicate circumſtances, Captain Hamelin thought expedient to hold a council, and at his ſummons we all waited upon him. Here, after an exact recapitulation of the different circumſtances of our voyage ſince we left the bay of the Geographe, we concluded that it was improbable any accident ſhould have befallen our conſort; and that it was not leſs unlikely that the Geographe ſhould have returned to the ſouth: we conſequently were of opinion that we ought to wait for her here no more than a week or ten days, and in caſe of her non-arrival, by the expiration of that time that we ſhould continue our courſe. Captain Hamelin then communicated to us his private inſtructions from the commander, which bore an expreſs order for his awaiting him at the Bay of Sharks. After ſuch inſtructions there was no room left to deliberate: but it was not without vexation we ſaw ourſelves thus condemned to loſe our time on theſe gloomy ſhores, in caſe the Geographe ſhould not come to ſeek us, which we were fearful would be the caſe from what we knew of the character of our chief.

Our ſtay here being thus reſolved upon, Captain Hamelin, for better ſhelter, determined to ſteer for the bottom of the bay, but previouſly he detached three men to the iſland Dirk Hartighs, with inſtructions to eſtabliſh ſignals to inform the Geographe of his being there, in caſe that veſſel ſhould appear at the entrance of the bay.

On his return from the iſland Dirk Hartighs, our chief boatſwain brought with him a pewter plate, about ſix inches in diameter, on which was rudely engraven two inſcriptions in the Dutch language; the firſt dated the 25th of October, 1616, the ſecond the 4th of February, 1697. This plate was found on the north ſide of the iſland, which on this account we denominated the Cape of the Inſcription; it was half covered with ſand, lying near a decayed oaken poſt, to which it appeared to have been nailed. The following is the tranſlation of the two inſcriptions:

1616.

The 25th of October, the ſhip Endraght of Amſterdam touched here, the chief owner Gilles Miebais Van Luck; the captain Dirk Hartighs of Amſterdam; he ſailed the 27th of the ſame month: Bantum was ſupercargo; Janſtins the maſter; Pieter Ecoores Van Bu . . . . . The year 1616.

1697.

The 4th of February, 1697, the ſhip Het Geelvink of Amſterdam touched here: the

captain Wilhem de Vlaming of Vlielandt; Joannes Bremer of Copenhagen, mate; the chief pilot Michel Bloem Van Eſtigt of Bremen: alſo, the dogger Nyptangh, Gerrit Colaart of Amſterdam, captain; Theodorus Hermans of the ſame place, mate; Gerrit Gerritzen of Bremen, maſter, (or chief pilot): alſo, the galliot Het Weſeltje, Cornelis de Vlaming of Vlielandt, commander, Coert Geritzen of Bremen, maſter. Sailed hence with our flotilla from the Auſtral lands under deſtination for Batavia.

After copying theſe two inſcriptions with great nicety, M. Hamelin cauſed a new poſt to be made, and ſent the plate back to be reinſtated on the ſame point of the iſland whence it was taken: he would have deemed it ſacrilege to have kept this plate, reſpected for two centuries by nature and thoſe individuals who might have obſerved it. He himſelf cauſed a ſecond plate to be put up, in the north-eaſt part of this iſland, on which was inſcribed the name of our corvette, and the date of our arrival on theſe ſhores.

The 2d of Auguſt we quitted the iſland Dirk Hartighs, and proceeded to anchor under the Middle Iſland of Dampier; the ſame day I received orders to take the plan of a part of the bay, that is to ſay of the eaſtern coaſt of Dirk Hartighs Iſland, from its north-eaſt point to the ſouthern incluſive, and of the ſouthern and eaſtern ſhores of the bay, after which I was to make the northern part of Middle Iſland, where the Naturaliſte was to wait for me at anchor. In the nautical and geographical part of the voyage, I ſhall detail this excurſion at length, here it will be ſufficient I give the reſults.

Throughout the whole of the 2d, the calm weather prevented my making much way: I coaſted the eaſtern ſide of Dirk Hartigh's land, and doubled a ſmall but pretty remarkable point, which I called Obſervation Angle, (Coin de Mire); I afterwards diſcovered a ſmall bay and an iſlet, which received the diſtinctive appellation of the Bay and Iſlet of Tetroodons (bladder-fiſh) from the number of fiſh of this deſcription in the bay, of which our ſailors caught abundance. Whales here were in ſuch numbers that I was often obliged to change my courſe in order not to run foul of them; I likewiſe ſaw ſome tortoiſes, and many ſmall ſharks. I paſſed the night on the ſouth point of the Bay of Tetroodons, which I denominated the Point of Refuge; for what reaſon will ſhortly appear.

In courſe of the 4th I doubled cape Ranſonnet, the ſouthern extremity of Dirk Hartigh's iſland, and completed a ſurvey of the Thorny or Difficult Paſſage, ſo named by Dampier, from the dangerous breakers which project from the ſouth-weſt part of the iſland. At night-fall I landed from a ſmall bay adjoining cape Ranſonnet, where I obſerved a number of holes the ſize of a man, which ſeemed ſo many burrows: it would be difficult to determine by what animal they were formed, the largeſt quadruped we diſtinguiſhed on the iſland not having exceeded a rabbit in ſize.

The whole of the 5th was paſſed in luffing up againſt adverſe winds; and I was conſtrained to ſeek an aſylum for the night at Cape Refuge.

During the 6th the bad weather continued, and cauſed me to run conſiderable hazard in the midſt of the ſhoals which lie at the opening of the harbour I ſhall preſently ſpeak of.

The 7th, after ſailing all day over a ſand-bank, on which there was ſcarcely ſufficient draught of water for the boat to navigate, at night I landed oppoſite to a ſmall iſlet, but a muſquet ſhot diſtant from the ſhore. I diſtinguiſhed on the ſand many footſteps of ſavages, yet ſaw none of thoſe by whom they were imprinted. Round ſeveral extinct

fires

fires we perceived abundance of ſhells and fiſh bones, but no bones belonging to quadrupeds, which induces me to conclude that the inhabitants of this part of the coaſt draw their chief ſubſiſtence from the ſea.

Not far from the iſlet of which I ſpeak, we found great plenty of pearl-oyſters, but the pearls in them were none of greater diameter than half a line.

The 8th, juſt as we got under ſail, and when but at two muſquet ſhots from land, we ſaw one of the natives deſcend to the beach, although the day before we had in vain endeavoured to get ſight of any: after obſerving us with attention for ſome time, he tranquilly returned inland. I ſoon after diſcovered an opening in the ſhore which ſeemed to me to be a river. I made ſeveral attempts to penetrate into it, but in vain: an uninterrupted bank of ſand prevented all entrance, and hindered me from reſolving my ſuſpicions. This river, if ſuch it ſhould prove, muſt be inconſiderable, and will ever be unintereſting to navigators on account of its want of acceſs. In my chart it is noticed under the name of the Suppoſed River.

After doubling a large cape, which I termed Cape Heiriſſon, I obſerved a tolerably large inlet, the direction of which was from north to ſouth. On penetrating into it I found myſelf in a ſmall but very fine harbour; this, however, from being cloſed by a ſand bank on which is no more than three feet water, will ever be uſeleſs to ſhipping, I therefore called it Uſeleſs Harbour. The northern point of this harbour is a large promontory, named Cape Belleſin, from the phyſician of that name in our corvette.

The 10th, after ſurveying Uſeleſs Harbour, I bore towards the ſouth to reſume my operations at the ſpot where I began them on the 7th: towards evening, I landed and paſſed the night on a ſmall barren and ſolitary iſlet. We found on it a prodigious number of ſea-birds, which all took to flight with loud ſcreams, as ſoon as we ſet foot on ſhore. They remained a long time hovering over our heads, and owing to their white plumage, which rendered them viſible notwithſtanding the darkneſs, they preſented a ſingular ſpectacle: we killed ſeveral of them, and likewiſe found a number of their eggs, but neither the fleſh of the fowl nor the eggs were well taſted; the eggs in particular, though freſh laid, were ſcarcely eatable. At day-break we left this iſlet, called by me, in honour of our excellent boatſwain, Lefebvre.

The 11th I diſtinguiſhed a new opening, towards which I endeavoured in vain to advance, the wind being directly in our teeth; I perceived, moreover, ten or twelve iſlets, in front of a low, ſandy, and very barren point of land, ſouth of the opening; which, from the enſign who accompanied me, I termed Girard Point. On traverſing the vicinage of our place of debarkation, I perceived ſeveral habitations, and many foot-ſteps of the natives: ſome of theſe were prints of ſingularly large feet, one that I meaſured exceeded 12½ inches (Engliſh).

In courſe of the 11th, I ſteered towards the opening perceived the day before, which received the name of Depuch Entrance, from one of our moſt eſtimable and moſt unfortunate companions. I diſcovered alſo ſome ſmall iſlets, ſimilar altogether to thoſe of the preceding days: I thought I deſcried, likewiſe, the mouth of another river; but, as was the caſe on the 8th, I found the entry into it cloſed by a ſand-bank. Doubling afterwards Girard's Point in my courſe ſouthward, I recognized ſeveral ſmall iſles, two of which, more extenſive than the others, were alſo of leſs barren appearance. I landed towards evening on the largeſt of theſe two laſt, which I called the Iſland of Three Bays, on account of its triangular form, and its having on each of its ſides a well outlined inlet of a ſandy bottom, where ſmall veſſels may at any time find excellent ſhelter. This ſmall iſland is tolerably wooded: its ſhores yield fiſh and oyſters: its greateſt extent is about a mile.

'The 13th, after having made the circuit of the whole of the extremity of the deep bay, in which I had been ſailing ſeveral days, I began to aſcend towards the north; ſhortly after I diſcovered ſome new iſlets, and a ſmall iſland, named by me Leſchenault, from one of our botaniſts. It was about a league in length, and in every part barren.

In the morning of the 14th, after having paſſed a pretty bay, I doubled a point remarkable from two iſlets in front of it; the point I named Moreau, from one of our midſhipmen. The whole of the remainder of the day was employed in ſurveying the coaſt, which I kept in ſight; and by the ſurvey I ſatisfied myſelf that what, after Dampier, we had conceived to be an iſland, called by him Middle Iſland, is no other than a long peninſula. On arriving at Cape Leſueur, I noticed that the land turned ſuddenly to the north-eaſt, and perceived the corvette Naturaliſte anchored in a bay, which we denominated Dampier Bay, in honour of the celebrated navigator of that name by whom it was firſt diſcovered. My ſeeing the veſſel ſerved to confirm me in the belief that the land oppoſite to us was really the ſame we had hitherto miſtaken for an iſland. I regained the ſhip in the evening, after an abſence of a fortnight, during which I had made the circuit of more than two-thirds of this vaſt inlet, ſo improperly termed the Bay of Sharks. The harbour I had thus reconnoitred is nearly thirty leagues deep. I termed it H. Freycinct Harbour, from my brother, lieutenant on board the Geographe; and the large peninſula, which forms its eaſtern ſide, received the name of my friend M. Peron.

While abſent from the ſhip, ſeveral events took place, of which I ſhall render a ſuccinct account. On the 3d of Auguſt, Captain Hamelin came to the northward to anchor, about ſeven or eight miles from the peninſula Peron; the next day, a great ſmoak being perceived to riſe ſuddenly from the neighbouring lands, the captain ſent Meſſrs. St. Cricy and Baillie to examine into the cauſe. Theſe gentlemen, immediately on landing, were met by about thirty ſavages, armed with long ſpears and clubs, who made a great clamour, and ſeemed diſpoſed to direct their firſt attack on M. St. Cricy, when this officer, though with regret, diſcharged a muſquet over their heads. The noiſe of the exploſion, to them a noiſe ſo new, occaſioned ſo much ſurprize and terror, that they all at once fled over the ſhore, cleared the downs, and were loſt in the thickets. The ſmoak ſeen aroſe from a very large fire kindled by theſe men.

The 6th, an obſervatory was erected on the neighbouring peninſula, and M. St. Cricy was directed to verify the time-pieces; but the variation of temperature on land was ſo great, that after a few days this gentleman was obliged to return on board with the watches.

The ſame day, the 6th of Auguſt, our long boat, which after its damage near Rottneſt Iſland had been only temporarily repaired, was hauled on the ſand to undergo a complete refit. On this work all our carpenters and caulkers were employed: a certain number of ſailors were likewiſe diſpatched to cut down wood, and collect what was neceſſary for our proviſion. We had thus a ſmall camp on ſhore, conſiſting of about thirty perſons. The neceſſity of providing theſe with water, and the continual trouble which the tranſport of that indiſpenſible article from the ſhip would occaſion, gave birth to the plan of taking the ſtill on ſhore, for the purpoſe of diſtilling ſalt water. "This duty," ſays M. Bailly, "was confided to me; and though the conſtruction of part of the apparatus was defective, I ſucceeded in obtaining daily about forty quarts of water, a quantity amply ſufficient for the thirty individuals on ſhore. Sea-water, after diſtillation, is not unpleaſant, it has merely an empireumatic flavour, which is diſſipated by expoſure to the atmoſphere, and is certainly preferable to the bad water ſo frequently uſed on board of ſhips.

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"The utility of this chymical apparatus, ſo evident from the advantage we derived from it, ſhould cauſe it ever to be a part of the equipment of a veſſel, eſpecially on voyages to explore coaſts where water may poſſibly not be found; in inſtances of ſhipwreck alſo, it might prove the ſalvation of many lives."

The 22d of Auguſt, Meſſrs. Faure and Moreau were diſpatched in the greater boat to explore the coaſt near our anchorage. They were to commence their ſurvey from the point named by M. St. Allouarn, High LandPoint, the point where mine terminated, and thence trace the eaſtern coaſt of the Peninſula Peron, till again abreaſt of this point; after which, they were to return to the ſhip. The expedition was completed by the 31ſt; on the arrival of our comrades, we learnt they had diſcovered a ſmall bay, ſince termed the Bay of Attack, lying ſouth of High Land Point. The point which bounds it ſouthward, larger than the laſt mentioned, was denominated Point Guichenault, from the name of one of the two companions of M. Peron in the hardſhips he endured, which will be noticed as we proceed. Farther on, and conſtantly advancing ſouthward, a ſecond bay was diſcovered called L'Haridan Bay, its ſouthern point being named Petit Point, from one of our unfortunate companions. Eaſtward of Cape Petit they diſcovered a tolerably large iſland, of which they merely examined the weſtern coaſt; it was denominated, from the geographer by whom it was firſt diſtinguiſhed, and who drew a chart of its coaſt, Faure Iſland. Hence proceeding ſouthward, another bay or large harbour preſented itſelf, the ſoundings of which were taken; it is ſeparated from the preceding only by an iſthmus, termed, from the ſecond doctor of the Geographe, Taillefer.

Aſcending afterwards towards the north, the party found large ſand banks covered with turtle, and thence denominated Turtle Banks. Induced by the eaſe with which they might be taken, a landing to procure ſome was effected on Faure Iſland, and in leſs than three hours fifteen were turned, weighing from 122 to 147 kilogrammes* each. Laden with this valuable cargo they returned on board. The large harbour above noticed, not ſo deep, but more ſpacious than that on the weſt, received its name from Captain Hamelin, with univerſal conſent.

Our proviſions were now nearly exhauſted, and no intelligence of the Geographe had yet been received. All that depended on the captain towards effecting a junction with that veſſel by a ſtrict obſervance of his orders, had been done; and no hope now remained of falling in with it, but by a return to the place whence he had ſet out, a meaſure he reſolved to put in immediate execution.

We in conſequence got under weigh the 4th of September, firſt for Timor, after having paſſed forty-nine days in the Bay of Sharks. Of this bay there remains I ſhould give a general deſcription.

After Dirk Hartighs and Vlaming, the next European who viſited theſe ſhores was Dampier, to whom the Weſtern World is indebted for the firſt and only correct notions of theſe countries previous to our expedition. This ſkilful navigator anchored north of the Peninſula Peron, which, as we have noticed, he miſtook for an iſland, and gave the name of Shark's Bay to the ſpace comprized between the iſlands weſtward and the continent, without having ſurveyed the form of this ſuppoſed bay or its breadth. It is by no means a matter of ſurprize, after Dampier, commonly ſo exact in all his works, had given the name of bay to an aſſemblage of bays, harbours, and coves, which had a general appearance of what is comprehended under that denomination, that it

* 264 to 318 lbs. Avoirdupois.

ſhould ſtill be preſerved notwithſtanding its impropriety. This is rightly done perhaps, as it prevents the ill conſequences of changes in nautical names.

St. Allouarn in the Gros Ventre, armed *en flute*, viſited theſe ſhores in the year 1772, and made himſelf acquainted with the land north of the peninſula. He gave the name of High Land Point to the moſt northern cape of this peninſula, but left this part without determining any other portion of the geography of Endraght's Land.

The reſult of our labours is: that we have nearly aſcertained the ſo called Bay of Sharks to be a great bight, fifty leagues in depth, taken from Cape Cuvier northward to the ſouthern extremity of the gulf Freycinct; that all the eaſtern coaſt is excluſively formed by the continent, and the weſtern of the iſlet Koks, the iſlands Dorre and Bernier, Dampier's Reef, the great iſland Dirk Hartighs, and a portion of the continent. All the middle part of this bight is occupied by the great continental peninſula, eaſt and weſt of which the harbours of Hamelin and Freycinct are ſituate.

It were ſuperfluous, after the picture of theſe ſhores preſented by M. Peron in the ſixth chapter, I ſhould recapitulate their miſerable ſterility; ſuffice it I obſerve, that what that naturaliſt has ſtated of the phyſical conſtitution and various productions of Bernier Iſland, is ſtrictly applicable to the other iſlands and to the main. In every part layers of ſand impoſe on calcareous rocks of leſs or greater elevation: in every part the ſame ſcarcity of freſh water exiſts, the ſame aridity, and ſimilar deſtitution of vegetable productions. Like alſo is the ſea zoology, and that of the land, ſave in theſe inſtances: the kangaroo is of a larger ſpecies on the continent, and the human race and the dog are found there alone. Of weak organization and very thinly ſcattered, man here preſents the ſame character, with reſpect to his conformation and ſocial habitude, as we ſhall have occaſion elſewhere to notice.

Seen with a ſailor's eye, this portion of Endraght's Land preſents good anchorage in Dampier Bay, is capable of furniſhing wood, and an eſtimable ſtock of proviſions in the turtle with which it abounds. Commercially viewed, the vaſt abundance of whales which reſort to it render ſafe any extent of ſpeculation in the fiſhery of this animal; and while the mariners employed might by the uſe of alembics, at no other expence than time, find a ſubſtitute for ſprings, which are wholly wanting, in the freſh water from the ſea, the plenteouſneſs of fiſh and turtle would ſecure them excellent and healthy food: pearls alſo might, probably, with a little induſtry in ſeeking them, be found to repay with uſury the adventurer's toil.

As before noticed we ſailed on the 4th of September from Shark's Bay for Timor. By two in the afternoon we gained the middle of the paſſage of the Naturaliſte, and loſt ſight of the iſlands Dorre and Bernier at ſeven in the evening.

The 15th we diſtinguiſhed New Saboo, three and half miles diſtant north-north-eaſt. The 16th at dawn we made Great Saboo, and ſteered ſo as to paſs between it and the iſlet Benzoard, which ſtrait we entered at nine in the morning. The ſouthern part of Great Saboo is very high; its mountains, which decline towards the ſea-ſhore, are covered with dwellings and beautiful foreſts, above the level of the generality of trees, in which tower loftily the palm and cocoa. Many of theſe laſt trees alſo are ſeen on the beach, their roots waſhed by the waves. We coaſted ſo cloſely along this ſhore as to diſtinguiſh the natives on the ſtrand. The iſland is about ſix leagues wide; its north-weſt coaſt is ſtill more lofty than the ſouthern, and is alſo ſuperior in fertility and beauty.

The iſland Benzoard, oppoſite to Great Saboo, where longeſt is but five leagues in length. It is, like its neighbour, lofty, and well covered with wood and inhabitants.

On the 20th September, at day-break, we diſcovered the iſle Simaö to the eaſtward,

and beyond it, at a great diſtance, the lofty mountains of Timor. In the evening we had ſight of the iſlands Tico and Rotti.

The lands of Simaõ, though lofty, are leſs ſo than thoſe of Great Saboo. This iſland is woody, and interſected by chains of mountains, running in different directions. The ſoil of the ſouthern part is of a ſtrong reddiſh colour.

Rotti likewiſe is elevated. The iſlet Tico is low, but well wooded: it appears to be ſurrounded by a fine flat ſandy ſhore.

Theſe iſlands, altogether, in form and in healthy vegetation by which they are covered, preſent the moſt perfect contraſt when compared with the low, ſterile, and deſert ſhores of New Holland.

The 21ſt of September we ſailed to the north of Rotti to gain the roadſted of Coopang. By a quarter paſt ſix we were near enough to diſtinguiſh a three-maſted veſſel at anchor in the harbour. By half paſt ſeven I was diſpatched in the long boat to acquaint the governor with our object in viſiting Coopang. When at diſtance from the ſhip I ſaw a boat ſteering from ſhore with the French flag; it was commanded by my brother. I then learnt that the Geographe had been upwards of a month at Coopang, and that, from the inſtant of our ſeparation in the Bay of the Geographe, our colleagues had experienced on our account the greateſt anxiety. At length, by one in the afternoon, we anchored near our conſort. Thus, two ſhips, deſigned and inſtructed to act together, after ſuch a long and diſtreſſing ſeparation, a ſeparation totally owing to the miſ-computation and bad management of the commander in chief, by dint of hazard were once again united.

BOOK III.

FROM TIMOR TO PORT JACKSON, IN NEW WALES.

CHAP. XI. — *Courſe from Timor to the South Cape of Diemen's Land.*

[From the 13th November 1801, to the 13th January 1802.]

IN the 5th chapter we have noticed that our commander, even on his departure from Europe, had totally inverted the general plan of operations preſcribed by government; that, inſtead of proceeding to double the South Cape, he had gone towards Cape Leuwin, and had employed the whole of his firſt voyage in viſiting the ſouth-weſtern coaſt of New Holland. The natural courſe of events, and of the ſeaſons now, therefore, directed us to the ſouthern extremity of Diemen's Land; and thither, in fact, did we ſteer on leaving Timor. Meeting long with calms and contrary winds, we experienced much difficulty in doubling Cape Leuwin, but we fortunately were ſucceſſful in the beginning of January: at the ſame time, we were favoured by ſtrong gales from the weſt-north-weſt, which carried us rapidly towards the ſouthern extremity of Diemen's Land; and the 13th January we diſcovered the long mountains of that great iſland.

In the ſucciné account I am about to render of the obſervations of this ſecond voyage, I deem it right to lay greater ſtreſs on the ſea animals we ſaw, than on the hiſtory preſenting details equally valuable to the naturaliſt and the navigator. In fact, the conſtancy of reſort of theſe animals to certain ſpots, may frequently furniſh the latter with uſeful indications of the neighbourhood, or diſtance of land. The immortal Cook gave much attention to remarks of this kind; and M. de Fleurieu, in his valuable

valuable appendix to the voyage of Marchand, considered it of consequence to treat especially on this subject. This part of his work, which may be regarded as an abridgment of Pelagic Zoology, is certainly of its kind the best guide an enlightened navigator, or even a naturalist can follow.

The 14th November the sky was covered with vapour, the barometer scarcely maintained itself at 28" 1'; the thermometer was 23,5° *; the hygrometer indicated 97° of moisture. Our numerous sick were great sufferers from this humid and hot temperature; and this day died the master's mate of the Naturaliste, M. Savary.

The 15th, we ourselves lost the unfortunate Sautier, our first journeyman gardener, an active and laborious man.

The same day we saw a water-spout in the distance, on the 16th we again saw another in the evening, and at night we passed the Great Saboo.

The 17th, in the morning, we were abreast of Benzoard Island, and, soon after passing it, discovered New Saboo. This island rises but little above the waves, which break around it: still its surface is chearful; it seems covered with verdure, and pretty groves of trees upon it occasionally salute the eye. New Saboo is uninhabited, and is remarkable for an enormous rock near one of its points, which, at a distance, seems as if pierced by a large opening. The unhealthy temperature still continued: the condition of our sick became more serious; and at eight in the evening we lost Francis Courroyer, one of the most robust men, and one of the best steersmen in the ship.

This day numerous flights of boobies hovered about our ship, apparently from the islands we had in sight. These birds from this day constantly accompanied us to the 20th November, traversing with us the space comprized between the 10th and 15th degree of south latitude, a distance of nearly 125 marine leagues from shore. This [illegible] conditions, indeed the observations of Lafeuillée, Cook, and Forster, on the [illegible] of the indication of neighbouring land deduced from the sight of birds of this description; though it is equally certain that we never distinguished any species of booby in large flights at open sea; and the voyage I describe affords a proof of this. For after passing the islands Saboo, we sailed constantly at distance from land, [illegible] being left by these, no others till within the neighbourhood of Diemen's [illegible] when their numberless legions presented themselves to our sight nearly at the [illegible] with the lofty mountains of that great island. With few exceptions, [illegible] the appearance of boobies may be looked upon as a very probable indication of some neighbouring land; and to the navigator, who sails in unknown seas, is this indication especially valuable. The species of booby in question being new, I have described it under the denomination of Sula Sabuensis, (booby of the Saboo Islands).

The 18th November, Maria Hubert, gunner, died on board the Naturaliste.

The 19th, we ourselves gave to the waves one of our best sailors, called Pougens. At this period we were so much incommoded with heat, and our ratio of water was so small, that some unfortunate beings were even seen to drink their urine. All that the physician could say to induce our chief to increase for the instant the allowance of water, which might so easily be diminished on approaching to colder climates, was useless. It is painful to me to notice such matters; but, in voyages of this description, the lesson afforded by misfortune should not be omitted nor forgotten: the most celebrated navigators have justly reckoned a privation of water one of the most potent predisposing causes of scurvy on long voyages; and as we shall shortly have

* 72½° of Fahrenheit.

to

to detail our participation in this malady, would it not be criminal in me to paſs over a circumſtance which relates ſo materially to this diſaſtrous epidemy?

The 20th we ſaw a multitude of phyſales on the ſurface of the ſea, an animal whoſe intereſting hiſtory is given in the 3d chapter. This ſpecies appeared to me different from that ſeen in the Atlantic Ocean: I have deſcribed it under the title Phyſalia auſtralis, and have made minute and numerous reſearches into the organization of this ſingular animal, the minutiæ of which will be given in the zoological portion of our voyage.

The 22d November, another of our unfortunate gunners died, of the name of Mentelle. All was now conſternation: twenty-five men were on the ſick liſt, and many of them, among which were Meſſrs. Depuch and Mange, were very ill; happily, in proportion as we advanced towards the ſouth, the heat became leſs troubleſome, and our ſick mended.

The 24th, we ſaw for the firſt time ſome ſtorm birds, (Procellaria pelagica, Lin.) We ſaw them in 14° lat. ſouth. The 7th December, in 17°; and the 1ſt January 1802, in 34°, we ſaw others; in the laſt latitude they are very rarely viſible.

The 25th of November we caught a ſhark ten feet long, which afforded us a new ſpecimen of the prodigious irritability of theſe fiſh. Indeed, ten minutes after its head was cut off, and its heart and viſcera torn out, when, in order to waſh it at the pump, the men were about to drag it forward by the tail, it raiſed its body with great quickneſs and ſtrength, and made ſuch violent efforts, that ſeveral men were nearly thrown down by its exertions. In our paſſage from Europe to the Iſle of France, I had before remarked, in an animal of this genus, a ſtill greater irritability. A ſhark being caught, more than *two hours after* it had been cut open, and its viſcera and heart had been torn out and thrown into the ſea, a ſailor went to cut off its tail; but ſcarcely had the knife penetrated the fleſh, before the ſhark contracted itſelf greatly, made ſeveral bounds, and continued to move until its tail was cut off with an hatchet.

The 26th, in the evening, on hailing the Naturaliſte we learnt that, with reſpect to ſick, ſhe was not more fortunate than us; and that, independently of thoſe we have noticed, they had loſt Bourgeois of Havre, a youth equally diſtinguiſhed for his eſtimable qualities as his excellent education: on the ſame day, we threw into the ſea a ſailor named Ives. Finally, Captain Hamelin informed us that he had ſtill eighteen men on the ſick liſt, among which M. Levillain, who every day became worſe and worſe. The bad news we received was more than equalled by that we had to communicate; after which the two veſſels parted.

The 27th we ſaw vaſt numbers of flying-fiſh; theſe again made their appearance the 30th November, the 1ſt and 2d December, between 14 and 19° of latitude.

The 2d December we obſerved the firſt Tropic bird, (Phæton, Æthereus, Linn.) the moſt beautiful of the equatorial ſea fowl; the 22d we again ſaw others; and, on this laſt day, we paſſed the tropic of Capricorn. Thus then this portion of our remarks corroborates what is ſo eloquently obſerved by Buffon reſpecting the limits of the reſort of this intereſting bird: "Harneſſed to the chariot of the ſun in the burning zone which limits the tropics, perpetually flying beneath this torrid ſky, without ever wandering from the two extreme limits of the courſe of that brilliant luminary, it announces to navigators their approaching paſſage beneath thoſe celeſtial ſigns *."

The 11th December, in 21° of latitude ſouth 101° eaſt of Paris, we diſtinguiſhed a peterel, the moſt elegant of the antarctic ſea fowl, and that which has ſo repeatedly

* Which are "thoſe celeſtial ſigns?" the paſſage ſo far from meriting the epithet of elegant, borders ſtrongly on arrant nonſenſe. Tr.

been described in the relations of ancient and modern travellers. The 13th December, we again saw others, and as we had on the same day observed tropic birds, it results that the two birds may be seen at the same spot: the one, exclusively an inhabitant of the antarctic regions, delights in icy climates, fogs, and tempests; while the other, chained, as Buffon describes, to the chariot of the sun, cherishes the calm of the tropics and their ardent temperature. From these observations, from those of Cook, who in his second voyage, met with petrels on this side 30°, it results that the limits fixed by Linnæus for the habitation of these birds should be placed nearer to the equatorial regions than 40°, beyond which the celebrated Swedish naturalist has established their confines. We moreover observed them in great numbers the whole length of Leuwin's Land, and even in the bay of the Geographe, in 33°.

The 12th December, for the fifth time, we passed the tropic of Capricorn. Already the temperature did not exceed 17°; the barometer from 28^{p} 1^{l} had progressively risen to 28^{p} 3^{l}. On this day we lost our master-sail-maker, a very respectable man, in esteem with the whole of the officers and crew.

The 25th we saw some grey petrels, (Procellaria grisa, Linn.); we distinguished others again on the 29th, 30th, and 31st of the same month, in latitude 32° and 33° S. In fact, this it is which Linnæus ascribes the northern extreme of the flight of this bird: Cook however in his voyage did not meet with them lower than at 35°.

The 29th, the sea appeared covered with janthines, the most pleasing of testaceous sea mollusce: this mollusca, by means of a branch of small bladders filled with air, swims freely on the surface of the water, as we have noticed in chap. 3d.

On this brilliant shell-fish I discovered a new species of crustacea of a beautiful ultramarine blue; I recognized it for a pinnotheris, and have described it under the name of Pinnotheres janthinæ. This discovery is so much the more interesting as it does not appear that these parasite animals have before been noticed in univalve shells.

The same day, 29th December, was the last of the sufferings and existence of my colleague M. Levillain. To the cruel dysentery, that pursued him from our leaving Timor, was superadded a pernicious sweating fever, (V. diaph. de Torti), the fourth attack of which was fatal. His body was committed to the waves, which by a singular fatality had already been the sepulchre of his father and his eldest brother. This death occasioned a real sorrow in all on board the two ships; M. Levillain, in fact, was of an exceedingly mild and gentle character, and had endeared himself to every one. During his stay at Dampier Bay, he made a beautiful collection of the petrified shell-fish, which form very extensive banks on these shores, and the study of which is rendered the more interesting from the major part of them having, apparently, their living counterparts at the foot of the very rocks they form.

The 3d January 1802, a violent gale from the west-north-west succeeded the flagging winds and dead calms we had previously for some time experienced; the barometer rapidly sunk from 28^{p} 3^{l} to 27^{p} 10^{l}. The sky was covered with thick and darkish clouds; and during the night we had a copious fall of rain. On the succeeding day the wind continued to blow strong and in violent gusts, the sea was prodigiously swelled, and the pitching of the ship was very great: but the velocity with which we advanced made us bear with pleasure these appendant inconveniencies. In midst of the battling waves we saw two whales of monstrous size, which passed close by our ship; the species I was, however, unable to ascertain, as they only shewed themselves for an instant on the surface, disappearing afterwards, and occasioning a vast undulation at the spot they left:

> Assurgunt longo properantes agmine fluctus
> Miscenturque vadis imis. STAT. THEB.

The

The 5th, we found ourſelves in lat. 37° ſouth, long. 117° eaſt of Paris. Here the great equinoctial petrel, (procellaria equinoxialis, Linn.) diſappeared; we firſt diſtinguiſhed it in about 21° of latitude, from which time it had been continually viſible from our ſhip; as therefore this bird, from the limits of the torrid zone, was ſeen for 18° in advance towards the pole, as alſo the range of it is ſtated by Edwards, Brown, and Linnæus, to extend as far ſouth as the latitude of the Cape of Good Hope, and even that of New Zealand, it muſt be allowed that no name could have been given to this ſpecies leſs ſuited to it than that of equinoxial.

The blowing weather continued during the 6th and 7th: on the latter day we were in lat. 39° ſouth, long. 120°: the thermometer denoted 10° of heat only *, and a lively ſenſation of cold obliged us to put on our winter clothing. We, on theſe days, for the firſt time, had ſight of the albatroſs, deſcribed by Forſter, of a chocolate colour, (Diomedia ſpadicea.) As early as the 4th we had ſeen in lat. 35°, the common albatroſs, (Diomedia exulans, Linn.) the largeſt of antarctic ſea fowl; and of this we obſerved the two varieties white and brown, which poſſibly it might be well to regard as two diſtinct ſpecies, as I ſhall endeavour elſewhere to prove them to be. Some of theſe birds meaſured upwards of ten feet between the extremities of the extended wings. The chocolate-coloured albatroſs, as to Forſter, ſeemed to us to be ſmaller than the common one. Theſe animals followed our ſhips till within ſight of Diemen's Land, and the number of them appeared to increaſe in proportion as we advanced towards the cold and foggy climates in which they chiefly dwell.

Many intereſting animals preſented themſelves to my obſervation during the 9th. The firſt were thoſe large brown gulls, (harus cataractes, Linn.) known to mariners by the name of ſhoemakers, and Port Egmont fowls. Cook ſaw legions of them in midſt of the fields of ice which limited his hazardous voyage in 64° ſouth. Next to the albatroſs, this ſpecies of gull is the moſt powerful ſea-fowl of the antarctic regions.

The other flocks of birds ſeen on the 9th, were the ſea-ſwallow (Sterna), of which were three ſpecies, the ſterna obſcura, Linn.; a new ſpecies deſcribed by me under the name of ſterna melanoſama, on account of the black colour of its body; and another, alike unknown to naturaliſts, but which reſembles the ſterna caſpia, Linn. and which I denominated ſterna caſpioïdes. On the ſame day we perceived on the waves an enormous ſpecies of ſepia, poſſibly of the genus calmar, (Loligo, Lamark) of the ſize of a butt or pipe; it rolled on the waves with much noiſe; and its long arms, ſpread over their ſurface, and in conſtant motion, reſembled ſo many enormous reptiles. Each of its arms were more than ſix or ſeven feet long, by from ſeven to eight inches in diameter. It is, doubtleſs, to ſome animal of this family that Don Pernetty does not heſitate to attribute ſuch prodigious dimenſions, ſuch an enormous weight that, ſays he, ſhould it happen to faſten itſelf to the upper rigging of a ſhip by climbing the ſhrouds, it might occaſion its overſetting:—a childiſh tale, no doubt, but very poſſibly derived from the appearance of ſome animal of extraordinary ſize of this genus.

The 10th January the wind ſtill continued to blow hard; I diſcovered a new ſpecies of gull, which I deſcribed under the name of larus melanopterus, on account of its black wings. The ſame day we ſaw, for the firſt time, ſwimming on the ſurface of the waves, heaps of fucus gigantinus. It is not without reaſon this ſea-plant has received this ſpecific denomination; for at an after period I ſaw many branches of it, not leſs than from two to three hundred feet long. I ſhall, on noticing this again,

* 50° of Fahrenheit.

deſcribe by what means nature is enabled to raiſe theſe long branches from the bottom of the ſea, and how ſhe qualifies them to float on its ſurface.

The 11th, I deſcribed, under the title of the white muzzled dolphin (Delphinus Leucoramphus) a new ſpecies of dolphin, which M. de Lacepede, in his hiſtory of cetaceous animals, has diſtinguiſhed by my name (Delphinus Peronii). A phenomenon, certainly worthy of much attention, is that tendency remarked in all animals of becoming white in proportion to the nearneſs of their abode towards the pole. Thus, in the ſame regions which produce white foxes, white bears, &c.*; the white dolphin is likewiſe found Delphinus leucas, Linn.; and in high ſouthern latitudes, beſides the D. Leucoramphus, which I have noticed, there exiſts a ſecond ſpecies of the ſame genus, firſt obſerved by Commerſon, and afterwards by Forſter, the body of which is white, and only retains ſome few ſpots of a blueiſh brown.

The 12th of January we reckoned ourſelves in 44° of latitude ſouth; longitude 141° 27′ eaſt of Paris; we were conſequently not far from Diemen's Land. In the night we had a heavy fall of rain and abundance of hail; the next morning early, after a voyage of ſixty-one days, we diſcovered the firſt lofty ſummits of that great iſland.

CHAP. XII. — *Southern Part of Diemen's Land.*

[From the 13th of January to the 17th of February, 1802.]

THE 13th of January, at day-break, we had ſight of land, bearing from N. N. E. to E. N. E. At eight o'clock we were abreaſt of the ſouth-weſt cape; ſhortly after we diſtinguiſhed the ſmall iſlands Witt, and the ſolitary Mewſtone rock. From eight o'clock till noon we ſailed rapidly along the ſouthern extremity of Diemen's Land. At noon we doubled the ſouth cape, the ultimate point of the world in the eaſtern hemiſphere (towards the ſouth). The Swilly and Eddyſtone rocks then bore ſouth of us, ſcarcely within the ſcope of ſight. In the mean time the looks of all were directed towards the land; we beheld with admiration thoſe lofty mountains which nature, like ſo many bulwarks of granite, ſeemed to oppoſe to the raging of the ocean, the which thence ſtretches to the icy regions of the antarctic pole. We viewed with delight thoſe widely ſpreading plateaux of the interior, riſing in amphitheatric form over all its ſurface, and cloathed in every part by deep umbrageous woods. The ſea, in the interim, was rough, the wind blew with great force and in guſts from the ſouth-weſt; the temperature of the atmoſphere was cold, the air foggy, and long ſcarfs of vapor extended over the greyiſh flanks of the mountains and the foreſts. The fog was ſhortly after ſucceeded by heavy rain, by hail, and ſleet; boobies, and gulls, and cormorants, and ſternæ, in numberleſs legions from the neighbouring rocks, flew round about our ſhips, and mingled their piercing ſcreams with the roaring of the angered waves; a long file of white muzzled dolphins, with many others of the cetaceous tribe, performed their evolutions around us; in ſhort, every thing ſeemed to unite in impreſſing a degree of ſolemnity on our making theſe coaſts; all announced our touching the extremity of the ſouthern world.

The Boriel Iſlands were diſtinguiſhed at half paſt twelve, forming the moſt ſouthern point of Storm Bay. The commander ſignaled Captain Hamelin to advance into the channel Dentrecaſteaux. Scarcely was this effected before a large reef of rocks was perceived, which obliged the Naturaliſte to keep cloſe to the wind on the ſtarboard,

* Add to which the white crow, white ſparrow, &c.

and

and make for ſea; we followed her example. At this time there fell abundance of ſleet; the guſt of wind encreaſed in impetuoſity, and we were under neceſſity of reefing moſt of our ſails; at length we ſucceeded in doubling the rocks in front of the Barren Iſlands. Steering now for Cape Brany, we threaded the channel, keeping cloſe as poſſible to Cape Labillardière. At half-paſt four we anchored in the great bay, with twenty-three fathoms water and a muddy bottom, the iſland of Partridges lying eaſt of our anchorage about a mile diſtant.

Of all the diſcoveries of modern date made on Diemen's Land, that of Dentrecaſteaux Channel is, indiſputably, the moſt ſingular and important. After eſcaping the notice ſucceſſively of Jaſman, Furnëaux, Cook, Marion, Cox, Hunter, and Bligh, it was merely by an error which might have been fatal that it was found by the French admiral.

In the general deſcription I have to give in another place of Diemen's Land, I ſhall more particularly dwell on the channel Dentrecaſteaux: it will be ſufficient here I ſhould preſent the chief events which occurred during our ſtay, and our operations at this ſpot.

The principal object of our anchoring at this extremity of Diemen's Land being to renew our ſtock of water, the commander haſtened the expedition of boats to different points in ſearch of this indiſpenſable article. M. H. Freycinct, with this view, being diſpatched to the river Huon and the port of Swans, was accompanied by M. Leſueur and myſelf.

At nine o'clock we paſſed the ſmall iſland neareſt the entrance of the port; it is covered with verdure, trees, and ſhrubs, which give it the appearance of a beautiful plantation. At half-paſt nine we reached the port of Swans. Of all the places I ſaw in the courſe of our long voyage, this, to me, appeared the moſt picturesque and pleaſing. The extremity of the port preſents a proſpect of ſeven tiers of mountains riſing by gradation one above the other; on the right and left it is ſurrounded by lofty hills which terminate in a number of little promontories that form between them various ſmall but romantic harbours. Every where the moſt lively vegetation greets the eye with multiplied productions; the ſhores are bordered by large trees, perpetually green, and ſo cloſe together as to preſent foreſts almoſt impenetrable. Innumerous flights of paroquets, and cockatoos, of moſt beautiful and variegated plumage, fluttered round their ſummits, and the lively titmouſe, with its collar of ultramarine, frolicked beneath their ſhade. The water in this port was exceedingly tranquil, and numbers of black ſwans ſwam with majeſty on its ſurface.

While yet abſorbed in the pleaſing contemplation of this picture before us, we were drawn from our reverie by cries proceeding from the right bank of the port, neareſt to which bank we were. Turning our eyes to that quarter, we diſtinguiſhed two ſavages running along the ſhore, each making ſigns of great ſurpriſe and admiration; one of them had a burning torch in his hand made of bark. We hailed them by imitating their cries, and ſteered for the ſhore; but inſtead of waiting for us, they plunged into the foreſt, and diſappeared.

Purſuing our courſe we arrived at a ſmall inlet, at the bottom of which was a pleaſing valley, promiſſory of freſh water: this determined M. Freycinct on landing here. We had hardly ſet foot on ſhore before we ſaw two natives on the ſummit of an almoſt perpendicular hill. On our making friendly ſigns one of them deſcended with rapidity from the top of the rock, and was with us in an inſtant. He was a young man from twenty-two to twenty-four years of age, of a robuſt conſtitution, and without any defect but that ſlenderneſs of the legs and arms characteriſtic of his race. His countenance poſſeſſed nothing auſtere, or brutal; his eyes were lively and ſparkling, and his looks expreſſed

expreſſed at once benevolence and ſurpriſe. M. Freycinct and myſelf embraced him, but by the indifference he ſhewed on the occaſion, it was evident that he comprehended nothing of this token of friendſhip. What at firſt ſeemed moſt to ſtrike him was the whiteneſs of our ſkin: anxious no doubt of aſcertaining whether the whole of our body was of this complexion, he unbuttoned the waiſtcoats of one after the other, and opened our ſhirts; his aſtoniſhment on verifying the fact was ſignified by loud exclamations of ſurpriſe, and eſpecially by an exceedingly quick motion of the feet.

Still, our boat ſeemed to engage his attention even more than our perſons; and after employing ſome few ſeconds in examining us, he ſprang into it. There, without regarding the ſailors it contained, he ſeemed, as it were, abſorbed in contemplation of this new ſubject of wonder: the thickneſs of the ribs and the ſcantling, the ſolidity of its ſtructure, its rudder, oars, maſts, and ſails, all were examined with that ſilence and deep attention which are the moſt unequivocal ſigns of intereſt and deliberate admiration. At this inſtant one of the gunners, inclined no doubt to add to his amazement, preſented him a glaſs bottle full of arrack. The pellucidity of the glaſs at firſt occaſioned an exclamation of ſurpriſe from the ſavage, who took the bottle, and examined it for ſome ſeconds; but ſoon, his curioſity reverting to the long boat, he threw the bottle into the ſea, without apparently other intention than ridding himſelf of an indifferent object; he then continued his examination of the one more intereſting. Neither the cries of the ſailor, who lamented the loſs of the bottle of arrack, nor the preparation of one of his comrades to throw himſelf into the water to dive for it, appeared to cauſe in him the leaſt emotion: he repeatedly attempted to puſh the boat off the ſhore, but finding his efforts vain, in conſequence of its being moored to the ſhore, he left the boat, and rejoined us, after having given the moſt ſtriking evidence we met with any where among ſavages of attention and reflection.

On reaching the ſummit of the hill I before noticed, M. Freycinct and myſelf found there the other native: he was a man about fifty years of age; his beard and hair was grey; his countenance, like that of the young man, frank and open; through ſymptoms of fear and confuſion, by no means of dubious nature, we readily diſtinguiſhed candour and goodneſs of heart. This old man, after examining both of us, with ſurpriſe and ſatisfaction equal to that exhibited by the other; and after verifying like him the colour of our ſkin, made a ſign to two women who ſtood aſide to approach; they heſitated a few ſeconds, after which the eldeſt came towards us; ſhe was followed by the youngeſt, more timid and confuſed than the former: the one appeared about forty years old, and large wrinkles of the belly announced her the mother of ſeveral children; ſhe was entirely naked, and like the old man, ſeemed kind and benevolent. The younger woman, about ſix or eight-and-twenty, was tolerably ſtout, and alſo entirely naked, if a ſkin of a kanguroo be excepted formed into a bag, in which ſhe carried a little girl, then at the breaſt. Her breaſt, already ſomewhat withered, was yet of pretty regular conformation, and well ſupplied with milk. This young woman had a countenance intereſting as that of her father and mother; her eyes poſſeſſed expreſſion, and ſomewhat ſo lively as ſurpriſed us; ſuch ſpirit indeed as we obſerved afterwards in no other woman of this country: ſhe ſeemed moreover extremely fond of her child, and the care for it ſhe exhibited was of that gentle and affectionate character noticeable every where as the peculiar attribute of mothers.

We loaded this intereſting family with preſents, but remarked in this, as in a variety of other ſimilar inſtances among this people, that whatever we offered was received with the greateſt indifference.

In the mean time M. Freycinct, anxious to aſcertain as ſoon as poſſible the reality or

wrong of his conjectures reſpecting the exiſtence of a rivulet of freſh water in the valley, ſet off with ſeveral men for the purpoſe. M. Leſueur likewiſe went, on a hunting excurſion; while I remained with the ſavages, employed in obſerving and deſcribing their phyſical conſtitution, and in collecting ſome words of their language. The young man noticing that our ſailors were deſirous of kindling a fire, buſied himſelf in collecting branches of trees around us; and, with a kind of torch which he had on the ground, cloſe to the ſpot where we were, he made in an inſtant a blazing fire; this was the more grateful to us from the cold, the thermometer not exceeding at that period 9°*. At this inſtant, the young woman expreſſed ſingular ſurpriſe on ſeeing one of the ſailors pull off and put a glove in his pocket; by her expreſſions and geſtures we learnt, that ſhe concluded the gloves to be a living ſkin which could be taken off and reſumed at pleaſure. We laughed heartily at her error; but not ſo at a trick of the old man which immediately followed: he had ſeized our bottle of arrack; and as it contained the chief of our drink, I was obliged to make him reſtore it; a circumſtance which ſeemed to give him umbrage; for he ſoon after departed with his family, notwithſtanding all my attempts to detain him longer.

I then deſcended to the ſhore: it was low water, and in leſs than two hours I collected more than forty new ſpecies of molluſcæ, ſhell and cruſtaceous fiſh, and fiſh of other kinds. Of theſe I ſhall deſcribe ſeveral in the zoological part of the deſcription of Diemen's Land, which, by their ſize, colour, œconomical uſe, or importance with naturaliſts, deſerve particular attention.

On returning to the ſpot where the long boat was moored, I learnt that M. Freycinct had not been able to meet with freſh water, although he had had a long and fatiguing excurſion up the valley. M. Leſueur had on his different expedition been more fortunate; he brought back with him twelve ſpecies of birds, three of which of the parrot kind, and the pretty titmouſe with a blue head and neck. The ſailors in our abſence had prepared our frugal meal: this we ſpeedily finiſhed, and immediately ſet off for another part of the coaſt, where we hoped to meet with freſh water. We ſoon came to an abode of the natives, if that term can be applied to ſimple ſcreens againſt the wind formed of the bark of trees, diſpoſed in a ſemicircle, and leaning againſt a few dry branches: a ſhelter ſo fragile was evidently of no utility but as a protection againſt the wind; and, accordingly, I remarked that the convex ſide was oppoſed to the S. W., from which quarter on this coaſt it blows moſt conſtantly, with keeneſt ſharpneſs, and the greateſt violence. In front of this wretched *ajoupa* were the veſtiges of a recently extinguiſhed fire; and large heaps of oyſter-ſhells, and ſhells of the haliotis gigantia were viſible at a ſhort diſtance, exhaling, owing to the remains of the animals contained within them, a moſt naufeous, putrid ſmell. On the margin of the bay were two pirogues, each formed of three rolls of bark, coarſely joined together by things of ſimilar ſubſtance.

Theſe ſcreens, this recently extinguiſhed fire, theſe ſhells, and pirogues, admitted not a doubt with us, that the family we recently had had an interview with dwelt on this part of the coaſt. In fact, the ſame individuals ere long were ſeen advancing towards us by the ſhore. As ſoon as they perceived us they uttered loud and joyful exclamations, and encreaſed their ſpeed to join us. Their number was encreaſed by the addition of a young girl, from ſixteen to ſeventeen years of age, a boy of four or five, and a little girl of three or four. This family was therefore compoſed of nine perſons, the two eldeſt of which appeared to us to be the father and mother: the young man and his wife, who ſeemed to us at the ſame time brother and ſiſter, the young girl their ſiſter, and the four infants their children.

* 4°$\frac{1}{5}$° of Fahrenheit.

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This family was then on its return from fiſhing: their ſucceſs had doubtleſs been great, for almoſt every one was loaded with ſhell-fiſh, chiefly of the large ſpecies of haliotis peculiar to this coaſt. The old man, taking M. Freycinct by the hand, made ſign to us to follow him, and led us to the wretched cabin we had juſt quitted. In an inſtant the fire was kindled, and after repeating to us ſeveral times, *médi médi* (ſit down, ſit down), which we did, the ſavages ſquatted on their heels, and each prepared to enjoy the fruit of their fiſhery. The cooking was neither tedious nor difficu t: theſe large ſhells were placed on the fire, and the fiſh thus roaſted in its cell, of which we taſted, ſeemed to us very tender and juicy.

While our good people were thus taking their ſimple meal, we felt inclined to treat them with muſic, leſs certainly in view of diverting them, than to notice the effect of our ſinging on their mind and organs. In this view we ſelected that hymn ſo unhappily proſtituted during the revolution, but ſo full of warmth and enthuſiaſm, and ſo well adapted for its object. At firſt the ſavages ſeemed more confuſed than ſurprized, but after an inſtant of ſuſpenſe they liſtened attentively: their meal was forgot, and their ſatisfaction was manifeſted by contorſions and geſtures, ſo whimſical, that it was burthenſome to us to refrain from laughing. For their part it was equally difficult for them to ſtifle during the ſong the enthuſiaſm with which it affected them; but ſcarcely was the firſt ſtrophe ended before exclamations of rapture were uttered by every one; the young man eſpecially was almoſt phrenzied; he tore his hair, ſcratched his head with both hands, agitated himſelf in a hundred different ways, and repeatedly iterated his approving clamour. After this vigorous and warlike ſong, we gave ſome light and tender airs: the ſavages appeared to conceive their meaning; but it was eaſy for us to perceive that muſic of this deſcription affects their organs but in a ſlight degree.

The meal, interrupted by our ſinging, being at length concluded, ſucceeded a far more intereſting ſcene. The young girl which I have noticed made herſelf more and more conſpicuous every inſtant, by the ſoftneſs of her looks, and their affectionate and lively expreſſion. Ourâ Ourâ, like her parents, was wholly naked, yet void of ſhame on this account; and of a conſtitution weaker than that of her brother and ſiſter, ſhe was far more full of life and more impaſſioned. M. Freycinct, who was ſeated by her ſide, appeared to be moſt the object of her attention and ſmiles, and the leaſt experienced eye might, in the looks of this innocent pupil of nature, diſtinguiſh that delicate ſhade which gives to ſimple playfulneſs a more ſerious and thoughtful character. Coquetry even was called to the aid of natural attraction, and Ourâ Ourâ firſt taught us what was the paint of theſe regions, and its mode of application. She took ſome charcoal into her hands, and cruſhed it in ſuch manner as to reduce it to a very fine powder; holding this in the left hand, ſhe with the right rubbed it over her forehead and both cheeks, and in an inſtant was frightfully black: what, to us eſpecially, ſeemed highly ſingular, was the complacency with which, after this operation, ſhe ſeemed to regard us, and the confidence this new ornament had impreſſed on her phyſiognomy. May we not hence conclude that an inclination for coquetry, a taſte for ornament, are every where appendages of the female heart?

While theſe things were paſſing the little children imitated the grimaces and geſtures of their parents, and nothing could be more curious than to ſee theſe little negroes beat the ground quickly with their feet for joy on hearing us ſing: they gradually became familiarized, and, at the cloſe of the interview, were as free as if they had known us for a length of time; every little preſent we made them created delight, and encreaſed their partiality towards us: generally ſpeaking, they ſeemed lively, arch, and trickſome. It is intereſting to find at the extremity of the globe, and in this ſtate of

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ſocial organization ſo rudely outlined, the ſelf-ſame engaging and amiable character, which with us diſtinguiſhes the firſt ſtage of life. We have already indicated the reſemblance common to the women of theſe regions with thoſe of our own climes: in other women here the ſame again will be found, and if, to theſe examples, be ſuperadded the obſervations of the moſt eſteemed travellers, the important conſequence may be deduced that the character of women and of children is far more independent than that of man on the influence of climate, of the perfection of ſocial order, and of the empire of phyſical wants than that of man.

The furniture and utenſils of the family were as ſimple as ſmall in number: a leaf of the fucus palmatus folded, and faſtened together at the two extremities with a piece of wood, ſerved for a veſſel to drink from; a chip of granite, as a knife to ſtrip the trees of bark with or ſharpen their ſpears; and a ſpatula of wood as an inſtrument for ſeparating the ſhell-fiſh from the rock: Ourâ Ourâ alone had a bag of ruſhes, of an elegant and ſingular manufacture, which I was very anxious to obtain. As this young girl regarded me alſo with a very favouring eye, I ventured to beg it of her; immediately, and without heſitation, ſhe gave it me, accompanying the preſent with an obliging ſmile, and an affectionate ſpeech, which I much regretted I could not underſtand. In return I preſented her with a handkerchief and an axe; the uſe of this I ſhewed to her brother, and it proved a ſource of aſtoniſhment and admiration to the whole family.

In the mean time night drew on, and we felt diſpoſed to repair to the boat, to proceed higher up the port, where we meant to paſs the night. Soon as our new friends perceived our intention, they all roſe to accompany us; but, after ſome obſervations on the part of the old man, the old mother, and the young married woman, with all the children except the oldeſt, remained at the hut. M. Freycinct gave his arm to Ourâ Ourâ; the old man was my mate; M. Leſueur was accompanied by the young man; and M. Brue led the child. Our road lay amidſt briars and underwood, and our poor ſavages, being wholly naked, ſuffered greatly: the young Ourâ Ourâ, in particular, was ſadly ſcratched; but, heedleſs of this, ſhe boldly made her way through the thicket, chattering with M. Freycinct, and angered at her inability to make herſelf underſtood; at the ſame time accompanying her diſcourſe with ſportive wiles, and ſmiles, ſo gracious and expreſſive, that the moſt finiſhed coquetry could not have rendered them more ſo.

On approaching the ſpot where we landed, we heard the report of ſeveral fowling-pieces which occaſioned a terrible fright to our kind companions; Ourâ Ourâ eſpecially, was dreadfully alarmed, and her fears were with difficulty removed by M. Freycinct. He had ſcarcely ſucceeded, before her trepidation was redoubled by the ſudden appearance of ſeveral of our companions from the Naturaliſte, whom we were far from expecting to meet. Meſſrs. L. Freycinct, Faure, Breton, and Bailly, who had juſt before been to reconnoitre the port of La Recherche, had thence proceeded to that of Swans, in their purſuit of ſoft water, but, like us, they had met with none. We made our friends acquainted with the kind reception we had experienced from the natives, and in conſequence they loaded them with preſents; but of theſe none ſo much pleaſed them as a red plume of feathers, which M. Breton preſented to the young Ourâ Ourâ: ſhe leaped for joy; called her father and brothers; made loud exclamations; laughed; in ſhort, ſeemed phrenzied with delight.

At length we reached the ſea-ſide, and embarked in our two boats. Our kind Diemenele left us not for an inſtant; and when we puſhed off from ſhore, their ſorrow was manifeſted in the moſt affecting manner: they invited us, by ſigns, to viſit them

again; and, as if to indicate the ſpot, lighted a great fire on the little hill I have before noticed: they, moſt probably, even paſſed the night there, for we perceived the fire ſtill burning at the dawn of day.

Thus ended our firſt interview with the inhabitants of Diemen's Land. The whole of what I have related is minutely exact; and aſſuredly it were difficult to reſiſt the ſoft emotion which ſimilar incidents inſpire. The flattering confidence repoſed in us by the inhabitants, the continual kind teſtimonials of benevolence they laviſhed on us, the ſincerity of their demeanor, the frankneſs of their manners, their affecting and ingenuous careſſes, all concurred to excite in us the moſt tender intereſt. The cloſe union of the different individuals of the ſame family, the ſort of patriarchal life we had juſt witneſſed, made a ſtrong impreſſion on our minds; I ſaw with pleaſure not to be expreſſed, now realized before me, thoſe brilliant deſcriptions of happineſs, and the ſimplicity of nature, of which in youth I had ſo often read with even new delight. Far was I, at that period, from imagining the extent of the privations and wretchedneſs neceſſarily incident on ſuch a ſtate.

We ſteered on, leaving theſe natives for the bottom of the port, and paſſed the night in a ſmall cove, where we hoped to find freſh water: but our hopes were again deceived; and the next day we renewed our courſe by day-break, making towards the laſt creeks of the port. We ſhortly diſtinguiſhed immenſe flocks of black ſwans, ſwimming with equal grace and rapidity on the tranquil waves. As the motion of our boat ſeemed to frighten them, we landed ſome markſmen, and I myſelf went on ſhore for the interior.

The ſpectacle is extraordinary preſented by theſe deep foreſts, ancient daughters of nature and time, in which the ſtroke of the axe was never heard, in which vegetation, daily more enriched from its own productions, advances without impediment, unfolds itſelf at will; and when, at the extremity of the globe, foreſts of this deſcription preſent themſelves, excluſively formed of trees unknown in Europe, of vegetables ſingular in their organization and various produce, the intereſt they excite becomes more lively and impreſſive. There perpetually reign a myſterious and ſolemn ſhade, a conſtant cool and penetrative moiſture; there crumble into duſt the mighty trees from which ſo many ſhoots uprear their ſturdy ſtems: their old trunks, now rotted by age and humidity, are covered with moſs and paraſitic lichens: internally they form a ſhelter for cold reptiles and unnumbered inſects; they obſtruct every avenue of the foreſts; croſs each other in all directions; in every part, like ſo many barriers, oppoſe the progreſs, and multiply the perils of the traveller. Frequently do they ſink under the weight of the body, and involve the adventurer in their ruins, and ſtill more frequently does their moiſt and putrid bark ſlip from beneath his feet: occaſionally they are found piled in heaps on each other, and forming natural banks from twenty-five to thirty feet in height; in other parts again fallen acroſs ravines, they preſent ſo many bridges over ruſhing torrents, bridges ever to be uſed with caution.

To this picture of ravage and diſorder, to theſe ſcenes of death and deſtruction, nature ſeems to delight in preſenting for contraſt whatever her creative power can ſhew of impoſing. In every direction the ſurface is covered with beautiful mimoſæ, ſuperb metroſideros, and correas, till of late unknown in our country, but which now form the pride of our ſhrubberies. From the ſhores of the ocean to the ſummit of the higheſt mountains of the interior, we perceive mighty eucalypti, thoſe giants of the ſouthern foreſts, many of which are 160 to 180 feet (French) high, by a circumference of from 25 to 30, and even 36 feet. Bankſiæ of various ſpecies, proteæ, embothria, and leptoſpermes, diſplay themſelves in a beautiful border, ſkirting the foreſt.

In other parts are ſeen the caſuarina, ſo remarkable for its foliage, ſo valuable on account of the ſolidity and beautiful veins of its wood; the elegant exocarpos, ſpreading its neglected branches in a hundred different ways, like the cypreſs; the xanthorea, whoſe ſolitary ſtem riſes 12 or 15 feet from its ſcaly and ſtunted trunk, a trunk which exudes in abundance an odorous reſin; the cycas, the nuts of which, enveloped in a ſcarlet huſk, are ſo treacherous and mortal; charming groves of melaleuca, theſium, conchyum, and evoda, all equally intereſting, either on account of their graceful port, the beauteous verdure of their foliage, or the ſingularity of their corollæ and fruit. In midſt of ſo many unknown objects, the mind is aſtoniſhed, and can but admire that inconceivable fecundity of nature which furniſhes ſo many diſtinct productions in the different climes of the world, productions conſtantly ſo rich and beautiful.

On returning to the ſhore, I found our ſportſmen had had no ſucceſs, the ſwans continually keeping without muſquet-ſhot. Embarking, therefore, we followed them to the bottom of the port, where we killed two. After this, we landed again to dine, and reſume our ſearch for freſh water. While in this view, M. Freycinet, and ſeveral of our companions, proceeded along the neighbouring ſhore, I reſolved on traverſing ſome wide marſhes, which in this part border the port of Swans. I expected, nor was I deceived, to find numerous intereſting objects; but in the purſuit of them I was nearly buried in the mud. Having, at length, reached the oppoſite ſide, I made for the place where our boat was moored acroſs a valley, between the mountains, which ſeemed to me likely to contain ſome rivulet. My conjecture was verified, and I had the ſatisfaction of being the firſt diſcoverer of a charming little river which contained a great number of trout of a new ſpecies, and which, running from N. N. W. to S. S. E. ſeemed to deſcend from the foot of the mountains, and terminate in the marſhes, without any viſible outlet to the ſea. Its courſe was narrow, and its depth at this time did not exceed three feet; but the water was freſh and clear. After aſcending for ſome time the banks of the river, I returned to the boat, where our party were already returned, without having found any freſh water. I imparted to them my diſcovery, and every one was immediately ſolicitous of verifying my relation. While they proceeded to the ſpot I deſignated, I ate ſome muſcles, cooked by our ſailors in ſea-water, and found them excellent: all the contiguous rocks were covered with them, and here I had the good fortune of diſcovering a new ſpecies of pinnothere. The ſpecies of muſcles alſo of which I partook was likewiſe unknown to our naturaliſts, as indeed were almoſt all the zoological productions of theſe ſhores.

My companions, on their return, informed me, that having advanced ſome diſtance into the interior to trace the ſource of the little river, they had ſeen ſeveral huts of the inhabitants, which reſembled thoſe we had before noticed; and that it appeared to them, if not impoſſible, yet a very difficult matter to water the ſhip from this river, as, previouſly, a firm road muſt be made acroſs the marſh, to roll the caſks over. Of the trout ſome were brought back ſhot by M. Leſueur. Still, notwithſtanding the inconvenience of the marſh, which renders the river inacceſſible, its exiſtence is an intereſting advantage for the port of Swans, which at ſome future period muſt inſure its being made the ſite of an European eſtabliſhment; for the river in queſtion will furniſh a ſupply of water to a colony at every ſeaſon of the year. As a conſequence, a road over the marſh will then be effected, and veſſels may meet with plenty of water. The river we termed Fleurieu, in honour of the celebrated hydrographer of that name, the chief planner of our voyage, as laid down in chapter 1ſt.

It was four o'clock when we unmoored to regain our ſhips: at this inſtant the port of Swans preſented itſelf with additional charms: the ſerenity of the ſky, the laſt rays

of the ſun reflected from its waves, the foreſt's ſhade, the brown verdure of its foliage, the impoſing aſpect of the mountains of the interior, the laſt riſing tiers of which were diſtinguiſhed above the clouds; the numerous little creeks and inlets diſtributed in two parallel rows; flocks of elegant black ſwans majeſtically ſtemming the flood, ſhining paroquets, graceful titmouſes, and various kinds of ſparrows ſinging its requiem to the falling orb of day, all contributed to encreaſe the natural charms of this lovely ſpot: the looks of every one were directed towards the bottom of the port, and every one ſeemed to move with regret from the enchanting ſcene before them.

On our return, I learnt that the ſmall boat of the Geographe having gone to fiſh at Bruny iſland, the natives preſented themſelves in great numbers; that, loaded with preſents, they remained about them moſt of the day; that one of our midſhipmen, deſirous of aſcertaining by actual experience the ſo much boaſted ſtrength of ſavages, propoſed a wreſtling match with one of them, who appeared the moſt robuſt, in which match the Diemeneſe was repeatedly thrown; that from this inſtant to that of our departure, an interval of ſeveral hours, the greateſt cordiality continued apparently to ſubſiſt; that loaded anew with preſents, and ſtill without any ſuſpicion being entertained on the part of our friends of any ill deſign, when, on the very point of embarking, a long ſpear, darted from behind a rock, penetrated above the ſhoulder-blade of M. Maurouard, the midſhipman who had overcome the native in wreſtling, and with ſuch force as to have pierced through the fleſh of the ſhoulder and the neck. The boat's crew, indignant at ſuch cowardly and brutal perfidy, were diſpoſed to purſue the ſavages, in order to take revenge; but in an inſtant they diſappeared among the rocks and thickets.

Our fruitleſs ſearch after water convinced us that the ſources at this ſeaſon of the year were dried up in this part; it therefore became requiſite to try elſewhere. The 17th, we proceeded with this purpoſe farther down the channel, but a calm, when we had doubled Cape Ventenat, obliged us to anchor in nine fathoms, with a muddy bottom. I immediately landed with Meſſrs. Freycinct and Montbaazin.

At the part where we landed, this large iſland is but of little fertility: the trees are ſo wide aſunder as to admit the range of the eye over a ſpace of two or three hundred paces; the depth of ſoil, which is light and ſandy, is inconſiderable; it impoſes on granite, of which I obtained ſeveral beautiful ſpecimens. Of zoological productions, the fruit of our ſearch was, divers ſpecies of coleopteres, among which two new genera; ſome handſome lizards, reſembling ſcinci, but differing eſſentially from them in the elegance of their form, and in their proportions; many beautiful conchæ, terreſtrial as well as marine; but eſpecially a quadruped, with palmated feet, of the order of nibblers, (Rougeurs,) the deſcription of which will appear in the zoological part of the work.

Shortly after our return, the commander himſelf arrived from a ſlight excurſion on the main, in which he had been accompanied by Captain Hamelin, Meſſrs. Leſchenault, and Petit. Theſe gentlemen had again met with the natives, and the interview terminated in a violent aggreſſion on their part. In fact, M. Petit, having taken the likeneſſes of ſeveral of theſe ſavages, was on the point of returning to the veſſel, when one of the natives ſprang on him to ſeize his drawings: M. Petit reſiſting this violence, the enraged ſavage caught up a branch of a tree, and was on the point of knocking down our weak companion, when he was prevented by the interpoſition of thoſe who ran to his aſſiſtance. Still, far from ſeeking revenge, the aggreſſor was courted by additional preſents, under expectation of pacifying his anger; but no ſooner did theſe ferocious men perceive the party about to embark, than they entered the woods, and in an inſtant afterwards ſaluted them with a ſhower of ſtones, one of which ſtruck our commander

commander on the back. In vain, even after this, did the ſavages expoſe themſelves on ſhore to the fire of our people, brandiſhing their ſpears, and making threatening demonſtrations; not a ſingle ſhot was directed againſt them. "Theſe laſt hoſtilities," ſays M. Leſchenault, "took place on the part of the inhabitants, without their having had the ſlighteſt provocation; on the contrary, they had been loaded with kindneſs and preſents. I confeſs, I am ſurprized, after ſo many examples of treachery and cruelty repeated in all voyages of diſcovery, to hear perſons of ſenſe ſtill affirm that man in a natural ſtate is not of a bad diſpoſition, but worthy of confidence; and that he would never be an aggreſſor, were he not excited by a deſire of vengeance, &c. Unfortunately, many travellers have been the victims of theſe vain ſophiſms. For my part, I am of opinion, from all we ſaw, that man cannot be too greatly miſtruſted when civilization has not yet ſufficiently ſoftened his character; and that much caution is neceſſary in landing in countries inhabited by men in ſuch a ſtate. The day after the attack I have deſcribed, Captain Hamelin, in his ſmall boat, went to ſurvey the ſhore, and approached for this purpoſe near enough to ſee whatever might be paſſing. It ſeems, the adventure of the day before had occaſioned the ſavages ſome apprehenſion, or that they deſigned to aſſail us in caſe of our landing: for the captain ſaw thirty-ſix men marching along the beach in parties of five or ſix, one of whom in each groupe carried a bundle of ſpears; and at the head of this little army was a man with a firebrand in his hand, who ſet fire to the buſhes which maſked the ground, a precaution probably thought neceſſary by them, both for their diſtinguiſhing us at a diſtance, and to deprive us of the means of concealing ourſelves, and taking them by ſurprize.

The 19th, at ſix in the morning, we again made ſail for the north-weſt port, in which we purpoſed anchoring, and paſſed in ſucceſſion Satellite iſland, Rich Point, the bay of the Iſthmus, Cape Legrand, and Gicquet Point, reaching the port by ſix in the evening. This little excurſion between the two ſhores of the channel poſſeſſed ſomewhat pleaſing and pictureſque. "On whatever ſide," ſays, with truth, M. Labillardiere, "on whatever ſide we caſt the eye, it diſcovered ſpacious inlets, in which the tempeſt-beaten navigator may ſeek a certain ſhelter. With aſtoniſhment did we view theſe immenſe havens, which could with eaſe contain the navies of all the maritime powers." On the other hand, the peaceful waves encloſed between two ſhores, the mountains capped with ſnow, the hills and valleys every where ſmiling with the moſt active vegetation, legions of birds, whoſe notes were diſtinctly heard on board the ſhips; naked ſavages, whoſe ſwarthy hordes were readily diſtinguiſhed as they paced the whitiſh ſtrand, all formed a highly romantic picture: but what the moſt aſtoniſhed us was the multiplicity of fires we ſaw. In every part roſe columns of flame and ſmoak; the whole of the back of the mountains which form the extremity of North-Weſt Port, for a ſpace of ſeveral leagues, was on fire. Thus periſh theſe ancient and venerable foreſts, reſpected by the ſcythe of Time for ſo many centuries, that they might in more perfect ſtate be delivered to the deſtructive inſtinct of their ferocious inhabitants.

The 20th at day-break, I embarked in a boat going to fiſh on Bruny Iſland: from this excurſion I brought back more than twenty new ſpecies of fiſh; among which two lophies, two oſtracions, one uranoſcope, a cotta, a ray, two ſcienæ, the antarctic chimæra, a ſecond ſpecies of the ſame genus, very remarkable on account of a club-ſhaped bone on the ſummit of its head, and a ſyngnathe, adorned with ſeveral membranes floating freely like ſo many flags. I likewiſe collected twelve or fifteen ſpecies of new and very curious conchæ, among which a trigonia antarctica, N.; a ſpecies which hitherto was not ſuppoſed to have exiſtence, and of which in our climates are many

many very extenſive banks, in a petrified ſtate; the ſuperb venus, with tranſverſal ribs, extremely thin, friable, and light; various phaſianelli, of exquiſite beauty; an elegant trochus; ſeveral turbots, one of which deſcribed by me under the name of euſtomiris, reflects the moſt lively and ſplendid colours of the priſm; ſeveral ſpecies of patillæ, fiſſurellæ, oſcabrions, &c. &c. At ſight of this numerous and magnificent collection, my unfortunate colleague Maugé, was unable to retain his tears. Notwithſtanding his exhauſted and conſumptive ſtate, he reſolved next day to go on ſhore himſelf to ſeek new ſpecimens; but alas! he liſtened but to his zeal and courage, his dying frame was unequal to the effort. Scarcely had he reached the ſtrand before he fainted, and was immediately carried back on board in ſuch a ſtate of debility that his life was for a while deſpaired of. This was the laſt inſtance of his zeal: he went no more on ſhore but to the grave.

M. Beautems Beaupré, chief author of the geographical charts of Admiral Dentrecaſteaux, cannot be too highly praiſed, for the exactneſs with which the channels, the bays, and the numerous ports which it contains, are laid down. Unfortunately, the ſame eulogy is not due to the deſcription of the ſhores of Diemen's Land, north-eaſt of the channel, which were but ſuperficially examined by the boats of the French admiral. As his work on this part leaves much room for amendment, we ſhall, in this and the ſucceeding chapter, complete its geographical deſcription.

It has been ſeen that our inſtructions from the government were to aſcend the different rivers of importance as high as poſſible; in this part of the ſouthern lands, the only one deſerving of particular attention, was the North river, the examination of which was intruſted to M. H. Freycinet; I was alſo permitted to be of the party, and we ſet off at three in the morning of the 24th January. Owing to calms, currents, and contrary winds, we were forced to puſh ourſelves along the weſtern ſide of the river, and take advantage of the ſhelter afforded by the land. At eight we caſt anchor, finding ourſelves unable to ſtem a ſtrong current which ran towards the ſouth: we at this time perceived on the water vaſt flocks of pelicans, boobies, cormorants, and divers. The lofty Table Mountain was covered with a miſt, which reſolved into a very thick and cold dew. At this ſpot the foreſts are much leſs deep than in the interior part of the channel; they appear as if ravaged by fire.

After paſſing the Table Mountain, which ſeems to be covered only by ſtunted trees, and the abrupt flanks of which, furrowed by numerous torrents, reſemble a rampart of baſalt, we continued to aſcend the river. By noon we had attained the point oppoſite to the large hill, where the boats of Dentrecaſteaux diſcontinued their advance. This hill ſeems to be formed of horizontal ſtrata in its upper part; but its baſe appears of primitive origin. Beyond this great hill the river does indeed run deep inland, but inſtead of turning ſuddenly to the weſt, as deſcribed on the French map, its courſe is towards the north.

On doubling the point formed by the large hill, we perceived ſuch a prodigious number of black ſwans that they nearly covered the river; we killed a dozen of them, and continued our courſe until we grounded on a mud-bank, which, ſpite of all our efforts, we were unable to paſs. The next day, M. Freycinet, with ſome men well armed, and with the requiſite inſtruments, proceeded to ſurvey and ſketch the courſe of the river by land. I accompanied him till, induced by a wiſh of examining with more minuteneſs the interior of the country, I ſeparated. It was not long ere I reached a very deep ravine, the direction of which formed a right angle with that of the river; the right ſide of it was very ſteep, and occaſioned me much difficulty in aſcending it. Immediately contiguous to this natural rampart, were twelve or fourteen

ſcreens

ſcreens of bark, ſuch as we had ſeen before; a number of firs were ſtill burning before them, and I could have no doubt of their having been abandoned by the natives, on hearing the report of the fowling-pieces occaſionally fired by our comrades. In front of theſe huts were many bones of kanguroos and birds, and ſome flat ſtones, hot and greaſy, on which they appeared to me to have broiled their meat. I collected moreover a few hatchets and knives uſed by the natives, made of ſplinters of granite, of a very fine grain, and exceedingly hard.

While yet occupied in my examination of the vicinage of theſe huts, I heard of a ſudden ſome ſharp cries from the bottom of a neighbouring valley. I was alone, and without arms, and conſequently haſtened my ſteps from the ſpot, taking a courſe parallel to that of the river. I ſoon came to a large mountain, which I aſcended, and from the ſummit of which I diſtinguiſhed the courſe of the North river, till loſt in a high chain of mountains towards the north-weſt. Beyond this firſt tier of mountains, very lofty ſummits were viſible, ſome of which ſeemed to me ſtill covered with ice and ſnow; they were at leaſt remarkably white, and my conjecture reſpecting the cauſe of this whiteneſs is founded on the obſervations made during the voyage of Dentrecasteaux, from which it reſults that ſeveral of the high mountains of Diemen's Land are covered with ſnow on the hotteſt days of ſummer.

After enjoying for a time the pleaſing ſcene before me, I deſcended to the right bank of the river, and at half-paſt four reached the ſpot where our boat was left by M. Freycinct in cuſtody of M. Brue, a midſhipman, and ſome of the ſailors.

At half-paſt ſeven, M. Freycinct and his companions returned: after having penetrated four leagues into the interior, he found himſelf obliged, on account of the thickets and marſhes, to aſcend a neighbouring mountain: "Hence," ſaid he, "I perfectly traced the courſe of the river as it deſcended from the mountains; its general direction, to the point where it entered between defiles, was ſouth-eaſt-by-ſouth, and north-weſt-by-north. Throughout the courſe of the river, the ſaltneſs of the water diminiſhed, it is true, but in ſo gradual a degree, that it was only at the foot of the hill, where my ſurvey terminated, it began to be fit to drink."

The 25th, at day-break, we endeavoured again to paſs the mud-bank: we knew that it occupied a breadth no greater than two or three hundred paces, and that on the other ſide was ſufficient depth of water to float our boat conſiderably beyond. Aſſiſted by the tide and a ſtrong breeze, we had ſome hopes of overcoming this obſtacle; but, after ſeven hours of exceſſive fatigue, we were obliged to renounce further attempts, and make for the ſhip, carrying with us the mournful certainty that this river is uſeleſs to navigation in every reſpect, whether as a means of intercourſe with the interior, or to furniſh freſh water to ſhipping.

After ſpending ſome time in vain endeavours to enter into communication with the inhabitants, who conſtantly fled at our approach; and after being ſpectators of the horrid ſcene of woods deſtroyed by fire in our courſe over theſe ridges of mountains, we returned to our boat.

In our excurſion we entered on a beautiful valley, which accommitant circumſtances rendered truly enchanting. It was early in the morning, the ſun ſhone unclouded, the air was cool and healthy; the landſkip ſtill ſmoked with the vapours of morn; thouſands of trees of the family of myrtles, then in flower, embalmed the air with their grateful emanations, while large flocks of birds frolicked amid their ever verdant leaves. Among the birds, were the white cockatoo, with a yellow creſt, in ſize twice as large as that of the Moluccas; the great black cockatoo, the under part of the tail of which is elegantly ornamented with tranſverſal bands of a beautiful aurora colour;

colour; brilliant legions of ſouthern paroquets, which, notwithſtanding the cold temperature of theſe climates, vie in ſplendour with the moſt gorgeous ſpecies of equatorial regions; the Xanthogaſtre cuckoo; the yellow-necked black-bird; the red black-bird; the handſome tangara, of a lilac colour; the yellow-winged wood-pecker; the red-rumped bull finch; the charming blue-necked titmouſe; with others which I have before noticed.

On reaching the boat we embarked to proceed to the weſt of the river, where we hoped to find ſome of the natives, but again our efforts were vain. Landing eaſt of the Table Mountain from a ſmall inlet, we were ſpectators of a ſimilar deſtruction of the woods, a like ravage of fire we had ſeen the day before. On this excurſion I obtained but a few ſpecimens of jaſper, granite, and of another rock, which my friend Depuch eſteemed to be porphyry; I alſo collected a variety of lichens, of extreme beauty, of fungi, and moſſes, genera of plants of which, from the firſt inſtant of our arrival in the canal, I had begun an intereſting collection, and which from that time I continued throughout the voyage.

On my return to the ſea-ſhore, I followed the outline of a ſmall inlet, the ſtones of the ſhore of which were all of baſalt, mixed with volcanic ſcoriæ. The exiſtence of productions of this kind in a country eſſentially of primitive origin, receives new intereſt from the petrifactions of ſhells which I collected the day before at a height of ſix or ſeven hundred feet above the level of the ſea, on one of the mountains of which I have ſpoken. Thus we ſee that, even at this extremity of the eaſtern world, the terreſtrial globe has undergone its revolutions, and endured its great cataſtrophes; here, as every where elſe, it has been ravaged by the fire of volcanoes and buried beneath the waves.

On quitting our fourth anchorage, M. Freycinct had concerted with me the project of landing again on other points of the coaſt; but the wind, which blew from the N. E. having ſuddenly increaſed, and the ſky promiſing a ſtorm, we ſteered for the north-weſt port, where we rejoined our veſſel at ſeven in the evening.

I then learnt from my laborious friend Leſueur, that his collection had been augmented by a great number of intereſting fiſh, and that in latter excurſions he had added ten new ſpecies of birds to thoſe we poſſeſſed before.

The ſite of the canal Dentrecaſteaux, at the extremity of the globe; the multiplicity of its magnificent ports, havens, and charming bays; the variety of its ſhores and bottom; muſt ever render it extremely abundant in fiſh: where, indeed, but here, can thoſe timid legions of various deſcriptions ſpread through the volume of the great Southern Ocean, ſeek refuge, when the violent ſtorms ſo frequent in theſe ſeas convulſe the waters of every deep abyſs? and, when the encroaching froſt advances farther towards the line, even to the 50th degree, the ſhoals which ſeek theſe warmer ſhores muſt of neceſſity be prodigious.

At this ſevere ſeaſon of the year, all the animals of the ſea precipitately ſteer towards the north, ſeeking in a more genial clime that aſylum and nouriſhment denied in their frozen home. The channel is filled with their multitudes, which aſcend thence to Port Jackſon; advance ſtill nearer towards the equator, and offer their annual tribute to the ichtyophage Aborigines of the eaſtern ſhores of New Holland, as to us do the boreal legions of analogous tribes in Europe. Then it is that numerous ſhoals of the family of phocas invade the iſlands of Baſs's Straits, and the majority of thoſe off the eaſtern and weſtern ſhores of New Holland; then the cetaceous genera of the ſouth likewiſe make their northern migration; the ocean at times is covered with their prodigious legions, "Every where," ſays the captain of the Engliſh ſhip, the Britannia, in the relation of his voyage from the ſouth cape of Diemen's Land to Port Jackſon, in 1791, "every where

where the ſea is full of whales; even to the verge of the horizon, theſe animals are ſeen each driving forward, as it were, the one before it."

The twenty days which elapſed between my return from the North river and the departure of the two veſſels, were moſt of them rendered of uſe by excurſions longer or ſhorter to different points of Diemen's Land and the iſland Bruny. On theſe excurſions I frequently had occaſion to obſerve the wretched hordes of theſe regions, and collect intereſting details reſpecting their manners, habits, arms, ornaments, language, &c. &c.; but theſe different obſervations, belonging eſpecially to the hiſtory of theſe people, I ſhall merely detail here the particulars of one of our moſt remarkable interviews.

On the 31ſt January, early in the morning, I landed on Bruny Iſland. A boat from the Naturaliſte, and our large boat had together brought a number of people on ſhore, either for the purpoſe of fiſhing or collecting wood for the ſhips. It was low water, and in conſequence I ſet off to examine the ſtrand. Already was I at a diſtance from our boats ſo great as to be able no longer to diſtinguiſh them, when, after doubling a large promontory, I ſaw a ſcore of ſavages advancing towards me along the ſtrand. I made no heſitation to trace back my ſteps, too well inſtructed by our laſt accidents in the danger of ſimilar rencounters. As I returned I met Meſſrs. Heiriſſon and Belleſin, who were amuſing themſelves with ſhooting on the ſkirts of the foreſt; I imparted to them the occaſion of my retreat: they offered to accompany me to meet the ſavages, with a view of holding intercourſe with them, on which, ſecure by their arms from any ill-will they might manifeſt, I accepted their proffer. We were now but a few ſteps from the party, when of a ſudden they fled, and were loſt in the foreſt. We then climbed the downs; and, without attempting to purſue the natives, an attempt which their extreme agility would have rendered abortive, we contented ourſelves with calling, and preſenting to them different articles, particularly handkerchiefs. At theſe demonſtrations of good-will the troop heſitated an inſtant, and at length reſolved on waiting for us. It was then diſcovered we had to do with women; there was not a ſingle male of the party. We were about to approach too near to them it ſeems, when one of the moſt aged, ſtepping before the reſt, called out médi, médi, (ſit down, ſit down); they ſeemed at the ſame time to requeſt we would lay down our arms, the ſight of which apparently alarmed them.

Theſe preliminary conditions being complied with, the women ſquatted on their heels; and from that inſtant abandoned themſelves without reſerve to the natural vivacity of their character; ſpeaking all at once, queſtioning us all at a time, and ſeemingly criticiſing and mocking us; at the ſame time making a thouſand geſtures, a thouſand contorſions, as ſingular as they were various. M. Belleſin began to ſing, accompanying the words of his ſong with a very lively and animated geſture; the women immediately became ſilent, noticing with equal attention the geſtures and muſic of the ſong. As ſoon as a verſe was terminated, ſome applauded with loud cries, others laughed out aloud, but the young girls, doubtleſs more timid, kept ſilence, teſtifying nevertheleſs by their geſtures, and the expreſſion of their phyſiognomy, how much they were ſurpriſed and pleaſed.

All theſe women, if ſkins of kangaroos be excepted, which ſome wore over their ſhoulders, were entirely naked; but without appearing to give themſelves any concern reſpecting their nakedneſs, they varied their attitudes in ſuch manner, that it would be difficult to form an idea of the whimſical and pictureſque appearance they preſented.—Their black ſkin, diſguſting from being daubed over with the fat of ſeals; their hair, ſhort, criſp, black and filthy, and in ſome inſtances reddened with the duſt of ochre;

their face grimed over with charcoal; their form, moſtly meagre and withered; their long and pendent breaſts; in ſhort, the whole of their phyſical conſtitution was repulſive: from this general picture muſt, however, be excepted two or three young girls of fifteen or ſixteen years of age, of tolerably pleaſing form, of rather a graceful outline, and whoſe breaſts were firm and well placed; though, even in theſe, the nipple was rather too long and large for due proportion. Theſe young girls had alſo ſomewhat in the expreſſion of their countenance more ingenuous, affectionate, and mild, than was viſible in the others, as if the beſt qualities of the ſoul, even among ſavages, were the ſpecial appendages of youth, of grace, and beauty. Of the elderly women ſome had a coarſe ignoble countenance; others, but theſe leſs numerous, a brutal and ſombre look; yet, in general, we remarked in all, that uneaſy and dejected appearance which ſlavery and misfortune impreſs on the brow of all ſo unhappy to wear their yoke. Almoſt all of them, moreover, were covered with wounds, ſad evidences of the treatment they received from their brutal huſbands: one alone, of all her companions, preſerved conſiderable aſſurance with much life and jollity, and ſhe it was who impoſed the conditions which I have before noticed. Soon as M. Bellefin had finiſhed his ſong, ſhe imitated his geſtures and tone of voice in a very original and comical manner, to the great amuſement of her companions: afterwards ſhe began a ſong of her own, the notes of which were too rapid to admit of their being reduced to the principles of our muſic. Their ſinging in this correſponds with their ſpeech, for ſuch is the volubility of theſe people that it is next to impoſſible, as elſewhere will be ſhewn, to diſtinguiſh any one particular word: their utterance is a ſpecies of rolling ſound, for which the languages of Europe furniſh no comparative or analogous denomination.

Animated by her ſong, which we failed not warmly to applaud, and deſirous, no doubt, of praiſe for other accompliſhments, our merry Diemeneſe exhibited different ſpecimens of dancing, ſome of which might be reckoned exceedingly indecent, if, in this rude ſtate of ſociety, man was not utterly a ſtranger to that delicacy of thought, that nicety of demeanour, the grateful offspring in us of the perfection of ſocial order.

While all this was paſſing, I was occupied in penning the relation I have given, and taking notes of other matters which will elſewhere appear with greater intereſt: I attracted, it ſeems, the attention of the ſame woman who had diſplayed herſelf in the dance, for ſhe had ſcarcely finiſhed before, advancing towards me with a ſmiling countenance, ſhe took from a bag of ruſhes, like that I begged of Ourâ Ourâ, ſome pieces of charcoal, cruſhed them, and applied to my face a coat of the cuſtomary paint of the country. I readily ſubmitted to this flattering diſtinction, nor was M. Heiriſſon leſs complaiſant; he was honoured with a ſimilar maſk. We now, in the eyes of theſe women, appeared ſtriking objects of admiration; they looked on us with ſatisfaction, and ſeemingly complimented us on our additional charms. Thus, in theſe diſtant climates, fairneſs of ſkin, of which our ſpecies is ſo vain in Europe, is regarded as an actual defect, a kind of deformity which requires concealment; and a charcoal black, or the dull red of ochre are the colour of ſkin that moſt excites delight.

The reſpect we ſhewed for theſe women, and poſſibly the new attractions for which we were indebted to them, ſeemed to augment their good-will and confidence in us; nevertheleſs no inducement was ſufficient to obtain their allowance of our approaching them nearer. The ſlighteſt movement on the part of any one indicative of overpaſſing the preſcribed line, made them ſpring in an inſtant from their heels and take to flight: we were therefore obliged, in order to engage their longer ſtay, to conform in every thing to their wiſhes. After making them many preſents, we at length bent our way towards where our boat was moored; and our Diemeneſe dames apparently deſigning

to take the ſame courſe, we ſet off together; but the inflexibles obliged us ſtill to keep at diſtance, and forced us to follow the ſhore while themſelves traverſed the parallel downs of ſand.

As they were, moſt probably, on their return from fiſhing when we perceived them, they were all laden with large crabs, locuſtæ marinæ, and various conchæ grilled, which they carried in their ruſh bags. Theſe bags were faſtened round the forehead by a band, and hung down the back: ſome of them were of great weight; and we ſincerely lamented the lot of theſe poor women in having ſuch burthens to bear.

Our walk, however, was not leſs entertaining than had been the interview related; from the tops of the downs, they were very jocular and played off their wiles to attract attention; to this innocent ſportiveneſs we endeavoured as well as poſſible to make return, and our geſticular converſations of this deſcription would perhaps have long continued, had not one of the women on a ſudden ejaculated a loud cry, which was repeated with terror by all the reſt, at ſight of our boat and comrades. We endeavoured to calm their diſquiet by aſſuring them that, far from having any thing to apprehend from our friends, they would from them receive additional preſents: all was uſeleſs; and already the party was about to plunge into the foreſt, when the ſame woman, who had been the chief and almoſt excluſive actreſs in our firſt intercourſe, ſeemed to pluck up reſolution. Her call occaſioned a moment of ſuſpenſe: ſhe ſpoke to the others for ſome ſeconds, but finding herſelf apparently unable to perſuade them, ſhe ruſhed from the top of the downs by herſelf, and marching along the ſhore ſome diſtance before us, with much aſſurance and a ſort of dignity, appeared to reproach her companions for their puſillanimity. Theſe in the end ſeemed aſhamed of their weakneſs; by degrees they became more bold, and at length truſted themſelves on the ſhore. With this numerous and ſingular eſcort was it therefore that we reached our boats, near which, by a ſingular chance, the huſbands of theſe poor women had aſſembled a ſhort time before.

Notwithſtanding the unequivocal proofs of benevolent intentions, notwithſtanding the liberality of our countrymen, doubt and miſtruſt, ferocity and vengeance, continued ſtill depicted on their countenances; while even in their attitudes it was eaſy to diſtinguiſh, through the diſguiſe by which they ſought concealment, a ſomewhat forced, malevolent, and treacherous: they looked as if at the ſame time they dreaded our vengeance, they were mortified at the inefficiency of their divers attacks. At this unexpected meeting, all the unfortunate women who followed us, appeared frightened; their ferocious huſbands expreſſed by their looks, on ſeeing them, a degree of anger and rage by no means calculated to diſmiſs their fears. After depoſiting the fruits of their fiſhery at the feet of theſe men, who divided them immediately among themſelves, without offering any to the women, they went and ſquatted themſelves down behind their huſbands, who likewiſe were ſeated on the back of a large ſand-down; and there, as long as the interview laſted, theſe unfortunate women dared not either to raiſe their eyes, to ſpeak, or ſmile. This, however, is but the outline of the picture we ſhall elſewhere have to preſent. A few days after I had the pleaſure of meeting again with the ſame woman of whom I have related ſo much: I then learnt that her name was Arrā Mäïdā. M. Petit, at my requeſt, drew her likeneſs, which is given in the atlas, and in every reſpect is an excellent reſemblance. Or I miſtake, or that bold and fearleſs character which ſo eminently diſtinguiſhed this woman from all her companions, is there perfectly apparent. The laſt time I met her ſhe had a ſmall infant at her back.

The 3d February I again landed on Bruny Iſland, with three of our officers, the two Meſſrs. Freycinct and Montbazin: we ſhortly after diſtinguiſhed two females who

directed their ſteps from the ſummit of a neighbouring mountain towards the ſea. Anxious for a more cloſe examination of them my companions purſued them, but ſcarcely had they run two hundred paces before theſe women, whom they thought it ſo eaſy a matter to overtake, were out of ſight: this I had before predicted, having had repeated opportunities of convincing myſelf that the inhabitants of theſe ſhores were much more ſwift of foot than we. On our return to the ſhore we found a very large fire, lighted moſt probably during the night, and which yet continued to burn. Around it were careleſsly ſtrewed almoſt all the articles we had beſtowed on the the natives, and ſuch even as they had ſtolen at the hazard of their life. We had previouſly ſeen others diſperſed through different parts of the woods, and were ſatisfied that, after contenting their childiſh curioſity, theſe ignorant beings, finding our gifts, as it were, an incumbrance, threw them aſide as ſoon as they ceaſed to pleaſe or amuſe them. *

In the mean time, our different objects in waiting off Diemen's were completed; that is to ſay, our ſtock of wood was collected; water, but this unfortunately rather brackiſh, had been obtained in tolerable abundance from the ſmall river which falls into the bottom of the north-weſt port; our time-pieces had been regulated by M. Bernier, the aſtronomer; and finally, M. Faure was returned from his intereſting excurſion for the ſurvey of the north-eaſt part of the channel: on the reſult of this excurſion, ſome obſervations are indiſpenſable.

In the eaſtern part of North Bay, in the chart of Dentrecaſteaux, is marked a ſecond bay called Frederic Henrich's, which opens into a third called Marion Bay. The channel of communication between theſe two laſt bays being laid down diſtinctly in the French chart, our commander, on the inſtant of our reaching North Weſt Port, diſpatched our geographic artiſt M. Faure with directions to ſurvey the channel, and aſcertain whether or not it would admit our veſſel to paſs.

The ſurvey and return furniſhed employment for eleven days; the reſults were:

1ſt, That the draught of North Bay, as laid down in the chart of Admiral Dentrecaſteaux, is incomplete; for, towards its extremity, M. Faure diſcovered a baſin of water of no great depth indeed, but ſo well ſheltered as to offer in all weathers an excellent anchorage for boats and veſſels of little draught; he likewiſe diſcovered a ſmall river, north of Point Reynard, (Fox Point,) which may be aſcended two leagues from its mouth; the water throughout the whole diſtance was very ſalt. M. Faure made ſhift however to recruit his freſh water from ſome ſmall pools on the margin, or rather in the bed of the river, then nearly dry.

2d, That the ſecond bay, S. E. of North Bay, and which is but vaguely marked in the chart of Dentrecaſteaux, conſtitutes in fact a very ſecure and ſpacious port, with excellent anchorage in every part.

3d, That the pretended channel of communication between the bays Frederic Henrich and Marion, had no exiſtence whatever.

4th, That conſequently what in the French chart is laid down as an iſland, under the

* It perhaps admits a queſtion whether theſe people with ſuch real diſpoſitions would not have been far better qualified to play the part of that cynic, who, in anſwer to the requeſt of Alexander to aſk for what he pleaſed, deſired him to get out of the ſun, than could have been Diogenes himſelf. And, provided the contempt of this laſt for the courteſies, the comforts, and enjoyments of life, was any thing elſe than a vain aſſumption to render himſelf particular; provided, I ſay, a man living with civilized beings, and with ſuch cauſtic humour, had truly that diſtaſte he ſhewed for what poliſhed man eſteems the ſweets of life, it can ſcarcely admit a queſtion of whether he could not better have been placed among theſe ſavages, than at Corinth. Tr.

name of Taſman Iſland, is only a large peninſula, united to Diemen's Land by an iſthmus, at its narroweſt part but a hundred fathoms over, and about three hundred fathoms long.

5th, That this iſthmus alſo, ſo far from being the diviſion between Frederic Henrich's Bay and Marion's Bay, as laid down in the chart, divides the former from a different bay, that we ſhall deſcribe, more towards the ſouth.

6th, That the draughtſmen of Dentrecaſteaux were wrong in giving the name of Frederic Henrich to the bay S. E. of North Bay, as it is phyſically impoſſible, from what is now known of it, that Taſman in his courſe could have ſeen this bay.

7th, That, for the ſame reaſon, the name of Frederic Henrich given by the French to the ſmall iſland weſt of Joannet Point, ſhould not be continued; as, by being connected with the pretended diſcovery of this portion of Diemen's Land by Taſman, it tends to perpetuate an idea which is far from juſt.

8th, That the name Taſman Iſland, employed by Dentrecaſteaux, ought likewiſe to be corrected.

9th, Finally, it reſults from the explorations of M. Faure that, as there is no Frederic Henrich's Bay on the ſpot marked in the French chart, it muſt be ſought for elſewhere; and, in the following chapter, we ſhall ſee it in its true place, and with its proper bearings to Marion's Bay.

For the reaſons I have given we have adopted the following nomenclature for this portion of our explorations and diſcoveries: preſerving the name given it by the French admiral to North Bay, the Great Bay, denominated improperly Frederic Henrich's Bay we call Port Buache. The iſland termed Taſman by Dentrecaſteaux is called Taſman's Peninſula. The iſland weſt of Joannet Point in lieu of that of Frederic Henrich received the name of St. Aignant. The baſin at the extremity of the North Bay is called Ranſonnet Baſin, and the ſmall river, the mouth of which is north-weſt of Pointe Renard or Fox Point, the river Brue; the two laſt names being thoſe of midſhipmen on board, both one and the other equally worthy of eſteem.

On the 5th February we raiſed our anchor, and made preparations for ſailing as ſoon as the winds would admit. The ſame evening, the diſk of the ſun on ſetting was of the moſt beautiful and ſplendid red colour; the wind blew from the north-eaſt; but, during the night, it veered round to the north, and blew in ſtrong guſts, continuing thus until eleven or twelve the next day. The violence of theſe guſts of winds was ſuch as in the ſpace of a few hours to cauſe the barometer to ſink ſeven lines and three-tenths; they, at the ſame time, brought on ſo ſudden and ſo great a heat that the thermometer roſe from 11° to 22° in the ſpace of a few ſeconds*; ſcarcely, in the open air, were we able to breathe; and the guſts were like blaſts from a burning furnace. Shortly after, the ſurface of the ſea appeared every where covered with fume; an immenſe quantity of water was drawn up into the atmoſphere; and, during the whole of the remainder of the day we were ſurrounded as it were by a tepid vapour bath. Some individuals, among whom was our commander, attributed theſe great natural effects to the burning of the neighbouring foreſts; but, ſeparate from the inſufficiency of this explanation to account even for the inſtance in point, we ſhall elſewhere ſee that theſe burning winds are experienced on the weſtern coaſt of New Holland, under circumſtances perfectly ſimilar; we ſhall ſee them again, ſtill more formidable, on the eaſtern ſhores of the ſame continent, ſuffocate in a few ſeconds myriads of animals, and parch and blaſt as ſuddenly the moſt active vegetation. Let

* 51½ to 71⅗ of Fahrenheit.

us be content with obſerving for the inſtant that theſe inflamed winds are felt even at the ſouthern extremity of Diemen's Land, and that there they proceed from the north. In a ſucceeding chapter theſe valuable obſervations, reproduced with more detail, will be found nearly allied to the phyſical hiſtory of the continent of which we treat.

The 17th of February we were enabled by means of a light breeze from the E. and E. S. E. to make ſail, after a ſtay in the Channel of Dentrecaſteaux of ſix-and-thirty days, for the ſouth-eaſtern, that important extremity of Diemen's Land.

CHAP. XIII. — *South-eaſt Part of Diemen's Land.*

[From the 17th to the 28th of February, 1802.]

SCARCELY were we out of the channel before the wind veered to the ſouth, and obliged us to make uſeleſs tacks throughout the day between Tarman Peninſula, Willanmez Iſland and the iſland Brüny. The night was calm; but at two in the morning a pleaſant breeze from the W. S. W. enabled us to ſteer S. S. E. At day-break we paſſed Cape Raoul, briſtling on every ſide with ſalient ridges, priſms, and needles of baſaltic appearance. At ſeven in the morning we were abreaſt of Taſman Iſland: this is an enormous barren plateau, the black ſides of which riſe like volcanic ramparts from the boſom of the waters: its ſouthern point, as well as Cape Raoul, is covered with immenſe columns, apparently of baſalt. Of ſimilar conſtitution is Cape Pillar, and like are the rents in its ſides: but at the cape weſt of the rocks of Hippolytus, named by us Cape Hauy, in honour of the celebrated mineralogiſt of that name, the picture indeed is ſimilar, but its horrible appearance much exceeds that of the others. At the diſtance of ſome miles this remarkable cape reſembles an organ riſing from the waves. The Rocks of Hippolytus form part of this large picture of diſorder and ſciſſures: they are three in number, the largeſt much reſembling the *Coin de mire* of the Iſle of France.

After doubling Cape Hauy, we found ourſelves oppoſite to a ſmall but pretty bay: right and left of this bay riſe enormous black and ſterile maſſes, the ſummits of which are ragged, and reſemble the teeth of ſaws: at the extremity of the bay, a delightful border of verdure forms a gratifying contraſt to the dingy mountains by which it is ſurrounded. Above the firſt range of theſe, a lofty mountain uprears its triple ſummit in the diſtance. This bay we called after Dolomieu, and purſued our courſe towards the north, coaſting at a ſhort diſtance along a precipitous ſhore, bathed by a ſea of great depth. The barren appearance we have noticed now ceaſed, and mighty eucalypti raiſed their lofty tops above their ramparts.

A ſhort diſtance north of Dolomieu Bay, a large opening preſented itſelf, recognized by M. Faure for the Eaſtern bay, oppoſite to Port Buache, of which we ſpoke in the previous chapter. The identity of this bay is the more inconteſtible from our engineer's gendered himſelf, on his diſcovery of it after traverſing the iſthmus, at the bottom of this new bay, and from his having from this point taken the bearing of the Rocks of Hippolytus, and found their ſite that which they actually occupy with reſpect to the bay. We called it Monge Bay, in memory of the illuſtrious character to whom phyſics and the mathematics are indebted for ſo many valuable diſcoveries. The iſthmus, which ſeparates Monge Bay from Buache Port ſeems low and ſandy: beyond this iſthmus, on a ſecond level, a bound of grey mountains are ſeen, lower in the com-

mencement than thoſe of the peninſula Taſman, but which afterwards rapidly riſe towards the north, and conſtitute a ſecond peninſula, which, in another part, we ſhall have to notice. A large cape rounded, and of a brownish colour, terminates Monge Bay towards the north: the whole portion of this cape, next the ſea, is ſterile; on its ſummit vegetate ſome tolerably greeniſh trees; and, in front, many reddiſh rocks project like ſo many ſmall cones, the conſtitution of which ſhould ſeem to be volcanic. This remarkable cape was called Cape Surville, in memory of the French navigator of that name.

From Cape Surville to Cape Frederic Henrich the lands are lofty, perpendicular at their baſe, but rendered like large domes at their ſummits: their colour is a dull green; ſome very few ſhrubs are ſprinkled over their ſurface.

Directly north of Cape Frederic Henrich, lies the great Bay of Marion: we traverſed it without halting; and, about five in the evening, caſt anchor in the channel between Diemen's Land and the Iſland Maria, oppoſite the Oyſter Bay.

The 19th of February, at day-break, the barge of our ſhip under command of M. Maurouard, was diſpatched to make the tour of the Iſland Maria, to take a draught of it, and aſcertain if it afforded freſh water. To our geographic engineer M. Boullanger, ſcarcely yet recovered from the illneſs with which he was attacked at Timor, was this work allotted. I accompanied him to examine the productions, ſoil, temperature, and inhabitants of the iſland.

Soon after we reached the moſt ſouthern cape of the iſland, denominated by our geographers Cape Peron. In front of the cape riſes a ſolitary granitic rock of one hundred and fifty to two hundred feet high, torn by the waves, and much reſembling an obeliſk: it was termed the Pyramid.

From this point the coaſt turns abruptly to the N. N. E.; and we proceeded along it a ſhort diſtance away. It is, throughout its whole length, perpendicular, and reſembles an immenſe rampart of granite. On ſome points the imagination pourtrays in its rocks the remnants of a line of ancient fortifications. Various ſpices of paraſitical plants, among which are lichens of a beautiful ſulphur colour or a ſplendid red, grew on theſe walls, the ſummits of which, ſeen through the ſhrubs, appeared like the parapet of a citadel, with, in many parts, battlements and embrazures. All along this coaſt there is deep water; but as it is expoſed to the whole fury of the ſouth winds, blowing, unimpeded from the antarctic pole, is inceſſantly beaten by tumultuous waves, which break with noiſe againſt its granite walls.

When at the eaſtern point, called Cape Maurouard, from the laudable midſhipman who then participated with M. Boullanger his geographical work, we ſaw the coaſt ſtretch to the N. N. W. Here the mountains rapidly decline, and in a little time the chain breaks, and forms a large bay; in this we entered, and ſhortly after landed on the iſthmus that divides it from the Oyſter Bay.

It was now two. While my companions were employed on their geographic ſurvey of the ſhore, I advanced towards the north coaſt of the bay, and penetrated into the interior. My progreſs at firſt was ſlow, owing to the ſize and ſtrength of the herbage; on ſome ſpots even ſhrubs thickly growing together, and more vigorous, interdicted advance: I was on the point of tracing back my ſteps, when, at a diſtance, I diſtinguiſhed a path beaten by the natives. This I followed: in a ſhort time trees were leſs frequent; and, in leſs than half-an-hour, I reached the ſummit of a hillock, whence I diſtinguiſhed at once the two bays of Maria Iſland, the iſthmus by which they are ſeparated, and the mountains of Diemen's Land, the laſt tiers of which were ſcarcely diſcernible amid the ſurrounding vapours. Divers ſpecies of pleaſing gramina preſented

on every ſide a beautiful carpet of verdure; melaleucæ, correæ, fagaræ, conchyæ, ſtypheliæ, and metroſideros, here and there formed charming groves, above which towered immenſe globular eucalypti, gigantic leptoſpermes, the cypreſs-leaved exocarpos, the hairy caſuarina, the ſilver-leaved bankſia, and a variety of other trees peculiar to theſe ſouthern regions. At the foot of this hillock runs a ſmall rivulet of ſweet water, on the banks of which were diſtinguiſhed many ſpecies of pteris, limodorum, a new ſpecies of everlaſting with white flowers, the beautiful aletris with red flowers, the creeping parſley of theſe regions, and a ſmall ſpecies of daucus, analagous in taſte to our common carrot.

While abſorbed by the delightful ſenſations inſpired by this charming ſpot, I perceived at a diſtance a monument, the ſtructure of which at once ſurpriſed me, and excited my curioſity: I haſtened towards it; the following is the reſult of my obſervations.

On a wide ſwarth of verdure, beneath ſome antique caruarinæ, roſe a cone, formed coarſely of the bark of trees inſerted at bottom in the ground, and terminated at top by a large band of ſimilar materials. Four long poles ſtuck in the earth, ſuſtained and ſerved for all the pieces of bark to lean againſt; theſe four poles ſeemed alſo calculated to ornament the building; for, inſtead of uniting all their upper extremity like the bark, and ſo forming a ſimple cone, they croſſed each other about their middle, and then extended without the roof of the ornament. From this diſpoſition reſulted a ſort of inverted tetracdric pyramid in the upper part oppoſed to the cone below. This contraſt of form in the two parts of the building had a ſomewhat graceful effect, which was encreaſed by the following additions.

With each of the four ſides of the pyramid correſponded a wide ſtrip of bark, the two bent extremities of which were at the bottom bound together by the large band, which, as I before have noticed, united all the pieces of bark at the top of the cone: it follows that each of theſe four ſtrips formed a ſort of oval, leaſt rounded at its inferior extremity, and wideſt and moſt rounded above; and, as each of theſe ovals correſponded with one of the ſides of the inverted pyramid, it is not difficult to conceive the elegance and pictureſque effect of the plan.

After looking ſome time at this monument, the uſe of which I vainly ſtrove to fathom, I ſoon reſolved to puſh my examination to a greater length: I removed ſeveral thick pieces of bark, and readily penetrated to the interior of the building. The whole of the upper part was vacant: at the bottom was a large flattened cone formed of a fine light graſs laid with much care in conuntric and very deep ſtrata. With my doubt reſpecting the purpoſe of this, my curioſity encreaſed. Eight ſmall bent ſticks croſſing each other at the ſummit of this cone of verdure, ſerved to preſerve its form; each of theſe ſticks had its two extremities faſtened in the earth, and kept firm in their poſition by a large piece of flattened granite.

So much care led me to expect ſome important diſcovery; nor was I miſtaken. Scarcely had I raiſed the upper layers of turf, ere I perceived a large heap of white aſhes, apparently collected together with nicety: thruſting my hand into the midſt of theſe, I felt ſomething hard, withdrawing which, I found it to be the jaw-bone of a man, and ſhreds of fleſh ſtill adhering to it. I ſhuddered with horror. Still, reflecting a little on all I had obſerved in the compoſition of the monument, I ſoon experienced ſenſations widely different from thoſe I felt at firſt: the verdure, the flowers, the protecting trees, the deep bed of young herbage which covered the aſhes, all united to convince me that I had here diſcovered a tomb.

On removing the aſhes, I perceived a very black coal, expanded, friable, and light; and

and recognized it to be animal: at the ſame time I withdrew part of the femur with a portion of fleſh; in the fleſh were ſtill viſible the larger arteries full of blood, calcined, and in the ſtate this fluid is, on its approximation to a reſinous ſubſtance. To theſe bones others ſucceeded not leſs eaſy of recognition, vertebræ, fragments of the os humeros, the tibia, tarſus, and carpium; all of them were much changed by the action of fire, and were readily reduced to duſt: of theſe burnt bones I have preſerved ſome fragments, with portions of the roaſted fleſh adherent to them. Theſe bones were not, as I at firſt imagined, depoſited on the ſurface; they were collected at the bottom of a circular hole, about ſixteen or twenty inches in diameter, and eight or ten inches deep. It will ſhortly be ſeen that this is not an uſeleſs remark.

I might have neglected, perhaps, to notice a final circumſtance of intereſt as regarding the ſite of the tomb, if, on ſeeing a ſimilar monument the next day, I had not obſerved the ſame object again. At the foot of the ſlope on which the ſepulchre was conſtructed, ran a rivulet of freſh and limpid water, the preſence of which, at the reigning ſeaſon of the year, was equally rare and grateful. Both ſides of the ſtreamlet were carpetted by a variety of young herbage, among which ſeveral ſpecies of orchys, ophris, richea glauca, apium proſtratum, and the ſpecies of carrot peculiar to theſe regions.

With what delight, ſeated on the bank of this rivulet, did I give myſelf up to the new reflections which ſuch a combination of circumſtances was calculated to occaſion! I ſaid to myſelf, "In midſt of theſe threatening rocks, in the deep boſom of theſe ancient foreſts, nature then has yet preſerved ſome of her rights, ſince the firſt monument we have diſcovered of the unpoliſhed and barbarous inhabitants was conſecrated by herſelf.

Recalling next to mind the arid ſhores of the weſtern part of New Holland, I reflected on the intereſting bower diſcovered on the left bank of the river Vaſſe, and again ſaid, "This monument, the only one found on its banks, was alſo conſecrated by gratitude." Thus the firſt worſhip was inſpired by nature; the firſt altars were raiſed to filial piety, to gratitude.

I extended the firſt analogy between the two objects to their poſition: the bower of the bay of the Geographe was conſtructed on that ſalt river, which with the adjoining marſhes, materially helps to ſupport the inhabitants of thoſe dreary regions. The tomb I had recently diſcovered was ſtationed near that portion of Eaſt Bay, where alone we had been able to find freſh water; here alſo thoſe large conchæ, the daily food of the people, were moſt abundant. The preſumption that the ſite of the tomb was the reſult of deliberation, was farther ſtrengthened by the remarks I made the next day in Oyſter Bay, on a ſtructure of ſimilar deſcription; this alſo was placed on an eminence, at the foot of which ran a ſmall rill of freſh water, the only one we found throughout the whole extent of this laſt bay. "Thus, therefore, the ſame principle which originated the conſecration of theſe monuments, cauſed the ſelection of thoſe ſpots for their poſitions which were moſt intereſting and moſt dear, thoſe ſpots, to which moſt frequently brought back by his neceſſities, were beſt calculated to renew a grateful emotion in man."

Succeeding ideas cauſed new reflections: I aſked myſelf, "What can have originated this cuſtom of burning the dead? Separated from the reſt of the world, and at its fartheſt extremity, theſe people cannot have adopted it from communication with others; it muſt irrefutably therefore be an idea of their own. But, in that caſe, wherefore prefer this mode of diſpoſing of the dead? Can the preference be the effect

of chance? Or does there exiſt ſome phyſical reaſon for it, dependent on the nature of things, or the particular ſocial organization of theſe men? This double queſtion, equally important and delicate, requires in diſcuſſing it that I ſhould take a rapid retroſpect of the eſſential features of the inhabitants of Diemen's Land, to which, as will hereafter be diſplayed, thoſe of the people who dwell on the iſland Maria in every reſpect aſſimilate.

Almoſt utterly a ſtranger to every principle of ſocial organization, without chiefs, properly ſpeaking, without laws, cloathing, or culture of any deſcription, without any aſſured means of ſubſiſtence, or any eſtabliſhed abode, man here knows no other arms, and has no other inſtruments than the club and the ſpear, both equally imperfect in themſelves, and coarſely faſhioned. A wanderer with his family on the ſhore of the ſea, to that he looks for his chief ſubſiſtence; he ſojourns for a longer ſpace, and thither oftenеſt returns, where ſhell-fiſh moſt abound, where he with greateſt eaſe can collect them, and where freſh water may readieſt be obtained. What I ſay here of the individual applies to the whole race in queſtion; the reſources of the individual fail with thoſe of the horde to which he belongs.

Theſe data eſtabliſhed, one of their number ſhall die. He is old, reſpected, father of a numerous family, and ſurrounded by children, before whom he breathes his laſt. What is to become of the corpſe?

Abandon it? He was their father; was kind: his abandoned corpſe might become the food of wild animals! This reflection were ſufficient to inſpire horror even in the breaſt of ſavages. Moreover, the putrefaction of the carcaſe would not fail of diſguſting them; and every ſcattered bone of a father's corpſe would each ſucceeding inſtant reproach them with ingratitude, or at leaſt be a ſight at once offenſive and diſguſting.

Should they caſt it into the ſea? This at firſt ſeems the moſt natural and ſimple expedient: but, thrown back by the tides and currents, they might ſee again the carcaſe on their ſhores, and ſometimes poſſibly its tainted members mingled with the ſhell-fiſh of which they make their food.

Embalm it? This is beyond their ideas, as it is beyond their means.

Bury it? This would be a labour of difficult effectuation, as well from the generally hard and rocky nature of the ſoil, as from an abſolute want of every requiſite inſtrument for the purpoſe. Still is it probable they would have recourſe to this meaſure, did not another offer itſelf much more ready of effectuation, and even preferable.

This laſt meaſure is to burn it. Every thing concurs to facilitate this expedient; every thing in this is accordant with the mode of life of the inhabitant of theſe ſhores, as well as the circumſtances in which he is placed. Fire, that powerful and terrible agent, their recourſe on ſo many and ſuch valuable occaſions, cannot fail of exciting among theſe people ſome of thoſe ſentiments of veneration, conſecrated with the majority of ancient nations by ſuch numerous inſtitutions and religious monuments. Without being deified, perhaps, as formerly it was, fire in theſe countries* is regarded as ſomething ſuperior to the other works of nature; and theſe firſt ideas will probably have contributed not in a trivial degree to the determination of burning their dead. The requiſite materials for the purpoſe were at hand: neither calculation nor labour were required for putting the plan in execution; no inſtrument was neceſſary; and it prevented taint and the conſequent infection. But a few remains of bones would

* See Philips's Voyage to New South Wales, page 59, and Marion's to Diemen's Land, page 29.

be

be here after the operation, to cover which the aſhes of the fire would be ſufficient. The whole ceremony required only a few hours; and prejudices tended to render it reputable and ſacred.

Thus then this practice of burning the dead * does not appear to be the effect of mere chance: accordant with phyſical and local circumſtances, theſe evidently were the origin of the cuſtom; and did the nature of this work juſtify my proſecuting the ſubject further, it would be eaſy for me to prove that this important portion of the uſages of people has more relation to the ſoil and its nature than is at firſt view apparent. Is it not, for example, worthy of remark, that thoſe two countries moſt famous for embalming, and mummies, Upper Egypt and Teneriffe, are alike diſtinguiſhed by the conſtant dryneſs of the ſoil and the atmoſphere, and the facility with which different aromatic, aſtringent, or reſinous ingredients, the eſſential baſes of the preparations for embalming, are obtained? But, leaving further remarks on this ſubject, let us terminate what relates to this ſingular monument of Maria Iſland.

I was the more pleaſed with the diſcovery I had made from nothing ſimilar having before been obſerved in theſe parts. Riche in one of his excurſions had, indeed, diſcovered on Diemen's Land parts of bones to which the fleſh yet adhered in a half calcined ſtate; and M. Labillardiere had in conſequence ſuſpected that the inhabitants burned their dead; but this ſuſpicion depended in a circumſtance ſo doubtful as to be unworthy of reliance: on the contrary, this curious chapter may be reckoned nearly complete in what regards the hiſtory of the inhabitants of theſe regions. The draught of the tomb exactly given by M. Petit, and finiſhed by M. Leſueur, leaves nothing to wiſh for reſpecting this monument, and the pleaſing proſpect afforded by the ſlope on which it was ſituate.

I have noticed a ſecond ſepulchre; this we viſited the next day in Oyſter Bay, oppoſite to Eaſt Bay, and in order to finiſh what relates to this ſubject, anticipating order and dates, I ſhall detail in as few words as poſſible what it preſented peculiar to itſelf. Placed on a ſlight eminence, at the foot of which ran a rivulet of freſh water, the only one found on this bay, this latter monument immaterially differed from the one before deſcribed: but being older than the other its form was leſs regular; the poles which ſupported the pieces of bark had, as well as the bark itſelf, given way; and the graſs which covered the aſhes had undergone much change from the moiſture of the atmoſphere: in other reſpects, the bones and aſhes were arranged in nearly the ſame manner as in the monument of Eaſt Bay. The only peculiarity it offered, and which deſerves ſpecial remark, was this: on the interior of ſome of the handſomeſt and largeſt pieces of bark certain characters, analogous to thoſe uſed by the natives in tattooing the lower part of the arm, were engraven.

To what I have before ſaid another obſervation muſt be added: it is that from the nature of theſe monuments no ſurprize can be excited at their rarity. For the pieces of bark by which they are protected muſt neceſſarily in little time be deſtroyed by the action of the atmoſphere, and be diſperſed by the winds. The tender and delicate graſs which covers the aſhes muſt likewiſe ſoon undergo decompoſition; and the aſhes themſelves, partly diſperſed, will then ſhew no more than that a fire has previouſly been kindled on the ſpot; and as the bones are collected together in the bottom of the hole, they naturally remain there buried, which accounts ſufficiently for none being found on the ſurface of the ground. Add to this the calcination they have undergone, the neceſſary effect of which is to render their decompoſition more rapid and complete.

* The natives of New Holland likewiſe burn their dead.

In the mean time my companions had finiſhed their geographical ſurvey, and had already been waiting for my return, when I rejoined them: we again embarked to take the ſoundings of the interior of the bay. It preſents deep ſoundings almoſt in every part; but from the bottom, conſiſting generally of live rock, the anchorage is bad: moreover, the bay is too open, and too much expoſed to the fury of the winds from the ſouth-eaſt. Doubtleſs to the nature of the bottom it is that the abundance of fucus is to be attributed, which on different points of its ſurface form real pelagic meadows, in midſt of which numberleſs flocks of ſea-mews, gulls, divers, and cormorants ſeek their accuſtomed food.

After completing the ſurvey of the great bay on the eaſt, to which we gave the name Riedle Bay, in memory of the valuable naturaliſt buried on the iſland Timor, we again landed on the iſland to paſs the night, and by four the next morning, 20th Feb. ſet off to continue our exploration of Maria Iſland.

After doubling the north cape of Riedle Bay, the direction of the land is E. N. E. to the parallel of Cape Miſtaken *, the moſt eaſtern point of the iſland. From this to the north cape the courſe of it is W. N. W. The whole of the portion of the iſland compriſed between the Eaſtern Bay and the North Cape is truly frightful. The coaſt forms a wall of granite from 320 to 430 feet (Engliſh) high: in this wall are vaſt caverns, in which the waves, daſhing with impetuoſity, make a hollow rumbling noiſe, ſimilar to that of diſtant thunder. In every part the coaſt is acceſſible: the ſea runs high and tumultuouſly, and the ſpectator trembles at the very thought of the fate of thoſe ſhips driven againſt ſuch ruthleſs ſhores.

This conſtitution, indeed, of the coaſt is conſequent on the general poſition of Maria Iſland, here expoſed to the whole ocean's rage; and this is evident from a compariſon of this ſide with that on the weſt of the iſland; for, as ſoon as the North Cape is paſſed, to which from our engineer we gave the name of Cape Boullanger, the elevation of the ſoil decreaſes, and diſcovers beneath the ſhelter of Diemen's Land a long ſandy beach, which is continued almoſt uninterruptedly to the extremity of Oyſter Bay. In ſhort, every thing eaſtward denotes the ravages of the waves and winds, while, on the weſt, the general aſpect announces the tranquillity of nature, and the peaceful action of time.

In front of Cape Boullanger is a large rock, joined to Maria Iſland by a ledge of dangerous reefs; a-head of this rock is a granitic iſlet of ſome dimenſions, but little elevated, ſterile, and which, between it and the land, has a narrow ſtrait paſſable for ſmall craft alone: we denominated this North Iſlet.

I have already noticed the floats of fucus which carpetted with verdure part of Riedle Bay: their extent even then cauſed great ſurprize, but on coaſting along the N. E. of the iſland, theſe ſame vegetables occaſioned us a ſtill greater aſtoniſhment. For a very conſiderable diſtance the whole ſurface of the ſea was covered with this ſubmarine production; and it was with the greateſt difficulty we were enabled to diſentangle ourſelves from one of theſe floats, in the ſkirt of which we became enveloped; nor till after ſeveral hours' exertion were we able to releaſe ourſelves from this unuſual obſtacle. Theſe floats all conſiſted of one ſingle plant, the fucus giganteus, aſſuredly the largeſt of all pelagic vegetables, as ſome that we meaſured were from 81 to 97 meters in length †. To raiſe and ſuſtain theſe immenſe branches at the ſurface of the water nature employs a means as ſimple as efficacious. At intervals of ſpace each branch produces a pretty broad leaf dentated at the edge, and crimped over its whole ſurface, the ſtalk of which, cloſe to its union with the branch, has a pyriform or pear-ſhaped bladder from

* Thus named by Captain Cox, who diſcovered Oyſter Bay in 1789. † 265 to 318 Engliſh feet.

two

two to three inches in length, by about an inch in diameter at its loweſt and wideſt part. Each of theſe veſicles, filled with air, acting as ſo many balloons, raiſe the branches to the ſurface, and ſupport the ſpreading leaves on the waves. Theſe leaves are often of conſiderable ſize; ſome I meaſured exceeding 32 to 38 decimeters in length *.

But, not only on account of the ſingularity of its organization and gigantic ſize is this fucus deſerving of notice. Torn by the violence of the tempeſt from their parent ſtems at the bottom of the ſea, theſe floats of fucus are tranſported by the currents to the extremity of the bay of Riedle, are ſoon buried there in the ſands, and greatly contribute to choak this bay, and encreaſe the extent of the iſthmus which divides it from Oyſter Bay. Thus, at this extremity of the globe, is realized the grand diſplay of the influence of marine plants in encroachments of the land on the ſea, pictured by Linnæus in the preface to his hiſtory of the mineral kingdom; but, without dwelling longer on this important matter, let us return to our voyage round the iſland Maria.

After doubling Cape Boullanger, we proceeded rapidly along the whole north-weſt coaſt of the iſland: it is low and ſandy; vegetation in the neighbourhood of the coaſt is far from lively; but the interior diſplays handſome foreſts, and the backs of the mountains ſeem covered with tolerably fine trees. By five in the evening we paſſed Middle Iſlet, an iſlet to which we gave this name from its intermediate poſition between Diemen's Land and Maria Iſland. It is nothing but a rock of granite, about 234 meters† in diameter, and from 9 to 12 meters‡ above the ſurface of the water. It is naturally ſterile, and the natives of the neighbourhood, being accuſtomed to halt here in their paſſage to Maria Iſland, from the main, have deſtroyed for their fires whatever vegetation it formerly bore.

Already had the obſcurity of the evening begun to render our ſurvey of the coaſt more and more difficult and uncertain, when we doubled Cape Leſueur, which forms the northern point of Oyſter Bay: we were on the point of landing to paſs the night, when we diſtinguiſhed from five and twenty to thirty ſavages, advancing towards us, armed with long ſpears, and uttering loud exclamations. This numerous band was the leſs agreeable to us, as, much fatigued with being two days at ſea, we had occaſion for reſt, and with ſuch hoſts ſhould have been obliged to paſs the night under arms; we therefore reſolved on penetrating further into the bay, convinced the ſavages would not follow us. As we predicted, indeed, they continued their courſe weſtward, and ſoon were out of ſight: after this we landed.

Early on the 21ſt, we continued our ſurvey of Oyſter Bay: towards the extremity it is ſo ſhallow that we were every inſtant in danger of grounding, though oftentimes at conſiderable diſtance from ſhore. Spite of this inconvenience, we completed the ſurvey of the bay, and were about to double the ſouth point, when we heard the report of a gun from one of the veſſels; ſhortly after, this was ſucceeded by others, at ſuch intervals that we could not miſtake their mournful meaning. The laſt of my co-adjutors, M. Mauge, had ceaſed to live, and theſe announced his funeral obſequies. He died the day after our departure, univerſally regretted in both ſhips, and worthy of the grief felt for his loſs, by the excellence of his character, and the zeal he had manifeſted in the expedition. His corpſe was interred on Maria Iſland, at the foot of a large lucalyptus, to which a leaden plate was affixed, relating the ſad detail of his death. The name of Pointe Maugé was given to the part of the iſland which received the remains of our unfortunate companion.

On leaving Oyſter Bay, we proceeded to coaſt the weſtern ſhore of the iſland, ſome

* Upwards of 10 to 12 feet Engliſh. † 770 Engliſh feet. ‡ 30 to 40 Engliſh feet.

parts

parts of which remained yet to be ſurveyed; after this, we ſteered for the ſhip, which we reached in the evening of the 21ſt February.

The next day, at day-break, I left the ſhip again, with intention of traverſing the iſthmus, and viſiting the tombs of the eaſtern bay. M. Petit, our draughtſman, accompanied me; a ſlender boat, known to French ſailors by the name of Pouſſe-pied, was allotted me, with only three men, and no other arms than a bad muſquet, which M. Petit ſecreted in the boat. Indeed, although we had ammunition on board our veſſel, a thouſand times told more than ſufficient for an expedition ſuch as that on which we were ſent, our commander had forbidden the taking of arms on our excurſions, under pretence of too much powder being expended. Indeed, the very day previous to my departure, two carpenters belonging to the Nuturaliſte, attacked on Maria Iſland, were on the point of falling by the hands of the natives: yet, notwithſtanding, and ſpite of my ſolicitations, the commodore was inflexible; and as it came to an iſſue, whether we choſe to riſk unarmed an attack from the ſavages, or give up our intended excurſion, I made no heſitation about my choice. It will preſently be ſeen to what danger we were expoſed from the perverſity of the captain.

It was not long before we diſtinguiſhed on the ſouth ſide of Oyſter Bay a great fire, which, as it muſt have been kindled by the ſavages, gave us hopes of meeting with them in that direction; we landed at that point therefore, and our expectations were realized: fourteen natives, ſeated round this fire, received us with tranſports of ſurpriſe, admiration, and pleaſure. Medi, medi, were the firſt words with which they addreſſed us. We ſeated ourſelves, and they in a group about us; the chief of the ſavages were armed with ſpears, the reſt with clubs; they laid them by their ſide; and M. Rouget, the cockſwain, who accompanied us, and to whom we confided our muſquet, placed it on the ground, reſolved not to part with it from his ſide, leſt any native ſhould ſpring upon and bear it off to the woods, a precaution rendered neceſſary from ſpecimens of ſimilar conduct on the part of the ſavages before met with in the channel.

Our arms thus depoſited, we mutually gazed on each other for ſome ſeconds. The natives were anxious to feel the calves of our legs, and our breaſts; we complied readily in this particular with all they wiſhed, and repeated ſhouts expreſſed their ſurpriſe at the whiteneſs of our ſkin; but gradually they ſought to carry their reſearches ſtill farther; poſſibly they doubted if we were of ſimilar conformation altogether with themſelves; or, perhaps, they wiſhed to determine our ſex. Whichever might be the cauſe, they ſolicited this extraordinary examination with ſo much obſtinacy and earneſtneſs, as ſcarcely admitted of refuſal. Perceiving, however, our repugnance, they no longer inſiſted, with reſpect to us, on the proſecution of their enquiry, but were abſolute with reſpect to one of our ſailors, who, owing to his youth, and his being without a beard, ſeemed the moſt fit object to verify or diſprove their conjectures. This young man, at my requeſt, conſenting to gratify their curioſity, the ſavages ſeemed delighted; but ſoon as they perceived him to be formed like themſelves, they all at once ſet up ſuch loud ſhouts of aſtoniſhment and joy, as perfectly ſtunned us.

While they were thus minutely examining us, I myſelf was employed in obſerving them with the moſt profound attention. Moſt of them were young men, from ſixteen to twenty-five; two or three ſeemed between thirty and five and thirty; one alone, the eldeſt of all, was between fifty and five and fifty; he alone wore the ſkin of a kangaroo over his ſhoulders: the others were perfectly naked. Generally ſpeaking, all of them were of tolerable height for their years. Among the full grown men, one

of them was 1 meter 786 millimeters high*; but he was much more ſlender and lean than his companions: all the others differed in ſtature, between 1 meter 678 millimeters †, and 1 meter 732 millimeters ‡. One alone among them had his hair powdered with the duſt of red ochre: he was a young man, from twenty-four to twenty-five years of age, called Bara Ooroo, of a more handſome form than the others, but with the characteriſtic vices of proportion of his race; that is to ſay, that, with a well ſhaped head, broad and fleſhy ſhoulders, an ample cheſt, and very muſcular buttocks, all his extremities were lank and weak, eſpecially the legs; his belly alſo was too big for the reſt of his body.

Their countenances were very expreſſive: the paſſions were depicted on them forcibly, as with rapidity they ſucceeded each other; their features, equally flexible with their affections, change and are modified with them: frightful and brutal when they threaten; their phyſiognomy, when they are ſuſpicious, expreſſes inquietude and perfidy; and, when they laugh, is gaily frantic, and almoſt convulſed: in the more old, it is mournful, ſtern, and ſombre; but, generally ſpeaking, in all, whatever time obſerved, their look has ſomewhat in it ſiniſter and ferocious, which cannot eſcape the eye of the diligent obſerver, and which but too fully correſponds with their character.

After ſome inſtants dedicated to wonder, and the examination of each other, M. Petit played off ſome juggler's tricks, which much diverted them, and excited the moſt whimſical demonſtrations of pleaſure and enthuſiaſm: but nothing to them was ſo much a ſubject of aſtoniſhment, as to ſee M. Rouget ſtick a pin into the calf of his leg, without exhibiting any ſymptom of pain, or cauſing a ſingle drop of blood to flow. At this prodigy they looked at each other in ſilence, as if to ſignify their amazement; and afterwards ſimultaneouſly they ſhouted like madmen. Unfortunately for me, among the preſents made them were ſome pins; one of the party, ſolicitous of aſcertaining whether I participated the inſenſibility they had juſt admired, approached ſilently and thruſt a pin ſtrongly into my calf. I could not refrain from crying out loudly on the occaſion, and this the more from being taken wholly by ſurpriſe.

In the mean time, M. Petit and myſelf availed ourſelves of the moment, and the good diſpoſition at the time of the ſavages: while he was employed in taking the likeneſs of that one of the party whoſe regularity of features, expreſſion of countenance, and form, ſtruck us the moſt, I endeavoured, by means of the words I had been able to collect in the channel, to make them comprehend our friendly ſentiments towards them; in this converſation making great uſe of geſtures, the meaning of which they ſeize with a readineſs difficult for us to conceive.

Now it was that our interview became truly intereſting: ſeated pell-mell amid the aſhes of their fire, we ſeemed mutually ſatisfied with each other. I ſeized this occaſion ſo favourable to my deſigns, and made a number of queſtions, confining myſelf excluſively to thoſe moſt eaſy of comprehenſion: by ſuch means I ſucceſſively obtained an anſwer to the words, to gape, to burn one's ſelf, to piſs, to go to ſtool, to break wind, laugh, cry, whiſtle, blow, ſpit, give a box o' the ear, tie, untie, wreſtle, tear, ſtrangle, eructari, &c. &c. In general they poſſeſs great diſcernment: they underſtood with much facility the meaning of my geſtures; ſeemed in an inſtant to comprehend them, and repeated with much complacency the words I did not at firſt expreſs with propriety.

I muſt not here omit one very ſingular obſervation I made: they ſeem to have no

* 5 feet 10½ inches Engliſh. † 5 feet 6 inches Engliſh. ‡ 5 feet 8 inches Engliſh.

idea

idea of ſaluting by means of a kiſs. In vain did I ſucceſſively addreſs myſelf to many for the purpoſe of making them apprehend what I deſired to learn, and approach my face to theirs; they exhibited uniformly on the occaſion, that ſurpriſe conſequent on an unuſual and unknown action, and in the ſame manner I had remarked among the natives of the channel Dentrecaſteux. And when on my ſaluting them, I enquired gouănărănă, (what is this called), nidegô (I know not, I do not comprehend,) was their conſtant reply. The action of embracing (careſſe) was not leſs ſtrange to them: in vain by geſture did I ſtrive to learn their expreſſion for this token of endearment; their wonder ſpoke their ignorance, and nidegô ſerved to confirm me in the aſſurance of their having no conception of its meaning. Thus theſe two actions, which with us appear ſo natural, kiſſing and affectionately embracing, are apparently unknown to theſe ferocious and barbarous people. Still, I wiſh not to eſtabliſh as a poſitive fact the conjecture I here announce; but to what I have previouſly obſerved, I muſt add, that whether in Diemen's Land, or New Holland, I never once ſaw a ſavage embrace another of his own, or even of a different ſex.

I have already noticed the changeableneſs of theſe ſavages, and little time elapſed ere we had a new and extraordinary exhibition of this characteriſtic. While M. Petit and myſelf were moſt intent on our reſearches, we ſuddenly heard loud exclamations from the interior of the foreſt. The ſavages inſtantly ſprang up, ſeized their arms, and directed their looks, expreſſive of fierceneſs and ſurpriſe, towards the ſea. They ſeemed greatly agitated; at length we diſtinguiſhed one of the boats of our veſſels ſailing along the coaſt a ſhort diſtance from us: I had no doubt but this boat, diſcerned by a kind of centinels, probably their wives, ſtationed for the purpoſe on rocks or high trees, was the cauſe of their agitation and alarm. Other cries were ſhortly after heard; and as theſe moſt likely announced the boat's leaving the ſhore, their fears ſeemed in meaſure to ſubſide: I took occaſion now to endeavour to make them comprehend that the men they ſaw were, like ourſelves, friends; and that they had nothing to look for from them but kindneſs and preſents: they apparently underſtood my proteſtations and geſtures, became compoſed; and again laid down their arms. We now were ſolicitous, M. Petit of continuing to take their likeneſſes, and myſelf of collecting other words of their language; but their inquietude and diſtraction momentarily encreaſed; they refuſed to anſwer my queſtions, nor leſs was the trouble M. Petit experienced in finiſhing the drawings he had begun.

By degrees they ſeemed to become more enterprizing; they converſed with looks denoting great agitation, and when their eyes were directed towards us, their countenance was more ſombre and ferocious than before; we hence conceived they meditated ſome violence; but the muſquet of M. Rouget, and the aſpect of this young man, one of the fineſt and moſt intrepid of our crew, appeared to keep them in awe. Whether out of curioſity, or with ſome perfidious intention, they were perpetually teazing him to ſhoot the birds perched on the neighbouring trees*: but we were too inſufficiently ſure of the value of our gun, and judged our ſituation to be too critical to comply with their requeſt; our denial in conſequence furniſhed them with a freſh ſubject for ſuſpicion and inquietude.

In proportion to the increaſe of their miſtruſt was their audacity. One of them

* How comes this? M. Peron in every thing he has related gives room for belief that his party were the firſt Europeans ſeen by theſe ſavages; yet, here he makes them acquainted with the uſe of a muſquet, which they could only know from having ſeen it fired and witneſſed its effect: for, otherwiſe, they could not from its appearance and want of point, imagine it to be a weapon capable of killing birds, or of being uſed ſucceſsfully as a miſſile. Tr.

inſiſted on having the waiſtcoat I wore, which by its lively colour had excited his attention. I had refuſed his iterated demand of it before in a manner which I thought would have prevented repetition; but, when leaſt aware, he laid hold of it, and pointing his ſpear at my breaſt, ſeemed emphatically to ſay "Give it me, or you are a dead man." In ſuch a critical poſition, to have ſhewn anger had been dangerous, for the wretch would undoubtedly have run me through; I therefore affected to conſider his threat as a mere joke, and, ſeizing the point of his ſpear, pointed to M. Rouget, whoſe gun was levelled at him, at the ſame time uttering the ſimple word mata*, which in their language ſignifies death: he underſtood me, and withdrew his ſpear, aſſuming as much indifference as if he had done nothing to give offence.

I had ſcarcely eſcaped from this peril before I found myſelf compromiſed in a manner if not equally fearful at leaſt very unpleaſant. One of the large gold rings I wore in my ears having excited the cupidity of another ſavage, he paſſed ſlily behind me, and putting his finger through it, tugged it with ſo much ſtrength as would infallibly have torn my ear had not the ring opened.

When we reflect that theſe men had as it were been loaded by us with preſents, ſuch as mirrors, knives, beads, pearls, handkerchiefs, ſnuff-boxes, &c., that I had ſtripped myſelf for them of my coat buttons, which being of gilt copper had ſtruck them by their ſhining appearance, and that, without exacting return, we had ſubmitted to all their caprices and ſatisfied all their wiſhes, — one can but wonder at their injuſtice and perfidy; nay, I may ſafely affirm that, but for M. Rouget, who kept them in check with his dreadful weapon, M. Petit and myſelf would certainly have fallen victims to theſe brutal deſperadoes.

For my part, from natural diſpoſition as much as from principle, no one could have felt more diſpoſed than myſelf to bear with their trifling and caprice, but I muſt freely own that their every action carried with it a ſhew of ſuch perfidiouſneſs and ferocity, as revolted not only me but my companions alſo; and, connecting what I have recently depicted with what had previouſly occurred to a variety of our companions in the channel of Dentrecaſteaux, the deduction follows that no one ſhould truſt himſelf among theſe people without ſufficient means to reſtrain their ill-will, or repulſe their attacks. But this caution is not only neceſſary with the race we now treat of, it is equally requiſite with all ſavage or ſlightly civilized people, as is evidently ſhewn in all narratives of travellers. Even in thoſe countries, the inhabitants of which are moſt extolled for the gentleneſs of their character, Europeans, when by themſelves, or in ſlight parties, have been in great danger, and oftentimes have fallen the victims of their liberal but miſplaced confidence. A diſcuſſion on this head, however, is too little connected with this work to admit of my enlarging on the intereſting particulars it might furniſh, and which on ſome future occaſion I mean to collect in one work.

Tired of the ungenerous procedure of the ſavages of Maria Iſland, I reſolved on putting an end to our perilous interview; but deſirous of repeating certain experiments I had made in the channel on the phyſical ſtrength of the inhabitants of theſe coun-

* Mattar in the Spaniſh tongue, ſignifies to kill. The Spaniards received the word from the Arabians. It is radically Hebrew, מות (mawt) is the root, and ſignifies death, whence alſo, mors, mort, and muerite, of the ſame meaning in Latin, French, and Spaniſh. It certainly is ſingular that this word, preſumptively one of the oldeſt in the language of theſe ſavages, ſhould have the ſame meaning it had with the oldeſt nation of which we have any authentic hiſtory, and makes one regret that M. Peron ſhould not have given the vocabulary he notices his having obtained, as probably it furniſhes other affinities to the Hebrew. Tr.

tries, I ſent for the dynamometer of Regnier which I had in the boat, in hopes the figure and uſe of the inſtrument would attract the attention of the ferocious men whoſe powers I meant to aſcertain. I was not deceived; the inſtrument was a ſubject of admiration, and I had ſome difficulty in preventing its being broke. After ſpecifying its uſe by means of a variety of experiments made for this purpoſe by ourſelves, we induced them to try their ſtrength by it; already ſeven individuals had undergone the trial, when one of them, who had not been able to raiſe the needle ſo high as me, ſeemed vexed on the occaſion, and, as if to give the lie direct to its ſtatement, ſeized me by the wriſt, and apparently defied me to diſengage myſelf from his graſp. After ſome efforts, I at length ſucceeded: but graſping his wriſt in turn with all my ſtrength, in ſpite of all he could do, he found it impoſſible to releaſe himſelf. This proof of his inferior ſtrength ſeemed at once to cover him with confuſion, and rouſe his anger.

Hitherto the old man I have before ſpoken of had preſerved the deepeſt ſilence; but, after what had taken place, he addreſſed a few words to his countrymen: without their ſeeming to be uttered as an order, they produced ſuch effect that no one afterwards would touch the dynamometer.

Before we parted, I thought it right to leave them ſome freſh tokens of our benevolence: with this intent I approached the old man, and taking him by the hand in an affectionate manner, preſented him a glaſs bottle, a knife, two gilt buttons, a white handkerchief, &c.; at the ſame time I ſignified that we were about to depart, but would return to viſit him again with freſh preſents for himſelf and companions. He ſeemed the better pleaſed with theſe laſt preſents, from underſtanding we were about to go; he ſmiled with a look of ſatisfaction, but which at the ſame time was mingled with ſomewhat ſavage and diſquiet.

While I was thus taking leave of the old man, M. Petit who was anxious to obtain a ſpear, had bartered a mirror for one; I alſo was ſolicitous of a club, and had already procured it, when the ſavages, ſuddenly recollecting themſelves, ſnatched back theſe weapons, and all ſimultaneouſly making a loud outcry, threatened us with their weapons in ſuch manner that M. Rouget was obliged to ſhout loudly in order to intimidate them, at the ſame time pointing his piece at the one who ſeemed the moſt inveterate againſt me. This was the ſame Bara-Ooroo, who I have before noticed was the handſomeſt man of the party, and whoſe likeneſs M. Petit had juſt completed with much nicety.

After this laſt act of violence we had not an inſtant to loſe in reaching the ſhore: but, apprehenſive leſt theſe men ſhould throw ſtones, or hurl their ſpears at us as we retreated, an attack of which deſcription, from what had happened in the channel, was not new to us, we agreed that M. Petit and myſelf ſhould go before, while M. Rouget with his muſquet ſhould cloſe the rear. This precaution prevented any accident; we regained our boat, and ſteered for the bottom of the bay. The natives for ſome time kept a parallel courſe to that we went, but perceiving two of our boats, the crews of which were dragging for oyſters, they plunged into the foreſts; and from that inſtant no one made his appearance again on this part of the coaſt.

I have been thus minute in the deſcription of this long and nearly fatal interview, to enable the reader to form the better judgment of the difficulty which travellers meet with in their intercourſe with ſavages, and to ſhew the impracticability of ſoftening the natural ferocity of their diſpoſition, or removing their ill-will towards ſtrangers.

We now reached the extremity of Oyſter Bay, and traverſing the iſthmus on foot, arrived

arrived at the tombs, of which M. Petit made an exact draught. After this we returned to our veſſel.

While thus employed on Maria Iſland, three boats, diſpatched nearly at the ſame inſtant, were exploring all the neighbouring parts of Diemen's Land and the contiguous iſlands. One of them under the command of the elder Freycinct, was ordered to proceed towards the ſouth, and viſit all that portion of the coaſt of Diemen's Land comprized between the cape oppoſite to the ſouthern point of Maria Iſland, called by us Cape Bernier and Frederic Henrick's Point, where the ſurvey of our veſſels terminated. Within this ſpace, ſuppoſing the chart of Taſman to be correct, would be comprized the Bays of Marian and Frederic Henric. We ſhall ſhortly ſee that the chart was in this point correct.

M. Freycinct the younger, in the ſecond boat, was likewiſe to take his departure from Cape Bernier, proceed northward to the parallel of Shouten Iſlands, and ſurvey that part of the coaſt of Diemen's Land oppoſite Maria Iſland.

Laſtly, the third boat carried the engineer. Faure, directed to explore Schouten Iſlands, which had only been curſorily ſurveyed by Taſman. In this laſt boat M. Bailli made one of the party.

We ſhall now detail the principal reſults of theſe three explorations:

That of the elder M. Freycinct was of eight days' duration, and furniſhed the following account: Between Cape Bernier on the north, and Cape Frederic Henrick on the ſouth, lies Marian Bay. Expoſed to all the winds between the ſouth and eaſt, it is, properly ſpeaking, an open roadſted of little ſecurity, notwithſtanding it has almoſt every where ſufficient depth of water, and an excellent bottom. All the northern ſide of this bay, from Cape Bernier to Surf Point, conſiſts of high lands; the coaſt may be neared pretty cloſe: it alſo preſents many ſmall caves in which boats may find ſhelter, provided the eaſt winds do not blow with too great violence. From Surf Point to the entrance of Frederic Henrick's Bay, of which I ſhall ſpeak ſhortly, extends a ſandy beach, extremely flat, and deſcribing a pretty regular curve. "The eaſt wind, which blew at this time," ſays M. H. Freycinct, "occaſioned on this long ſhore a dreadful ſurf: the ſea broke with violence, and was whitened with foam the ſpace of ſeveral cables' length. Still, deſirous of keeping near to ſhore as poſſible, I ſtood in, but in a little time was ſurrounded by ſuch high and heavy waves that I was under neceſſity of getting further out with precipitation."

At the extremity of Marian Bay is an opening which communicates with that of Frederic Henrick. This opening is narrow, and its eaſtern point is defended by breakers, againſt which the ſea daſhes with great force: ſtill it is not in reality ſo dangerous as it ſeems; and M. Freycinct found in it three fathoms water. The interior of the bay is replete with ſhallows and extenſive ſand-banks, which at low water are dry. The greateſt depth of water occurs in the ſouthern part, and this conſequently is the beſt place of anchorage. In the ſouth eaſt is a ſmall river which brought down at this time a pretty conſiderable volume of freſh water; this alſo is of greater value, as in the hot ſeaſon of the year, that which then reigned, all the neighbouring parts of the continent and the iſlands are nearly deſtitute of this article. The conſequence of this bay is further encreaſed by the multitudes of fiſh which ſwarm in it, and by the facility with which wood may be procured; unfortunately it is ill ſuited for large veſſels, on account of the ſand-banks by which it is choaked, and on which there would be danger of their running aground.

Combining theſe laſt labours of M. H. Freycinct with thoſe of the engineer Faure, of which we have ſpoken in the preceding chapter, it appears,

1ſt. That

1ſt. That Frederic Henrick's Bay, with reſpect to its poſition, is correctly laid down by Taſman.

2d. That what is denominated Maroin Bay is only a road in front of Frederic Bay, to which Taſman aſſigned no diſtinguiſhing name.

3d. That Frederic Bay is perfectly a different bay to that which under this name is deſcribed in the chart of Dentrecaſteaux, and which we termed Buache Port.

4th. That the bay and port are divided by an iſthmus of ſufficient breadth and height to prevent the ſea paſſing over it at any time.

5th. That in this ſpot no trace is ſeen of the channel of communication marked in the chart of Dentrecaſteaux.

6th. That the chart of Flinders, more exact than the foregoing, inaſmuch as it notices no ſuch channel, is ſtill defective in the poſition it aſſigns to Frederic Henrick Bay, which, according to the Engliſh navigator of whom I ſpeak, is the ſame as the North Bay of the French chart. The poſition here given to it, however, is ſuch as is refuted by a mere glance at the route and chart of Taſman.

7th. That the charts of Taſman and Marian are more exact in the delineation of this portion of Diemen's Land than thoſe of modern navigators.

8th. That Marion in this part made no new diſcovery; for, as well as it would have been impoſſible for Taſman to have recognized Frederic Bay, and take that ſurvey of it, for which we are indebted to him, without traverſing and conſequently diſcovering Marion Bay, this bay itſelf, as may be ſeen by comparing the draught of it by Taſman with our own, is more correctly laid down by him than by Marion. However, as cuſtom has ſanctioned theſe denominations, we ſhall confine the diſtinction of Frederic Henrick Bay to the ſmall port viſited by M. H. Freycinct; and that of Marion Bay to the large roadſted in front of the port, comprized, as we have before noticed, between Cape Bernier on the north, and Frederic Henrick Cape ſouthward.

9th. And, finally, that the extent between Monge Bay, Buache Port, and Marion and Frederic Henrick Bays, forms a new peninſula, which, on the ſouth, is united to that of Taſman by the iſthmus deſcribed in the preceding chapter, and which, towards the north, is connected with the reſidue of Diemen's Land by the laſt mentioned iſthmus. This ſecond peninſula, to which we gave the name of Foreſter's Peninſula, is compoſed of high lands, which almoſt ſuddenly ſlope towards the two iſthmuſes: on this ſingular conformation we muſt make ſome ſhort remarks.

Caſting the eye over the chart of the ſouthern extremity of Diemen's Land, one is ſurprized at firſt at the number of iſthmuſes on this eaſtern coaſt: thus, Bruny iſthmus, North iſthmus, thoſe of Foreſtier and the iſland Maria, are, as it were, heaped together; and another again will ſhortly be noticed, compoſed of the land deſcribed by previous navigators as iſlands under the name of Schouten. All theſe iſthmuſes are extremely low and narrow, and preſent a truly remarkable contraſt to the contiguous lands, moſtly conſiſting of high mountains; from this circumſtance it follows that, in order not to be miſtaken as to the real form of the coaſt, the ſurvey muſt be made at but a ſhort diſtance, as when afar off, the exiſtence of theſe iſthmuſes cannot be diſtinguiſhed: to this alſo is to be attributed the errors with reſpect to them of Taſman, Furneaux, and Flinders, and that likewiſe in the chart of Dentrecaſteaux. It will readily be conceived, in fact, that the engineers of this laſt navigator not being able to advance yond Fox Point, — and being there at too great diſtance to perceive the very low iſthmus at the extremity of Frederic Bay, or any other land, as indeed there is only the open ſea beyond, — it will, I ſay, be readily conceived that they might, nay, that they ought to conclude on the exiſtence of a direct communication between the North Bay, in which

which they were, and the Frederic Bay of Taſman, which they knew to lay in that direction. Thus it is that phyſical and geological obſervations, too much neglected by common geographers, are capable oftentimes of throwing a light on, and occaſionally of ſolving, difficulties of this deſcription, delicate in themſelves, and of utmoſt importance to navigators.

The miſſion of M. Freycinct the younger was not of equal difficulty with that I have laſt deſcribed; nor was it of long duration, as this officer, who left the ſhip on the 20th, returned on the evening of the 22d. At a ſhort diſtance north of Cape Bernier, he diſcovered an extenſive ſalt marſh which, by a narrow opening, choked with ſhingles, communicates with the ſea. Beyond this marſh, and oppoſite to the northern iſlet, he found a ſmall port, at the bottom of which many rivulets diſcharged a brackiſh water; ſome of theſe rivulets, however, ſeemed to him likely in the rainy ſeaſon to furniſh freſher water: this little cove he named Port Montbazin. He thence purſued his courſe towards the north: ſhortly he found himſelf abreaſt of a large cape, which he denominated Bougainville. Here the coaſt takes a direction north-north-weſt, and forms, in a parallel with the ſouthern extremity of Schouten Iſland, a ſmall creek, of tolerable depth, but every where expoſed to winds from the ſouth-by-eaſt. Here terminated the ſurvey of M. L. Freycinct: remains now we ſhould give the reſult of the miſſion of M. Faure to the ſo named Schouten iſlands.

North of Maria Iſland, on all the general or partial charts of theſe regions, is laid down a long chain of iſlands, which, under the name of Schouten iſlands, project along the eaſtern ſide of Diemen's Land, leaving a wide channel, or rather a long ſtrait, between them and the land. Diſcovered firſt by Taſman in 1642, they were more exactly noticed by Furneaux in 1770; and Captain Flinders in 1799 coaſted along them at a ſhort diſtance. The united labours of theſe navigators ſo juſtly celebrated did not admit of our doubting the land here deſcribed was really divided into iſlands; but, as no one of the three had penetrated the ſtrait between them and Diemen's Land, M. Faure was directed to effect its ſurvey.

After coaſting along Diemen's Land till abreaſt of Cape Bougainville, in courſe of the 19th of February, in the morning of the 20th he ſteered for the moſt ſouthern of theſe ſuppoſed iſlands. By eleven, he perceived an iſlet directly in his track: "We then," ſaid M. Bailli, "began to diſtinguiſh a very ſtrong and highly diſagreeable ſmell, which gradually augmented the nearer we approached the iſlets; when, but at ſhort diſtance from its ſhores, we found them covered with ſeals, (phocas). The larger, which were of a yellowiſh colour, were couched on the higher parts; while the ſmaller, which ſeemed to be black, filled the cavities in the lower part of the rock. The ſhore was rather ſteep, ſo that, when one of the ſeals in the upper part wiſhed to deſcend it glided down generally, and bore before it thoſe in its way below. This rock is ſurrounded by very deep water; the plummet, at two boats' length diſtant, giving fourteen fathoms, with a bottom covered with ſea-weed, goemons and fucus, which roſe to the level with the ſurface.

At four in the evening, M. Faure landed from a ſmall inlet adjoining the ſouth-weſt cape of Schouten iſland, which received his name. "This iſland," continues M. Bailli, "is entirely formed, on its eaſtern ſide, of high and very ſteep granitic mountains, rarely covered with vegetation, and moſt commonly preſenting the bare rock. The weſtern coaſt, more uniform, and of gentler ſlope is formed of horizontal layers: covered with wood, it is of pleaſing appearance, and is eaſy of acceſs from a ſandy beach in front." E. S. E. of cape Faure are ſeven ſmall rugged iſlets, projected in front of the S. E. point of Scouten iſland: we called them Taillefer iſlets, from the worthy phyſician of whom we ſoon ſhall have to make particular mention.

After ſurveying the whole weſtern coaſt of Schouten iſland, in courſe of the morning of the 21ſt February M. Faure found himſelf oppoſite to the little ſtrait which ſeparates this iſland from a ſecond land, which he then took for another of the Schouten iſlands. "This channel" ſays the companion of M. Faure, "is very deep, preſents in every part ſufficient room for tacking between high and very ſteep ſhores, at the baſe of which there is not leſs than eighteen fathoms water." We have named it in our chart the Strait of the Geographe, in memory of the veſſel to which we owe the ſurvey of this portion of Diemen's Land.

On croſſing the ſtrait of the Geographe, M. Faure intended to make towards the north to reconnoitre the eaſtern coaſt of Scouten iſlands, and afterwards enter the ſuppoſed ſtrait between them and Diemen's Land: but vainly was the whole of the 21ſt and 22d employed in ſearch of this ſtrait; ſo that, finding no paſſage whatever, he was obliged to return on the 23d to the channel of the Geographe, in order to coaſt on the weſtern the ſame lands of which he had ſurveyed the eaſtern ſides. About noon he landed from a ſmall inlet, on the ſouthern extremity of what he then deemed the ſecond of the Scouten iſlands; and as the weather from the evening of the day before had been tempeſtuous, he reſolved on halting here till next morning, and this the more willingly, from the crew, who had not been on ſhore for two days, being exhauſted with fatigue.

M. Bailli availed himſelf of the landing to make ſome uſeful obſervations on this point. "High granitic mountains," ſays he, "the ſummits of which were almoſt entirely naked, form the whole of the eaſtern coaſt of this part of Diemen's Land; they riſe ſuddenly from their baſe; the lands which unite them to each other are extremely low, and imperceptible a ſhort way out at ſea. To this ſingular conſtitution is undoubtedly owing the errors of thoſe navigators by whom we had been preceded in theſe parts, and by whom thoſe mountains were miſtaken for ſo many iſlands. We have before remarked that the eaſtern ſhore of theſe pretended iſlands is ſteep, wild, and ſterile; and that of the weſt low, pleaſing, and covered with wood: this contraſt, noticed as well by my friend M. Peron in the iſland Maria, is aſſuredly a conſequence of the ſame phyſical cauſe. This part is alſo occaſionally inhabited by man; for in many parts we diſtinguiſhed veſtiges of fires and meals."

The 24th February was paſſed in aſcending towards the north, parallel with the weſtern coaſt of Schouten iſlands: but impetuous ſqualls ſpringing up from the ſouth ſcarcely allowed ſufficient time for our travellers to ſeek refuge to leeward of a ſmall iſland, which, from its value at this critical inſtant, they termed the Iſlet of Refuge. "It is," according to Mr. Bailli, "about a quarter of a league from the ſhore, and conſiſts merely of a granitic flat, which riſes but a few feet above the water; is covered with trees, but affords no trace of freſh water."

The ſurvey of the weſtern coaſt was completed on the 25th, and any doubt reſpecting its conſtitution which might before have exiſted was by that time completely removed. In fact, after making in ſucceſſion the circuit of ſeveral inlets of tolerable depth, divided from the eaſtern ſea by low and ſandy necks of land, on one of which they diſcovered a large pond of freſh water, our companions found themſelves at the extremity of a bay, the coaſts of which they carefully ſurveyed. "This bay," ſays Mr. Bailli, "runs fifteen miles in land, and is four leagues wide at its mouth: the bottom is good, and the ſoundings conſtantly from 5 to 14 fathoms: it is ſheltered from all winds, excepting thoſe from the S. by E. to S. E. and is covered in great meaſure even from theſe by Maria Iſland and the Iſle of Seals. Its capacity will admit of anchorage for any number of ſhips; wood may readily be obtained, as the country abounds in foreſts, and

the coaſt is aceſſible to the ſmalleſt boats; nor would any difficulty occur in taking in water from the large pond on the peniuſula we havejuſt now mentioned The appearance of the bay is moreover, pictureſque, is two chains of lofty mountains of parallel direction embracing the whole ſhore, and giving it the appearance of a beautiful valley invaded by the waves.

Theſe different obſervations afford the following concluſions:

1ſt. That of the five iſlands, marked on charts hitherto under the denomination of Schouten, one alone has actual exiſtence.

2d. That the coaſt which extends from the north cape of this iſland of Schouten to lat. 41° 6′ S. conſtitutes a new peninſula, to which we have given the name of Freycinct Peninſula.

3d. That no other channel or ſtrait exiſts but that between Schouten Iſland and Freycinct Peninſula.

4th. That the whole ſpace compriſed between the pretended Scouten Iſland and Diemen's Land forms a large and very handſome bay, denominated Fleurieu Bay, in honour of the illuſtrious Savant to whom France and its navy are indebted for ſo many valuable works.

5th. That Diemen's Land, previouſly aggrandized by us by the addition of the peninſulas Taſman and Buache, is ſtill further enlarged from our laſt ſurvey by the adjunction of all the Schouten iſlands, one only excepted.

Finally, theſe reſults from theſe different concluſions, that our ſurvey ſo minutely comprehends all the geographic detail of this part of Diemen's Land, that it may be looked upon as one of the moſt complete that could be made on a ſimilar expedition.

Theſe operations being thus terminated we ſet ſail in the afternoon of the 27th Feb. and directed our courſe round the ſouthern part of the iſland Maria. But before we leave it entirely, let us exhibit a ſummary view of its phyſical conſtitution; a view which ſeems to me the more requiſite from this conſtitution being in great meaſure the ſame as that of the neighbouring lands, and eſpecially of Schouten Iſland and Freycinct Peninſula.

Maria Iſland, diſcovered in 1642 by Abel Taſman, is ſituate on the eaſtern ſide of Diemen's Land, in lat. 42° 42′ S. long. 145° 54′ E. of the meridian of Paris; the obſervation being calulated for the ſouth point of Oyſter Bay. It is of very irregular figure; wide, and more lofty on the north and ſouth; it is very narrow towards the middle, ſo much ſo, as in one part to preſent an iſthmus but 250 or 300 paces broad; and here its elevation above the ſea ſcarcely exceeds 10 or 12 meters *. The geographical poſition of this iſland, its expoſure to the polar winds from the ſouth, its little extent, the loftineſs of its two parts on the N. E. and S. E. the contiguity of the high mountains of Diemen's Land, the plan of the iſland, ſo greatly narrowed near the middle that its two extremities embrace little but the ſea, and, laſtly, marſhes of tolerable extent on the north ſide of the Bay of Oyſters; theſe are collective circumſtances tending much to diminiſh the proportion of heat it experiences. In fact, notwithſtanding we were on the iſland during the hotteſt ſeaſon in theſe countries, the extreme of heat during our ſtay did not exceed 15° of Reaumur † while the mean of heat was 12, 9° of Reaumur ‡. The nights eſpecially were very cold, for at about four in the morning the mercury ſcarcely maintained itſelf in the thermometer at 8° Reaumur §. The cauſes we have pointed out tending to diminiſh the degree of warmth felt on this iſland concur to render the atmoſphere on the other hand much more humid. Hence miſts are very common, and night and morning the ſummits of the mountains are conſtantly enveloped in vapour.

* 32 to 39 Engliſh feet. † 59° of Fahr. ‡ 55,22° Fahr. § 46, 4° Fahr.

The

The ſoil participates in the character of the atmoſphere; wherever it is not rocky or ſandy it is conſtantly moiſt, and the loweſt parts are marſhy.

Still, freſh water is a rarity in Maria Iſland; nor will this appear ſtrange, attention being paid to the nature and conſtitution of the country. In the Bay of Oyſters we found only a very ſparing rill of freſh water on the ſouth ſide, and a few pits dug by the natives on the borders of the marſhes of the north ſide, in which pits the water was ſtagnant and bad. In Riedle Bay I diſcovered two ſmall rivulets, one at the foot of the hill of the tomb, the other on the ſame ſhore, but nearer to the mouth of the bay. The water of theſe two rivulets was excellent; but as the anchorage in the eaſt bay, if not impracticable, is at leaſt very dangerous, their exiſtence is of little value to navigation. The barometer, during our ſtay, was ſubject to great variation; many times the mercury ſunk from $28^p\ 4^l$ to $27^p\ 10^l$ and even $27^p\ 9,5^l$. The weather altogether much reſembled the latter part of autumn in our country.

The mineral productions of the iſland are not multiplex, the generally granitic nature of the ſoil acts, in meaſure, as an excluſion of any other ſubſtance. The granite we collected is of two ſpecies; one very dark and ſmall grained, is that of which the rocks on the ſouth and ſouth-eaſt are compoſed: this appears again on the ſouthern coaſt of the Bay of Oyſters, at the northern part of the ſame bay, and, in ſhort, ſeems to be the baſe of all the leſs elevated rocks. The ſecond ſpecies is remarkable from its large cryſtals of yellowiſh feldtſpar and the greeniſh hue of the mica, which, combined with quartz, intervenes between the cryſtals. This magnificent ſpecies of granite, diſcovered again by M. Bailli on the Furneaux iſlands, was obſerved by me on Riedle Bay on the top of the hill of the tombs. All the maſſes of rock in the neighbourhood of the ſecond rivulet of freſh water are of this ſubſtance; and all the frowning peaks of the N. E. appear to be of ſimilar nature.

Of freeſtone the varieties are chiefly two; the one primitive, compact, of fine grain and hemogeneous texture, whitiſh, and eliciting ſparks; it forms very large maſſes, and obſtructs the vallies which lay between the granitic rocks, leaning on the ſides of them; of this ſubſtance alſo ſome breakers appear to be compoſed. The other freeſtone, of ſecondary origin and little conſiſtence, is friable, and very calcareous; it lies in horizontal beds in a very regular manner, reaching to the ſummit of the granitic ramparts of the eaſtern coaſts: its origin may be attributed to a long ſucceſſion of calcareous depoſits.

Among the mineral productions of Maria Iſland, muſt further be noticed an oxidated iron ore of a beautiful red colour, of an earthy grain, and argillaceous appearance: it is found in various parts of the iſland, and furniſhes the natives with the chief ingredient for reddening their hair.

Vegetable earth, commonly of little depth in the ſummits and ſides of the mountains, lies on the contrary in very thick beds in the vallies; is of excellent quality, ſtrong, fat, and black, and when violently heated becomes red, announcing the preſence in large quantities of the oxide of iron. In the marſhy ſpots on the north ſide of Oyſter Bay, this earth, formed almoſt excluſively of decayed vegetables, reſembles peat.

The ſand of the ſhore of Riedle Bay is darkiſh, quartzy, and contains much of the *detritus* of marine plants; that of the ſhore of Oyſter Bay, mixed with decompoſed ſhells, is whiter, finer, and more calcareous.

In no part are there found any volcanic ſubſtances, at leaſt none were ſeen by us.

Vegetation, generally ſpeaking, flouriſhes leſs on Maria Iſland than on Diemen's Land; its eaſtern ſide is too ſteep and mountaneous, and too much expoſed to the winds to be very fertile, and that on the weſt is either too ſandy or too marſhy to be productive. Still the iſland from this ſide has rather a pleaſing appearance, ſeems well covered with

wood,

wood, and yields excellent herbage. With reſpect to its peculiar plants I muſt notice in particular a new ſpecies of typha, of the branches of which the natives make their pirogues, and hence have a great advantage over the ſavages of the channel of Dentrecaſteaux.

As to mammiferous terreſtrial animals, the only one I ſaw was a ſpecies of daſyure, ſcarcely ſo large as a mouſe: I obtained one of theſe animals alive, in exchange for ſome trifles, from a ſavage, who was about to kill and eat it.

Mammiferous ſea animals were numerous on theſe ſhores; and here we ſaw large ſhoals of dolphins, and cetaceous fiſh, with incalculable legions of ſeals. Theſe laſt animals alone are ſufficient to give conſiderable importance to Maria Iſland: to this ſubject we ſhall have occaſion at a future period again to advert.

For birds, they moſtly belonged to the different ſpecies we have before noticed in the channel of Dentrecaſteaux, a particular kind of parroquet and a beautiful bulfinch excepted, which was the firſt of its ſpecies we ſaw.

In the claſs of reptiles, we obtained ſeveral ſpecies of lizards, one of which belongs to a new genus, differing from, but ſomewhat reſembling the ſcincus.

Of fiſh, I obtained various new ſpecies; likewiſe of inſects and cruſtaceous animals. To this laſt claſs of my acquiſitions belongs a large ſpecies of maïa, of which we every day caught ſuch numbers as to be enabled to make a general diſtribution of them to the ſhips' companies. Among our teſtaceous collection was a magnificent voluta undulosa, many of the turbo genus, a roſe-coloured helmet (caſque) of ſingular beauty, an elegant tellina, a variety of phaſianellæ, which formed banks of great extent at different points of Oyſter Bay, and a valuable ſhell-fiſh, which ſeemed to me to conſtitute a new genus, next to that of the trochus, and of which a ſpecies bearing ſome reſemblance is found in a foſſile ſtate at Grignon, in the neighbourhood of Paris. Of ſoft zoophytes, I acquired three new kinds of ſponge, an elegant meduſa, ſeveral aſcidies, and a beautiful actinia. But I again repeat it, the enumeration merely of theſe different objects, however ſuccinctly given, would occaſion me much to exceed the bounds of a work of this nature.

CHAP. XIV.—*Eaſtern Coaſt of Diemen's Land:—Banks's Straits:—Baſs's Straits.*

[From the 15th of February to the 29th of March, 1802.]

IN the preceding chapter is ſeen that the iſlets Taillefer project in front of Schouten Iſland; they are ſeven in number, five of which are very conſiderable rocks, more or leſs elevated above the water. Inceſſantly beaten by a ſtormy ſea, theſe iſlets are barren, much rent, of fanciful ſhape, and of a dull and reddiſh colour; one alone, the moſt extenſive of the groupe, exhibits the top of ſome languiſhing and ſtunted trees. Theſe iſlets ſeem of granitic ſubſtance, like the Iſland Schouten, from which they are ſeparated only by a narrow channel, preſumptively of great depth.

The Iſland Schouten itſelf is, in every reſpect, one of the moſt remarkable ſpots in theſe regions; it is wholly compoſed of lofty black mountains, and deep intervening vallies: the ſlope of the mountains to the vallies is rapid, and, as it were, ſlippery; leſs ſteep next the ſea, they are yet even in this part inacceſſible. The eaſtern ſide of theſe frowning mountains is abſolutely naked, and deſtitute of verdure; their creſt is diſtinguiſhed in many parts by granitic needles, which might readily be miſtaken for ſo many columns raiſed by the hand of man. Towards the northern part of the

iſland, one of theſe rocks bends over in ſuch manner as to reſemble an immenſe hook. This frightful coaſt is waſhed by a very deep ſea.

Between Schouten Iſland and Freycinct Peninſula lies the ſtrait of the Geographe, deſcribed in the preceding chapter.

Diemen's Land terminates in this part with a large cape, from two to three hundred feet high, named by us Cape Degerando, in honour of the reſpectable Savant of that name.

Beyond this cape the land riſes ſtill higher; two groupes of mountains ſpring from the boſom of the waves, united at their baſe by a low and ſandy iſthmus, viſible only when cloſe to it, and which makes the two groupes appear like diſtinct iſlands. Theſe high mountains are of primitive formation; they are of huge dimenſions, of an umber colour, rapid of declivity, naked, and rent in many parts; from their ſurface, at intervals, ſolitary needles tower aloft: on their ſecond riſe the ſides of them are frequently ſteep as ramparts.

Thouin Bay, narrow, but of little depth, and entirely open to the eaſt, ſpreads between theſe two maſſes of mountains, which advance on either ſide of it as if to form two great capes at its entrance: that of the ſouth being the moſt ſalient, and remarkable on account of its height and bold figure, we named Cape Foreſtier; it lies in latitude 42° 11′ 23″.

From Cape Foreſtier to the cape which we denominated Lodi, the coaſt preſents many ſmall ſandy inlets. Within the laſt ſpace, the land is much leſs elevated than in the ſouth; but ſhortly after it riſes again towards the Point St. Patrick of Furneaux: it appears to be well wooded about this point; and between the mountains pleaſing vallies are diſtinguiſhed. On our paſſing all this part of the coaſt, it was covered with fires and columns of ſmoke.

From Point St. Patrick to St. Helena Point, the land continues riſing to a ſtill greater height, leaning againſt ſeveral levels, the laſt of which ſtretches far into the country. Some inſular peaks riſe at intervals from this long chain of mountains; one of theſe, denominated Arcoli Peak, terminates in a very ſharp point, and is of a pyramidical form, with three ſides. The moſt remarkable of theſe peaks is more than 1000 meters high *; it reſembles an immenſe cone, and is at a diſtance of five or ſix leagues in land: we called it Piton Champagny; its direction is ſouth-weſt of Point St. Helena.

At a ſhort diſtance ſouth of this ſame point, in latitude 41° 25′ 30″ ſouth, is a ſmall iſland, the more intereſting from the circumſtance of its having furniſhed freſh water, at a time when all the ſources of the main were dried up, to thoſe unfortunate companions of our voyage whom we were obliged, as will be ſeen, to abandon on theſe diſmal ſhores: we called it Maurouard Iſland, in honour of the midſhipman who commanded the long-boat on the occaſion to which I advert.

The Bay of Fires of Furneaux occupies the interval comprehended between St. Helena and Eddyſtone Points; it is capacious, of very little depth, and open to all winds from the eaſt. The coaſt of this long bay is formed of high primitive mountains, covered to their ſummit with pleaſing verdure; Eddyſtone Cape itſelf is very lofty and ſteep.

From this laſt point to Cape Portland the coaſt rapidly declines: in many places even it conſiſts of uniform ſandy downs: ſtill, in the interior, mountains are diſtin-

* 3278 Engliſh feet.

guiſhed; but proportionately as we approach the north, their diſtance is greater from ſhore.

Somewhat beyond the Eddyſtone Point is a narrow but deep inlet, full of breakers.

Farther on are two groupes of rocks, extending the ſpace of a mile, and of ſingular appearance: at firſt ſight they might be miſtaken for the ruins of two large villages; and ſo perfect is the illuſion, that even village ſpires are mimicked by the lofty needles of granite which riſe above the other rocks.

From Cape Degerando to Eddyſtone Point, the eaſtern coaſt of Diemen's Land follows the general direction of from N. to S.; but, beyond it, from N. N. W. to S. S. E., as far as off Cape Portland, which is the north-eaſtern extremity. The coaſt in this part is very low, and navigation dangerous, on account of the great number of rocks, many of which are level with the water.

Cape Portland itſelf is extremely low, ſcarcely even above the waves, as we ſhall have occaſion elſewhere to notice; it forms the ſouth point of Banks's Strait. But here let us reſt a moment, that we may firſt terminate what relates to the inveſtigation of the eaſtern coaſt of Diemen's Land.

Furneaux diſcovered and viſited it firſt in 1773; but, owing to bad weather, was unable to give a due attention to the ſurvey of it: in his narrative indeed there is no detail either on the topography or navigation of this coaſt; he has even neglected to notice the obſervations which ſerved as the baſis for the draught of his chart.

Captain Flinders, in 1779, ran along this coaſt at little diſtance from ſhore, but made no alteration in the chart of Furneaux, nor himſelf afforded any particulars, either nautical or topographical, reſpecting this part of Diemen's Land.

On theſe two points, our labours leave nothing to be deſired; for the unfortunate circumſtances I have to relate occaſioned us to run along this coaſt repeatedly, and ſo near it, that any thing worthy of remark could ſcarcely have eſcaped our obſervation.

The reader will doubtleſs call to mind, that on the 27th February in the morning, we ſailed from Oyſter Bay with intention, after doubling Maria Iſland on the ſouth, of proceeding to the examination of the eaſtern coaſt. Fortunate hitherto in all our operations at Diemen's Land, we were in hopes ſucceſs would continue to attend us: but, ſad reverſe! ſcarcely had we rounded Cape Peron ere we experienced contrary winds; ſtrong currents bore us to the ſouth; and often as a favouring breeze ſprung up for an inſtant, as ſucceſſively did it die away into the moſt perfect calm. Theſe adverſe incidents delayed us ſo much that we did not reach the coaſt of Schouten Iſland before the 6th March in the morning.

The whole of this week we were conſtantly ſurrounded by a moiſt and foggy atmoſphere, the miſt being ſo thick that the two veſſels could ſcarcely be diſtinguiſhed by thoſe on board; we were conſequently obliged to make ſignal by firing of guns to admoniſh the Naturaliſte what tacks to make. Our decks were all of them drenched with water during the whole of the day, while at night the vapour more condenſed, reſolved into a haze of ſuch permeability that nothing could withſtand its penetration. The temperature was from 10°* to 14°†, notwithſtanding the ſeaſon was ſtill the ſummer of this country. The condition of our ſick on board, already bad, by this ſtate of the atmoſphere was rendered far more deplorable.

In the morning of the 6th March, we coaſted along the iſlets Taillefer and Schouten, but at a conſiderable diſtance from them. About noon we found ourſelves off Cape

* 50° of Fahrenheit. † 57, 2° of Fahrenheit.

Foreſtier;

Foreſtier, when our geographic engineer, M. Boullanger, left us in the barge commanded by M. Maurouard, to ſurvey the coaſt nearer in ſhore. The veſſel was to take a direction parallel to that of the boat, and never loſt ſight of her; but ſcarcely had M. Boullanger been gone a quarter of an hour, before our commander, without any viſible reaſon, tacked for ſea, and ſhortly after our boat was out of ſight. We did not ſtand in for the land again till towards night. A violent gale aroſe which freſhened every inſtant; we were irreſolute which way to ſteer, and darkneſs enveloped us, and prevented our diſtinguiſhing the coaſts off which we had abandoned our unfortunate companions.

The two following days were employed in ſearch of them; but neither the boat nor its crew were to be found: and, to complete our misfortunes, the Naturaliſte, by violent ſqualls, was ſeparated from us in the night between the 7th and 8th. On the 8th we diſpatched our long-boat, but it returned after a fruitleſs cruize; and the ſwell of the ſea was ſo great that we with difficulty got her crew on board; in ſhipping the boat itſelf two of her planks were ſtove in againſt the ſide of our veſſel.

In ſuch a critical poſture, our commander called a council of the ſtaff-major on one hand, and on the other, of the maſters and mates, to deliberate on what ſhould be done. 'Seek our companions,' was the unanimous cry. This ſearch however it became far more difficult to put in execution than before, as the abſence of the Naturaliſte, our deſtitution of a barge, and the injury ſuſtained by the long-boat, left us only the ſhip itſelf with which this could be effected; and, aſſuredly, the enterprize of coaſting with a large veſſel, and following all the ſinuoſities of a wild and unknown coaſt, was not only difficult, but a ſervice exceedingly replete with danger. Our chief was sick, and took to his room, after having delegated the command to his firſt lieutenant M. H. Freycinct, with orders to purſue the ſearch recommended by the ſtaff and crew. To this object the whole of the 9th was dedicated; for eight hours M. Freycinct directed our courſe along theſe frightful ſhores, with an intrepidity, coolneſs, and preciſion, worthy of the greateſt praiſe: not a ſingle manœuvre failed.

Still was our laſt as fruitleſs as had been our former ſearch; and as no hope now remained of meeting again with our friends but in the north, we ſteered for Baſs's Strait.

During our ſtay off this coaſt, we had time to be convinced that the ſea here is rarely ſmooth: in fact, the leaſt wind is ſufficient to produce a ſwell ſo great as to render it almoſt impaſſable to ſmall craft. Scarcely did the wind begin to ſet in ſhore, before the horizon was whitened by the ſurge; and in a few ſeconds after, the waves ran ſo high, were ſo ſhort, and ſo quickly ſucceeded each other, that our veſſel was greatly ſtrained by the effect of them: notwithſtanding this, the ſeaſon was the fineſt of the year in theſe climates.

While ſteering for the ſtrait, we diſcovered on the 10th March a ſmall veſſel making towards us: we joined her, and her captain coming on board, informed us that ſhe was twenty days out from Port Jackſon, on a voyage to catch ſeals at Maria Iſland; that the Engliſh colony of New Holland was already in a highly flouriſhing condition; that it poſſeſſed all the requiſite means to ſatisfy not only the wants but the luxuries of life; that we were daily expected there; and that orders had been diſpatched by the Engliſh government that we ſhould be received with the attention due to the nature of our miſſion, and the rank of the nation to which we belonged. We in turn made him acquainted with the loſs of our barge; and intreated, in caſe of meeting with our unfortunate companions, that he would afford them all the aſſiſtance in his power, which he promiſed. We moreover pointed out to him the Iſlet of Seals,

Seals, in Fleurieu Bay, as one of the moſt favourable ſpots for the fiſhery he was purſuing: after which we parted company to follow our courſe towards the north.

The ſame obſtacles I have noticed on our paſſage from Maria Iſland to the eaſtern coaſt, again occurred to prevent our progreſs to the ſtrait; and we did not gain ſight of the Furneaux Iſlands, which with the N. E. point of Diemen's Land forms one of the paſſages into Baſs's Strait, till the 17th in the morning: but before I enter upon this great ſtrait, a few remarks may be neceſſary.

In geographical diſcoveries, as in thoſe of all other ſciences, the ſame accidents occur. After having defied the effects of genius, and all the reſearches and pertinacity of the laborious ſtudent, theſe diſcoveries preſent themſelves, unſought as it were, to individuals the leaſt accuſtomed to reſearches or labours of the kind. Thus the famous diſcovery of the ſtrait which divides New Holland from Diemen's Land, looked for in vain by the moſt experienced navigators, was reſerved for the ſurgeon of an Engliſh ſhip. And, which is no leſs aſtoniſhing, it was not before the year 1798, that is to ſay, ten years after the eſtabliſhment of the colony of Port Jackſon, that it took place, notwithſtanding its proximity to this eſtabliſhment.

This ſtrait is about fifty leagues in breadth from north to ſouth, by nearly an equal length from eaſt to weſt: its eaſtern mouth is rendered conſiderably leſs by the Two Siſters, the Furneaux Iſlands, the number and dimenſions of which are not yet perfectly known, Clark Iſland, the Iſland of Preſervation, Swan Iſland, and its dependent iſlet. Between Diemen's Land, Swan Iſland, and its iſlet on the one ſide; and on the other, the reſidue of the iſlands noticed, is a channel ten miles in breadth: to this paſſage in the ſtrait is it that Mr. Flinders, by whom it was firſt diſcovered, thought fit to give the title of Banks's Strait. Between the Furneaux Iſlands on the north, and Wilſon Promontory, which forms the ſouthern point of New Holland, and projects more than twenty miles into the ſtrait, are Kent's Groupe, the very numerous rocks of the promontory, the pyramid, and ſeveral other dangerous rocks, which obſtruct the large northern paſs of the eaſtern mouth of the ſtrait. On the weſt, Hunter's Iſlands preſent themſelves, flanked by a great number of rocks, banks, and formidable reefs. More towards the north, and preciſely in the middle of the weſtern opening of the ſtrait, are the great iſland King, New Year's iſlet, the Rock of Elephants, and many reefs, connected with the diſtinct ſyſtem of this groupe. I ſhall have occaſion in the courſe of this work to deſcribe, in ſucceſſion, theſe ſeveral lands: at preſent it ſuffices I ſhould obſerve that, ſeparate from all diſtinct phyſical circumſtances, the navigation of Baſs's Strait muſt neceſſarily be difficult and perilous; and when to the difficulties and dangers before pourtrayed is added, that violent currents exiſt in this ſtrait, and that it is ſubject to dreadful gales from the S. W. the reader will have little room for wonder at the cloſe ſucceſſion of imminent dangers to which our veſſels were expoſed on each occaſion of our entering this paſſage; and will be better able to account for the cauſe and frequency of thoſe ſhipwrecks here, to which we ſhall have elſewhere to advert.

I have before noticed, that on the 17th of March we made the Furneaux Iſlands: theſe are very lofty mountains, which, in favouring weather, are readily diſtinguiſhed 12 or 15 leagues out at ſea; they in every reſpect aſſimilate with the horrid picture given of Schouten Iſland. In one of the following chapters more particular obſervations reſpecting their hiſtory will be preſented.

Scarcely were we in Banks's Strait ere the ſky was obſcured by dark and heavy clouds: we yet purſued our courſe. In the night torrents of rain and ſqualls of wind ſucceeded each other almoſt unintermittedly.

On the 18th we coaſted along the ſhore between Portland Cape and Waterhouſe Iſland. This portion of Diemen's Land, as before obſerved, is extremely low, and in many points ſcarcely above the ſurface of the water; but inland is a high chain of mountains running in a direction N. N. W. to S. S. E., a circumſtance which will explain the prodigious difference that exiſts between the S. E. point of Diemen's Land and that of the N. E.

Hitherto we indulged the hope of finding our boat, or joining again our conſort: but after two days vainly ſpent in ſearch of them, we began to deſpair of a meeting during the voyage; and but too juſt were our fears.

In courſe of the 20th, we diſtinguiſhed a vaſt number of dolphins, and many whales from 13 to 16 meters in length *. I neglected to remark alſo at the time that off Cape Lodi we ſaw a prodigious troop of theſe cetaceous animals.

From the 21ſt to the 26th of March we experienced one of the moſt furious gales we had hitherto met with in thoſe ſeas: many of our ſails were torn to rags by the guſts, and on the night of the 21ſt we were on the point of being driven on the Furneaux Iſlands. To avoid this perilous cataſtrophe we were obliged, notwithſtanding the hurricane, to hoiſt every rag of canvas; and in the morning of the 22d we ſucceeded in getting clear of the ſtrait, by the paſſage between Kent's Groupe and the promontory. At nine in the morning we doubled the pyramid, an enormous rock reſembling at diſtance a gothic ruin: ſteering next weſtward of Kent's Groupe, we ſucceeded in doubling theſe, but with much difficulty, and luffing cloſe under them. Majeſtic and terrible was the aſpect of theſe rocks of granite, naked, rugged, and beaten as they were by roaring waves, which ſeemed every inſtant on the point of overwhelming them with torrents of foam. The chart of M. Flinders, though generally exact, with reſpect to this groupe is incomplete; he makes the number of iſlets barely twelve, whereas we ourſelves counted ſixteen.

The tempeſt ſtill continued on the 24th, and on this laſt day we ſaw an amazing number of whales. I have already ſeveral times ſpoken of the abundance of theſe animals off the coaſt of New Holland: on this ſubject I ſhall elſewhere be more minute.

The 27th in the morning, the hurricane having ceaſed, we were eager to enter the ſtrait, being anxious to proceed to the S. W. coaſt of New Holland, an eſſential part of our miſſion. In the morning we coaſted along the portion of land which extends from Ram-Head to Wilſon's Promontory: it is not here ſo low as marked in the chart of M. Flinders.

In the vicinage of Kent's Groupe we diſtinguiſhed other iſlets not laid down in this chart: one of theſe, in ſhape and colour reſembling a brioche † of enormous ſize, was diſtinguiſhed by that denomination.

On the 28th at noon, we were in ſight of the iſlets in advance of Wilſon's Promontory; and ſucceſſively obſerved about twenty of them, varying in dimenſions, but all ſteep, barren, and rent by the waves. The Engliſh chart does not ſpecify near ſo many, and in this inſtance is defective; it is ſtill more ſo in what relates to the ſite of the promontory, which is laid down in latitude 38° 17′ S. longitude 144° 41′ E. of Paris, while, by our obſervations, the moſt ſouthern part of this promontory is in latitude 39° 10′ 30″ S. longitude 144° 20′ E. An error of this magnitude muſt be attributed excluſively to want of exactneſs in the means uſed by M. Flinders for the

* 42 to 52 Engliſh feet.

† A French cake made of fine wheaten flour, eggs, cheeſe, and ſalt, in form of a bun.

aſcertainment

aſcertainment of the poſition of this important point. This celebrated navigator, in fact, notices that M. Baſs was unable, in his courſe round the promontory, to take any very preciſe obſervation, and could only determine the poſition of it by reckoning, a means, as M. Flinders again remarks, which is unworthy of much credit, in ſeas where the currents run ſo ſtrong as in the ſtrait in queſtion. I muſt further obſerve, before I terminate this article, that the iſlets of Kent's Groupe appeared to us likewiſe to be placed too far towards the eaſt; but here I merely point out theſe valuable reſults of our obſervations; they will be preſented by M. Freycinct, with all the minutiæ their importance merits. Let us now return to our ſubject.

The land at the promontory is very lofty, and preſents two or three tiers of mountains riſing one above the other towards the interior. Along the whole of this coaſt there is abundance of water, and the only danger to be apprehended to navigation ariſes from the currents, the iſlets, and the rocks I have mentioned.

Wilſon's Promontory forms, weſtward, a very large cape; to which Baſs gave no particular name, and which is ſcarcely noticed in M. Flinders's chart. A-head of this cape are ſix large iſlets, one of which is nearly a mile and a half in length.

Directly northward, a very large and deep bay opens, called by us Paterſon Bay, in memory of the reſpectable and learned Engliſh traveller of that name, one of the moſt intimate friends of M. Baſs. Many very lofty peaks were diſtinguiſhed on the eaſtern coaſt of this bay, and in the diſtance a chain of high mountains.

The 29th of March, at day-break, we began to coaſt along a ſecond bay, which, like the preceding, lies N. W. of the promontory; it was called Venus Bay, from a veſſel commanded by M. Baſs, of which mention will elſewhere be made.

The land on this ſecond bay is tolerably lofty towards the two points; but the reſidue of the coaſt by which it is ſurrounded is much lower. In the interior was ſeen ſtretching the chain of mountains of which the promontory ſeems to be the extreme point.

The ſame day in the afternoon, we were abreaſt of the iſland which lies before the beautiful weſtern port diſcovered by M. Baſs; but of which the detailed geography, as will ſhortly be ſeen, was completed by our conſort.

Here terminate the labours of the Engliſh navigators; and here begins our long ſurvey of Napoleon's Land.

CHAP. XV. — *Napoleon Land.*

[From the 29th of March to the 8th of May 1802.]

UNDER the name of the ſouth and ſouth-weſt coaſt of New Holland, the whole portion of this continent is deſignated, comprized between the 33d and 39th degree of latitude ſouth, and within the parellels of 112° and 144° E. of Paris, forming an immenſe ſcarf from eight to nine hundred leagues in length, the two extremities of which terminate, the one at Cape Leuwin in the weſt, the other at Wilſon's Promontory in the ſouth.

Of this immenſe ſpace, that part only was known in Europe, at our departure, which extends from Cape Leuwin to the iſlands of St. Peter and St. Francis. Diſcovered by the Dutch in 1627, this part had, in modern times, been viſited by Vancouver and Dentrecaſteaux; but the laſt navigator not having been able to advance beyond the iſlands of St. Peter and St. Francis, which form the eaſtern boundary of Nuyt's Land, and the Engliſh having extended their exploration no farther towards the ſouth than Weſtern Port, it follows that the portion comprized between this laſt point and Nuyt's Land

Land was unknown at the moment of our arrival in theſe parts; and as our inveſtigation had for object no leſs than to reſolve the problems whether or no New Holland conſiſts of one ſole continental iſland, and whether any great river exiſts on this vaſt expanſe of land, each of us felt augmented courage and zeal in the proſecution of the momentous enquiry.

On the 30th of March, at day-break, we ſteered for and ſoon made the land; a large cape, which we denominated Cape Richelieu *, projects and forms the entrance of a deep bay, termed by us Talleyrand Bay. On the eaſtern coaſt of this bay, and near its extremity, is a port, the windings of which were tolerably well diſtinguiſhed from the maſt-head: we called it, at the time, Outſet Port †, but hearing afterwards that it had been more minutely ſurveyed by the Engliſh brig Lady Nelſon, and had been named Port Philipps, we with greater pleaſure continue this laſt name, from its recalling that of the founder of a colony, in which we met with ſuccour ſo effective, and ſo liberally granted.

By three o'clock we were abreaſt of a large cape in latitude 38° 42′ S., longitude 141° 49′ E. of Paris, called by us Cape Suffrein. The land at this point is rather high, but runs ſtill higher on nearing Cape Marengo ‡, where our ſurvey terminated.

On the 31ſt, at dawn, we again ſtood in for land. The ſky was clear and ſerene, the ſea ſmooth, and the wind in a favourable point: under ſuch fortunate auſpices we were enabled to keep pretty cloſe in ſhore, and inſured to our different geographic obſervations a great degree of preciſion. The whole coaſt from Cape Marengo weſtward to Cape Deſſaix, a ſpace of about twelve miles, is very lofty, and Cape Deſſaix itſelf is well covered with wood: but here the aſpect of New Holland undergoes a ſudden change; the ſteep beach, thence almoſt conſtantly perpendicular, of a greyiſh or yellowiſh colour, and wholly deſtitute of verdure or vegetation, forms a multitude of ſmall capes, and coves running but little inland, and reſembles at diſtance a long ſeries of regular fortifications, or more, poſſibly, that gigantic wall which ſeparates China from Tartary. Cape Volney, off which we were at noon, is remarkable from a chain of rocks which run far out to ſea. Beyond this we diſcovered a portion of land apparently detached from the main, which we called Latreille Iſland, from the naturaliſt, equally learned and modeſt, of that name. Continuing our courſe, we found ourſelves oppoſite to a conic-ſhaped peak, which received the denomination of Beacon Peak (Piton de Reconnoiſſance), as did the moſt neighbouring cape, that of Cape of Mount Tabor.

At this period the barometer indicated 28^{p} 7^{l} to 28^{p} 8^{l}, the greateſt elevation of the mercury we had ever noticed before; and the atmoſphere was perfectly ſerene. The thermometer in courſe of the day varied between 13° § and 15° ‖; at night it ſunk to 10°.¶

When abreaſt of Cape Deſaix, in Daubenton Bay, and but little diſtance weſt of Cape Folard, we diſtinguiſhed columns of ſmoak, almoſt an aſſured ſign of theſe diſmal ſhores being inhabited by man: many ſpecies of gulls of the genera gaviæ and lari, boobies, and divers, were ſeen; but, if ſome flying fiſh be excepted, all ſea animals ſeemed to have abandoned theſe ſhores,—ſhores which offered them no ſhelter, and againſt which the ruffled ſea perpetually rolls its waves. Our collection was therefore limited to ſome new and ſingular fuci. One of theſe which I have deſcribed under the name fucus phyllophorus, was remarkable above the reſt, from the diſpoſition of its leaves: from each ſide of a large, flat, and ſinuous branch, at regular intervals ſhoot out

* Seen by Lieutenant Grant in 1800, and called by him Cape Schank.
† Port du Debut. ‡ Called by Lieutenant Grant Cape Albany Otway.
§ 55, 4° Fahr. ‖ 59° Fahr. ¶ 50° Fahr.

ſingle

ſingle and lanceolated leaves; from the edges of theſe leaves ſpring others of ſimilar form, each borne on a diſtant ſtalk; in ſome inſtances even a third ſucceſſion of leaves grow from the edges of the ſecondary ones, nor does it appear to me poſſible to aſſign any preciſe limits to this mode of reduplication, a mode ſo much the more ſingular from the real organs of generation of the planet, the globuli common to the majority of fuci, being very numerous in this ſpecies, and growing on a long ſtalk at the baſe of the mother leaves.

At eight in the morning of the 1ſt of April, we diſcovered a ſmall iſland, which we denominated Fourcroy Iſland*, almoſt of quadrangular form, with its edges ſlightly ſcalloped, it is low, and uniformly flat, of a dull and greyiſh colour, barren as the continental ſhore adjacent, and the beach of it, like that ſhore, perpendicular. Its poſition is in latitude 38° 26′ 15″ ſouth, longitude 139° 52′ eaſt of Paris. Oppoſite to it, on the main, a remarkable cape was called Cape Reumur. About noon we entered a very large bay, named by us Tourville Bay.† Shortly after we diſcovered a ſecond iſland, of a dark colour, its ſhores ſteep, as thoſe of the preceding; its ſurface, like that, low and unproductive: we called it Dragon Iſland‡ on account of its ſingular ſhape: this iſland, in fact, towards one of its points, reſembles the half-opened mouth of an enormous ſerpent. The waves around, and the iſlets connected with it, were at this time covered with innumerable legions of ſea-fowl, as yet too young to wing their flight: for the ſpace of three quarters of a league theſe birds ſeemed, as it were, heaped one on the other; their prodigious number, their confuſed and deafening ſcreams, the tender anxiety of the parent fowls, which flew by myriads over their heads, ſcreaming, like them, with flight, the whimſical figure of the iſlets, which ſerve as the aſylums for theſe watery tribes, altogether preſented a picture extremely ſingular and intereſting.

Montaigne Cape § terminates on the weſt of the Great Bay of Tourville: beyond this Cape Duqueſne preſented its barren, low, and yellow ſhores; but already the fall of day began to render our obſervations dubious, and on reaching this cape they were ſuſpended.

The coaſt recently ſurveyed by us preſented the ſame appearance with that obſerved the day before, and was equally low and barren, that portion alone excepted between Dragon Iſland‖, and Cape Duqueſne, on which, at intervals, a few ſmall trees upreared their ſickly heads. Columns of ſmoak were diſtinguiſhed again in Tourville Bay ¶. The barometer during the day ſtood at 28^{p} 6^{l} 7^{l}, and the mean heat of the thermometer was 15°**, a mean which correſponds with that of the ſpring in France.

(April 2d.) Beyond Cape Duqueſne the Great Bay Deſcartes preſents itſelf, terminated towards the weſt by a ſecond cape, which, from the immortal author of the Spirit of Laws, received the name of Cape Monteſquieu ††. It was nine o'clock by then we reached Deſcartes Bay, and already we were entering it, when our progreſs was interrupted by a calm. It is of conſequence I ſhould here notice, that during the whole time we were off this coaſt, the ſame phenomenon conſtantly occurred every day at the ſame hour. A ſtrong breeze from the N. N. E. and varying to the N. E., which ſprung up at day-break, inſenſibly ſlackened from eight to nine o'clock, and from nine to ten, and was ſucceeded by the moſt perfect calm towards eleven o'clock or noon. Shortly after the wind veered from the eaſt to the ſouth-caſt, blowing ſtrong, and admitted our giving the greateſt latitude to our labours. It is not improbable that

* The Lady Julians Iſland of Grant. † The Portland Bay of Grant.
‡ Grant named it Laurence Iſland. § Grant's Cape Sollicitor. ‖ Laurence Iſland.
¶ Portland Bay. ** 59 of Fahr. †† Cape Bridgwater of Lieut. Grant.

to theſe breezes from the eaſt and eaſt-by-ſouth, is owing the failure of every former attempt to ſurvey this coaſt on the part of veſſels ſteering from the north-weſt to the ſouth-eaſt.

Scarcely had the calm ceaſed before we continued our courſe. The ſea breaks with violence againſt the whitiſh and ſandy downs which form the coaſt. Beyond theſe downs, about three or four leagues in land, three ſingle mountains are diſtinguiſhed: the largeſt of theſe was called Mount St. Bernard, and much reſembles the Table Mountain. A neighbouring cape received the denomination of Cape Mount St. Bernard *.

While thus purſuing our diſcoveries, in perfect ſecurity as we imagined, we ſuddenly diſcovered a long chain of breakers that had previouſly eſcaped our notice, dazzled as we were by the rays of the ſun reflected from their ſurface. We were ſo cloſe upon them that we cleared them with difficulty by ſtanding to eaſtward on a larboard tack, and nearly touched their extremity. During this manœuvre, we refrained from ſounding for fear of ſpreading conſternation among the crew. Truly frightful indeed was the ſpectacle preſented by theſe reefs, which extended in a line ſeveral miles in length in front of a low, barren, and yellowiſh ſhore; and the rugged ridges of which, reſembling the teeth of a ſaw, were ſcarcely viſible in midſt of foam and eddies. About the weſtern point of theſe breakers, which we termed the Carpluters, are two ſmall and whitiſh iſlets. Cape Boufflers, in ſight of which we finiſhed our intereſting labours of the 2d of April, lies ſome miles north-weſt of them. Divers ſpecies of gulls and ſea-ſwallows (ſternæ) were the only animals of the feathered tribe we perceived; the ſea preſented us with many meduſæ, and a large ſeal which was floating aſleep on its ſurface. Towards the extremity of Deſcartes Bay columns of ſmoke roſe, beyond the Downs; but, in general, the barren and wild nature of all this coaſt is ſuch as muſt act as a repulſe to all inhabitants of the human ſpecies: at leaſt it may fairly be inferred that it is capable of furniſhing ſubſiſtence only to a very limited number.

(3, 4, 5, 6 April.) From Cape Bélidor to Cape Boufflers the coaſt preſents a ſucceſſion of ſmall and very pleaſing inlets; afterwards it bends inwards and forms Eſtaing Bay, terminated N. W. by a great cape, which, from the Pliny of France, we called Cape Buffon. From this laſt point to Rivoli Bay, a ſpace of 40 miles, the continent preſents no remarkable concavity nor any ſhelter whatever for the ſmalleſt veſſel. Every where expoſed to the impetuous winds from the S. W. inceſſantly beaten by the waves of the immenſe Auſtral Ocean, this part of New Holland is far more frightful than thoſe we have hitherto diſcribed. The waves in the whole of this ſhore occaſion a terrible ſurf, the hollow and threatening ſound of which is heard even in the calmeſt weather; and on ſeveral occaſions, where we ſteered in nearer towards the ſhore than uſual, we ſaw it covered with the foam of broken billows. In every part the moſt perfect barrenneſs reigns, nor any where do traces appear even of the ſlendereſt rill. How dreadful the fate of thoſe navigators who ſhould be caſt on theſe ſhores!

This fate, however, we were near experiencing ourſelves in courſe of the 6th April. At three in the afternoon, at the inſtant we were moſt deeply occupied on our geographical labours, we were on the point of running on a ledge of rocks, ſo nearly level with the ſurface that we did not diſtinguiſh them till almoſt under our bow.

In the courſe of this laſt part of our reſearches, that is to ſay, between the 3d and 7th April, we obſerved ſeveral ſeals on the ſurface of the water, a new ſpecies of beroë †, one of Salpa‡; and, on the evening of the 4th April, the ſea appeared as if covered with a charming ſpecies of portune, ſingularly remarkable on account of the roſe colour of

* Called by Grant Cape Northumberland. † Beroë dactyloides, N. ‡ S. Octaedra, N.

its

its ſhell, and the beautiful blue of its two eyes. I have deſcribed it under the name P. cyanophtalmus N. The temperature of the ſea at its ſurface was then 14° *. Independent of theſe animals, in the morning of the 5th April, we ſaw a numerous ſhoal of dolphins, and the ſame day fell in with a column of the ſcomber genus as large as our tunnies §, the ſpecies of which I was unable to aſcertain. The ſea during the whole of the night was extremely phoſphoreſcent: the ſky ſombre and cloudy, and the barometer had ſunk to 28^{p} 3^{l}. Theſe atmoſpherical variations ſeemed to correſpond with thoſe of the wind, which then blew from the N. W. and conſequently came freighted with vapour from the Indian ocean. It was at the extremity of the Bay of Rivoli alone that we diſtinguiſhed any ſmoke.

(7th April.) This laſt mentioned bay preſents itſelf in form of a large oval, 8 to 10 miles deep, and terminated on the ſouth by Cape Lannes, northward by Cape Jaffa. Towards this laſt point the entrance into the bay is contracted by a chain of reefs. Fifty miles beyond Cape Jaffa another bay occurs, from 6 to 7 leagues broad at its mouth, and which penetrates to a ſomewhat greater extent inland; we named this Lacepede Bay. Cape Bernouilli, its moſt eaſtern point, has very dangerous reefs a-head of it; on our approach to which the line gave but ſix fathoms water with a rocky bottom; and in doubling theſe we experienced great difficulty. In ſpeaking of the conſtitution of this new part of the coaſt, the diſmal picture we have before preſented of the ſterility and monotony hitherto exhibited by New Holland, muſt receive a ſtill darker ſhade. Yet if judgment can be formed from the great number of fires we diſtinguiſhed at the bottom of Lacepede Bay, the human ſpecies ſhould be tolerably numerous on this coaſt. Myriads of cormorants on the iſlets contiguous to Cape Bernouilli appeared to us the excluſive tenants of thoſe terrific rocks.

The 8th April, at noon, we were by reckoning in latitude 36° 1′ 10″ ſouth, longitude 137° 7′ 40″ eaſt of Paris. Already had we ſurveyed a length of coaſt, meaſuring the different windings it preſented from Wilſon's Promontory to the point where we were, 944 miles in length, when, at but little diſtance from Cape Villars, we perceived at the extremity of the horizon, a ſhoal of dolphins of ſuch vaſt extent, that we at firſt miſtook them for an immenſe chain of reefs; their rapid courſe however ſoon undeceived us; and we made preparations for the deſtruction of ſome of their number—deſtruction which the poor animals ſeemed by their manner to ſecond. Numerous detachments, like ſo many videttes, preceded the main body, approached very near to us, and rounded our ſhip in every direction; the rapidity of their evolutions, and the boldneſs of their leaps, intereſted us the more from our never having ſeen till now ſo vaſt a ſhoal of cetaceous animals. We were filled with wonder how in ſeas apparently ſo deſtitute of fiſh, theſe myriads of dolphins ſhould find ſufficient ſuſtenance; how, ſo cloſe as they ſeemed to be to each other, ſo numerous as they were, they were capable of executing the moſt complicated manœuvres, and theſe in the moſt rapid manner, without falling foul one of the other. In a few ſeconds nine of them were killed, weighing each from 80 to 100 myriagrammes †; and this good fortune ſeemed to us a ſpecial boon from Heaven. For, at this time, the ſcurvy had begun its dreadful ravages, and the tainted and worm-eaten ſalt proviſions to which we had been for ſeveral months reduced, were at this time every day encreaſing the prevalence of this malady.

We had now ſcarcely ended our fiſhing, when ſignal was made from the maſt-head of a ſail diſcerned in the horizon. Every one at firſt concluded it was the Naturaliſte,

* 57, 2° Fahr. § Scomber thynnus. Lacepede. † 1764 to 2205 lbs. Engliſh avoirdupois.

and joy was univerſal; but in a little time we were ſufficiently near to diſtinguiſh that this veſſel was not our conſort. As ſhe ſteered under full ſail in a contrary tack to us we were ſoon abreaſt of each other: ſhe then hoiſted the Engliſh flag, we ſhewed French colours, and imitating her example, laid to. The Captain now hailed us, and enquired whether we were not one of the French ſhips that left France on a voyage of diſcovery to the Auſtral hemiſphere. Being ſatisfied on this head, he lowered his boat, and a few inſtants after we received him on board. We learnt he was Captain Flinders, the ſame who had already circumnavigated Diemen's Land, in the Inveſtigation, the name of the ſhip we ſaw; that he had ſailed from Europe eight months before with intention of compleating the ſurvey of New Holland, and the archipelagos of the great equatorial ocean; that he had been about three months at Nuyts Land, but owing to contrary winds had been unable to penerate, as he intended, behind the iſlands of St. Peter and St. Francis; that, on his departure from England, he had a ſecond veſſel under his command, from which he had been ſeparated by a violent tempeſt; and that a few days before, and in the ſame equinoctial gale in which we ran ſuch perilous riſks in Baſs's Strait, he had loſt his-long boat, with his firſt lieutenant, and eight picked men of his crew. This ſingular conformity of misfortunes experienced by the two ſhips ſerves more fully to evince the extent of danger to which veſſels on ſimilar expeditions are expoſed.

In relating theſe particulars M. Flinders was very reſerved as to his individual operations. We were however informed by ſome of his men, that he had ſuffered greatly from the ſame ſouth winds which had to us been ſo favourable, and in this we were taught more fully to appreciate the wiſdom of our own inſtructions. After more than an hour's converſation Captain Flinders returned on board, promiſing to return on the morrow with a diſtinct chart of Dalrymple river, which he had cauſed to be publiſhed in England. On the 9th, he accordingly returned with it, and ſhortly after we left him to continue our geographical labors.

Behold us now arrived at a point of Napoleon Land, at which its conſtitution, hitherto ſo ſimple, becomes complicated in ſuch a degree as to render impoſſible I ſhould purſue the deſcription of it in detail however intereſting. By their prominent features alone muſt the new objects be pourtrayed which I ſhall have occaſion to deſcribe.

Beyond a bay, the mouth of which is about 10 miles over, and which received the name of Mollien Bay, the peninſula Fleurieu is firſt diſcovered from 15 to 16 leagues in length, formed of very lofty lands, preſenting many tiers of mountains, from all appearance, of granitic nature.

Weſt of this peninſula a gulf is ſeen extending 100 miles into the interior, and which, in honour of our auguſt empreſs, we named Joſephine Gulf. Before and nearly fronting this gulf is Decrès Iſland, * 210 miles in circuit, ſeparated by Colbert Strait from the peninſula Fleurieu on the eaſt; and by Lacipede Strait on the weſt, from a ſecond peninſula, 120 miles in length, called by us Cambaceres Peninſula: the archipelago

* Before diſcovered by Capt. Flinders, and called by him Kanguroo Iſland. The whole coaſt, in fact, from Cape Leuin to where the ſhips met off Cape Villers, had previouſly been explored by Capt. Flinders, who, after infamous treatment on the part of the French Government at the Iſle of France, where, on his return to Europe, in a ſmall veſſel of 30 tons, he had ſought refuge and aſſiſtance, is at length reſtored to his country, and about to publiſh the account of his voyage. From what is here obſerved it will be evident to the reader that the French can have no claim in right of prior diſcovery to the country they have denominated Napoleon Land. Indeed, ſeparate from the whole having been before explored by Capt. Flinders, owing probably to their being without a long-boat, and to the great weakneſs of the crew from the inveteracy of the ſcurvy on board the Geographe, they do not appear by the narrative to have even once landed, either on the continent, or the iſlands, that of Kanguroo, their Decrès alone excepted. Tr.

Vauban, compoſed of eight ſmall iſlands, is at little diſtance from its weſtern point. Beyond Cape Berthier, which terminates the Peninſula Cambaceres on the weſt, New Holland again opens to the ſea to form Bonaparte Gulf, which penetrates 200 miles into the continent, and has more than 600 miles of coaſt. This vaſt gulf has the appearance of the mouth of a very conſiderable river, and is terminated, after narrowing by almoſt inſenſible degrees towards the extremity, by banks of ſand. On the weſtern ſide of the gulf and near its entrance is Champagny Port one of the fineſt and moſt ſecure in New Holland: in every part of it is an excellent bottom; the depth of water, even cloſe in with the land, is from ten to twelve fathoms; and ſuch is the capacity of this magnificent port it is competent to receive the moſt numerous fleets. In front of the port is Lagrunge Iſland, four or five leagues in circumference, and which, placed exactly in the middle of the mouth of the port, leaves on each ſide a paſſage from two to three miles broad, in both which paſſages a veſſel can work with eaſe and ſecurity. Finally, as if nature were inclined in favour of Champagny Port to change the character of monotony and barrenneſs ſtamped on the neighbouring lands, ſhe has formed its ſhores of gently riſing ſlopes, and clothed them with umbrageous foreſts. We did not indeed find any freſh water at this ſpot; but the vigour and livelineſs of vegetation, and the height of the country, to us, were certain indices of the exiſtence of ſome rivulets or at leaſt of ſome copious ſprings. On this, the moſt favoured ſpot of Napoleon Land, there are certainly numerous tribes of inhabitants, for the whole coaſt ſeemed in flames. So many excluſive advantages inſure ſpecial importance to port Champagny, and I may fearleſsly affirm that, of all the points of this land, this is the beſt adapted for the eſtabliſhment of an European colony.

In front of this port is the archipelago of Leoben, compoſed of eight ſmall iſlands, the moſt conſiderable of which is very narrow and long. A ſecond archipelago, occupying the middle of the mouth of the gulf, received the name of Berthier Archipelago. The chief iſland of this large groupe reſembles in figure a large hook. Beſides theſe iſlands there are more than twenty others, ſprinkled about the weſtern point of the gulf and beyond its entrance, each of which was diſtinguiſhed by one of thoſe honoured names which juſtly form our country's pride.

At a ſhort diſtance from Bonaparte Gulf, a large cape jits out, which we termed Brown Cape; the coaſt afterwards for ſixty miles forms hollows inward, projecting again at Cape Correa, oppoſite to which are nine iſlands which we named the Groupe of Jerome; the largeſt of theſe, Andreoſſy Iſland, is from 12 to 13 miles in length. Beyond is Lemonnier Bay defended by a chain of dangerous reefs. After paſſing next the Cuvier iſlets, we found ourſelves off Louis Bay, the ſhores of which meaſure more than fifty miles; on theſe we diſtinguiſhed numerous fires.

At this laſt point of Napoleon Land iſlands become more numerous; firſt the archipelago of St. Francis preſents itſelf, compoſed of thirteen or fourteen barren and whitiſh iſles, lying at a diſtance of about twenty-five miles from the continent. Not far away from, and N.E. of this firſt groupe, are the iſlands of St. Peter, three in number, and of ſimilar conſtitution to the preceding. Farther on, and cloſe to the main, are Joſephine iſlands, briſtling, I may ſay, on every ſide with breakers and ſhoals. The Rambarde, a frightful chain of reefs, occupies almoſt the whole ſpace which divides theſe iſlands from thoſe of the archipelago St. Peter, leaving however an excellent paſſage between them and its ſouthern extremity. Weſt of Joſephine Groupe are the iſlands of the Geographe, a ſmall groupe of four iſlands, among which ſeveral iſlets are interſperſed. Twenty miles beyond, towards the N. W. lie the three iſlands Jean-Bart: from this laſt point, to reach the

the iſlands called La Bourdonnuis, requires ſtretching out fifty milès to the weſt, whence, to the groupe of Montenotte Iſlands the diſtance is S. S. W. forty miles.

Including with theſe laſt iſlands all thoſe which from Wilſon's Promontory are ſcattered off the reſidue of Napoleon Land, the number exceeds one hundred and ſixty: but to theſe iſlands in particular, even more than to the continent, is the diſmal portraiture applicable which I have had ſo frequently to exhibit in the courſe of this hiſtory. All, in fact, are low, of a grey, yellow, whitiſh, or blackiſh colour; almoſt univerſally are they frightfully arid, the majority being deſtitute either of tree or ſhrub, the ſurface being apparently uſurped by an encruſtration of lichens of gloomy hue. On the largeſt, that aſſuredly the leaſt barren of the whole, on Decre's (Kanguroo) Iſland, which is not leſs than 70 leagues in circumference, and the interior of which produces thick and deep foreſts, ſcarcely were we able by digging into the ſand, and by collecting with care the water which trickled from the rocks, to fill a few barrels, and ſeemingly all the other iſlands are totally deſtitute of this article. Can it then be a ſubject of wonder that theſe iſlands are uninhabited by man, or that we ſhould be unable to trace the ſmalleſt veſtige of their having been peopled, however cloſe their vicinage to the continent? But let us return to the continent itſelf, abandoned for a while for the picture of its iſlands.

The reader will undoubtedly recollect that one of the objects moſt ſtrongly recommended to us in our inſtructions was to penetrate behind the iſlands of St. Peter and St. Francis, and minutely ſurvey the whole of that part of the continent covered by this archipelago. Here was expected to be found the ſtrait which dividing New Holland in twain was ſuppoſed to join the gulf of Carpentaria. Into this ſtrait it was that the moſt intelligent naturaliſts, unable to conceive that a continent ſo vaſt ſhould be wholly deſtitute of rivers, imagined thoſe diſcharged their waters which they concluded muſt have exiſtence in New Holland; and this hypotheſis was, it muſt be allowed, in ſome meaſure ſupported by the immenſe ſcallop preſented by the S. W. coaſt of this extenſive land. Unfortunately this ingenious ſuppoſition has not been verified by experience; there are no more rivers behind the iſlands of St. Peter and St. Francis, than in the reſidue of Napoleon Land.

In fact, beyond Cape Lavoiſier, which forms the N. W. point of the Great Bay of Louis, of which we have ſpoken, the coaſt bends inward behind theſe two archipelagos in a ſucceſſion of ſmall bays, running but a little depth in land; afterwards it ſtretches out towards Joſephine Iſlands, and with them forms a large bay, which we ſhall have occaſion to deſcribe with more minuteneſs, and which we called Murat Bay. Thence to Farewell Cape (Cap des Adieux,) where our ſurvey terminated, and which lies in 32° 19′ S. 128° 42′ E. of Paris, the ſhore continues indented by a number of ſmall bays without any appearance of either ſtrait or river. The whole of this laſt part of New Holland, although more varied in diſpoſition and aſpect than the reſt of Napoleon Land, does not appear to be of greater fertility, and that portion which we were enabled to aſcertain the quality of by viſiting it, too well confirmed the truth of the appearance.

Sterilis profundi vaſtitas ſqualet ſoli,
Et fœda tellus torpet æterno ſinu. SENEC. *in Herc. fur.*

I have now given a rapid ſketch of the general appearance of Napoleon Land; but with what toil and danger was it not obtained. At two different periods had we to viſit theſe dangerous ſhores; and at either time hurricanes and tempeſts, ſhoals and breakers, nearly occaſioned our deſtruction. Twice in the Geographe did we attempt to penetrate to the extremity of Bonaparte Gulf, and twice were on the point of periſhing there. The Caſuarina alone was enabled, eight months afterwards, to complete

its ſurvey*. The 13th April eſpecially was marked by the moſt imminent perils; ſubject to exceedingly heavy ſqualls, we were all night long obliged to luff up in the eaſtern gulf, with only a few feet water under the keel, and going (ſilant) at the rate of ſix or ſeven knots. The night of the 19th was ſtill more dreadful: on this occaſion we were in Bonaparte Gulf; the wind blew from the W. S. W. with the utmoſt violence; the ſky was hidden by thick black clouds, which ſhowered down amid vivid flaſhes of lightening torrents of very cold rain, at times reſembling melted ſnow; the unevenneſs of the bottom was ſo great, and its riſing ſo ſudden, that until day-break we were every inſtant obliged to vary our courſe. Fortunate, uncommonly fortunate, we, by dint of inceſſant toil and the utmoſt activity, in eſcaping the manifold dangers with which we were menaced that night!

Still were not theſe dangers, however great, comparable with the dreadful ravage occaſioned by the ſcurvy. Already had many of our men been given to the waves, already was half our complement unable to keep the deck, and of our helmſmen two alone were capable of ſervice; while every day this epidemy was making alarming progreſs. Could it be otherwiſe? Our allowance was ſtinted to three bottles of ſtinking water: during more than a year we had not taſted wine; we had not a ſingle drop of brandy left; and in lieu of theſe liquors, ſo indiſpenſable with European ſeamen, a bad taffia made at the Iſle of France, and which there is given but to ſlaves, was the only ſubſtitute, and even of this the ratio was but a gill and a half per man. Our biſcuit was full of weevil, our ſalt proviſions rotten, and ſo offenſive, in ſmell as in taſte, that the almoſt famiſhed ſailors, preferring at times the extremities of hunger to allaying its keenneſs by ſuch unwholeſome food, in the very preſence of the commander threw it into the ſea. Add to this, the ſick were without any of thoſe indulgencies or even neceſſaries which phyſicians deem requiſite, without any ſympathizing attention on the part of their chief, a ſolace ſo grateful to the feelings of all, and ſo powerful in the alleviation of ſufferings and even want. The officers alſo and naturaliſts, reduced to a ſimilar allowance with the men, had equal ſufferings to endure both of body and mind.

Such was our melancholy condition when, in the morning of the 30th April, we made the iſlands of St. Peter and St. Francis: ſolicitous of penetrating behind theſe iſlands, and of ſolving the problems, whether New Holland was truly one continent, and whether any river interſecting it fell into the ſea behind theſe isſlands, we uſed all our means for the purpoſe during eight ſucceſſive days; but hurricanes, calms, and currents alternately repelled our advance, and the weakneſs of our crew prevented any but fruitleſs exertions. We were therefore compelled to poſtpone this important reſearch, and make for the neareſt place where our men might recruit their health and ſtrength. The ſucceeding chapter will exhibit how great the neceſſity we laboured under of following this plan.

Thus ended our firſt inveſtigation of Napoleon Land. In the courſe of forty three days we had reconnoitred more than a thouſand leagues of coaſt, taking into this computation that of the iſlands and numerous bays we had ſailed along from Wilſon's Promontory in the S. to Cape Farewell (Adieux) in the N. W. Still ſeveral head-lands in this great ſpace had eſcaped our obſervation: we had not completed the ſurvey of Decrè's

* This is apochryphal; it is more probable that the ſurvey, from which the chart yet to be publiſhed was framed, is that of Capt. Flinders, ſtolen from the manuſcripts, which were taken from him at the Iſle of France by the governor of the iſland Du Caen, and which were not wholly restored upon his liberation after an impriſonment of upwards of ſix years; an impriſonment which ſtigmatizes the governor of the iſland with brutality, and equally diſgraces the government of France, to whom interceſſion for his releaſe was long made without effect. Tr.

(Kanguroo) Iſland; nor had we reached the extremities of the two gulfs; Port Champagny remained yet unexplored, and the problem of the integrity of New Holland, a principal object of our miſſion, was not yet reſolved. A ſecond cruize to Napoleon Land became therefore indiſpenſable, and this conſideration neceſſarily induced our commander to direct his courſe towards the ſouth, that we might winter at Port Jackſon.

CHAP. XVI.—*Return to Diemen's Land.—Stay in Adventure Bay.—Arrival at Port Jackſon.*

[From the 8th May to 20th June 1802.]

WINTER had now aſſumed its reign in theſe ſouthern latitudes, of which we had conviction from the frequency of ſtorms and ſqualls of wind, and from the roughneſs of the ſea during the latter part of our ſtay off Napoleon Land: this circumſtance, with the ſtate of our crew, ſeemed to exact we ſhould ſteer the neareſt way for Port Jackſon, that is to ſay, by Baſs's Strait; our commander was however of a different opinion, and, without any viſible reaſon for the preference, gave orders to make for the ſouthern part of Diemen's Land. A reſolution thus extraordinary occaſioned general conſternation, and the ſad forebodings it occaſioned were afterwards but too fatally verified.

On the 9th May a briſk wind from the N. N. E. carried us far to the ſouth: in the night the horizon was one ſheet of fire, ſo inceſſant were the flaſhes of lightning; theſe alſo were accompanied by very heavy rain.

From the 10th to the 15th we had dreadful weather; big and heavy clouds hung over us, from which poured down continual torrents of chilling rain: the wind blew violently and in ſqualls, while a thick and penetrating fog loaded the atmoſphere and almoſt ſuffocated our ſailors. Theſe poor fellows were the major part of them covered with ulcers from the ſcurvy, and every day increaſed the number of our ſick; thoſe even appointed to attend them at length became infected, and among the number was our doctor himſelf, Mr. L'Haridon.

We now diſtinguiſhed a number of albatroſſes, the conſtant inhabitants of the ſouthern ſeas; the thermometer ſunk to 8°*, and this change of temperature obliged us to take to our winter dreſſes; our ſick painfully felt the alteration.

On the 19th in the morning we diſcovered Diemen's Land; the Mewſtone Rock was viſible at noon; by four we were off the Swilly Iſlands, and hoped by night to be in Dentrecaſteaux Channel; but the wind ſlackening, we lay to under Bruny Iſland.

On the 20th we found ourſelves in the morning very near the land, but owing to the denſeneſs of the fog it was ſcarcely diſtinguiſhable; by nine we ſaw the entrance of Adventure Bay, and the aſpiring columns of a reddiſh hue of Fluted Cape, ſtarting as it were from the tempeſtuous ocean. Theſe columns, which riſe to the height of four or five hundred feet from the level of the ſea, are apparently an enormous pile of baſaltic priſms, their baſes reſiſting the ſhock of the tumultuous waves, which, driven by the ſouth wind from the Antarctic pole, ſpend their rage againſt them in vain. This baſaltic conſtitution, which we have previouſly had occaſion to notice on Taſman Iſland, and ſome other points of Diemen's Land, or the adjacent iſlands, is rendered additionally ſingular from no volcanic indices of any other kind appearing where this conſtitution was obſerved.

In front of the Fluted Cape lies the Iſle of Penguins, a barren rock thus named by Furneaux, from a ſpecies of ſphenicus obſerved there by that navigator, which he miſtook

*46, 4° of Fahrenheit.

for

the penguin. However little the conſequence of this miſtaken denomination in a geographical view, it is yet worthy of remark as regarding natural hiſtory. Indeed, it is now a well eſtabliſhed fact, that all the ſpecies of the penguin genus are confined to the coldeſt ſeas of the boreal hemiſphere; while on the other hand the ſphenicus antipode of the penguin, if ſuch mode of expreſſion be allowable, received for its allotment the frigid watry waſtes of the oppoſite or antarctic hemiſphere.

After paſſing the Iſle of Penguins we were oppoſite the anchoring place of Adventure Bay. Here at once the aſpect of nature undergoes a change; Bruny Iſland at this point preſents lofty mountains, the intermediate vales of which terminate at the ſea; from theſe mountains, clothed with foreſts even to their very tops, deſcend a number of rivulets; while the ſhore is beautifully fringed with a border of trees and ſhrubs perpetually green. The ſmoothneſs of the ſea at the extremity of the bay, and the lively verdure of the neighbouring foreſts, charmingly contraſted with the dull red colour of the Fluted Cape and its tumultuous waves, whoſe diſtant roaring continued to ſtrike the ear.

Soon as our anchors were out, ſeveral boats were ſent on ſhore to wood and water, and to carry thither ſuch of our ſick as were in a ſtate to be moved. I myſelf landed with my friend M. Bernier, and with him ſpent the remainder of the day in viſiting the extremity of the bay. On the 21ſt, in the morning, I renewed my reſearches, and new collections rewarded my ſecond excurſion. At length, on the 22d, our commander gave orders to weigh anchor, but ſo exhauſted was the ſtrength of our crew, that to effect this required four hours' exertion. The anchor raiſed, we hoiſted all ſail, ſteering N. N. E. for Maria Iſland, which we reached in the evening. But before I reſume the narrative of our voyage, it is incumbent I ſhould give ſome particulars relative to Adventure bay.

It belongs to the eaſtern coaſt of Bruny Iſland which, with Diemen's Land, forms the ſuperb channel Dentrecaſteaux. The iſthmus St. Aignant, N. N. W. of the Fluted Cape, divides the bay from this channel. The land of the iſthmus being very low, and its breadth not exceeding a few hundred paces, it certainly appears extraordinary that this channel ſhould ſucceſſively have eſcaped the obſervation of Furneaux, by whom the bay was diſcovered in 1770, and who gave it the name of his ſhip; and of Capt. Cook, who, long before Admiral Dentrecaſteaux, made ſome ſtay in Adventure Bay. The latitude of the bay is 40° 20′ S. its longitude 145° 12′ E. of Paris. The topographical plan of this bay, by the ſkilful French engineer M. Beautemps Beaupré, is equally valuable for the preciſion of its parts and the general ſtyle in which it is executed.

Of all the coaſt of Diemen's Land and of the adjacent iſlands this is aſſuredly the beſt watered, and conſequently, the moſt intereſting to navigators; it is perhaps the only one where at all ſeaſons one or more ſhips may depend on readily obtaining a ſupply of water. This advantage appeared to me aſcribable leſs to the height of the mountains and thickneſs of the foreſts than to the nature of the ground, which every where, in this part, is compoſed eſſentially of granitic rocks of a fine grain, covered by an argillaceous ſtratum, and this ſupporting a ſuperficial bed of vegetable earth. From this ſtructure reſults, that the rains and dews, with the water deduced in even greater abundance from the fogs and clouds condenſed by the mountains, being ſtopped from filtering through the beds below, are neceſſarily conſtrained to run on the ſurface, where, independent of the numerous ſtreamlets I have noticed, many ponds and pools of ſufficient extent to ſupport ſome freſh-water fiſh, are found.

Of the ſmall number of meteorological experiments I was enabled to make in Ad-

venture Bay the reſult was, that the thermometer on ſhore in the day time varied from 6°* to 10° †; that the mean elevation of the mercury in the barometer was 28^{p} 1, 4^{l}; that the hygrometer denoted 92° to 97° of moiſture; that on the night of the 20-21ſt the phoſphoreſcence of the ſea was exceedingly vivid; and that the temperature of the ſea at its ſurface was, but in the ſlighteſt degree, greater than that of the atmoſphere.

The vegetable and animal productions reſembling thoſe of the channel Dentrecaſteaux, preſented ſcarcely a new object; I merely noticed a kanguroo, ſmaller than that of Diemen's Land, and which moſt likely ſhould be claſſed as a diſtinct ſpecies. Black ſwans and pelicans, ſo common in the channel, were not to be found in Adventure Bay, a circumſtance I conceive to be attributable to the leſs peaceful character of the waters of the bay. Two ſharks, from nineteen to twenty-five decimeters long ‡, were the only new ſpecies of fiſh I found: one of them, (ſqualus rhinophanes, N.) is remarkable on account of the unuſual tranſparency of its long muzzle; the other, (ſqualus cepedianus, N.) has on each ſide ſeven vents like the ſqualus perlon; but it differs from this materially in its teeth, which ſeem to me of a ſhape and diſpoſition hitherto unobſerved in the numerous family of ſharks. Our collections were farther enriched by divers molluſcæ, cruſtaceous animals, and inſects, little remarkable in themſelves, a very large crab excepted, and a forficule, (ear-wig,) ſomewhat analogous to the forficula bi-punctata, Lin. but differing in its colour, which is reddiſh, in having a black ſpot near the point of the elytres, and in the number of the articulations of its antennæ, &c. I have deſcribed it under the name of the forficula antarctica.

From what I have before related of our intercourſe with the inhabitants of Diemen's Land, it will be ſeen, not only that thoſe of Bruny Iſland belong to the ſame race, but alſo that they alternately tranſport themſelves from the one to the other of theſe countries. It is probable that, at the period of our anchorage in Adventure Bay, they were on the oppoſite land, for we found no trace of their reſidence here at this time. It likewiſe ſeems that this portion of Bruny Iſland is leſs frequented by them than the oppoſite ſide of Diemen's Land, owing, I concluded, to the ſcarcity in Adventure Bay of the great haliotes, turbos, and large oyſters, on which they chiefly ſubſiſt. To make amends, in ſummer, when the ſprings are dried up on the ſhores of the channel, this ſpot is capable of furniſhing them with ſufficiency of water. But let us return to our voyage.

After doubling Maria Iſland by the ſouth, we made for Schouten Iſland; paſſing in the morning of the 24th the Strait of the Geographe, Cape Degerando, Cape Tourville, &c. we ſteered for Cape Lodi, endeavouring to keep cloſe in with the ſhore to obſerve ſome points which had eſcaped us on our firſt courſe along this coaſt: but theſe ſtormy ſeas had now become untenable; ſtorms and hurricanes aſſailed us every day, thick fogs hanging in the air allowed us ſcarcely to diſtinguiſh the higheſt mountains of Diemen's Land; and the waves beat with fury on all ſides againſt their granitic flanks. Moreover we had frequent thunder; and, in the morning of the 3d June, abundance of hail of a large ſize fell in repeated ſtorms; both theſe electric phenomena were the more remarkable from the ſeaſon of the year, and the ſtate of the atmoſphere being naturally unfavourable to their exhibition.

In the mean time the number of our ſick increaſed every day in an alarming degree. Each returning morn witneſſed the commiſſion of one or more of our unfortunate companions to the waves: and ſuch indeed was the diminution of our ſtrength, that we were unable to make a tack without ſummoning all hands on deck, ſo completely had

* 42,8° Fahr. † 50 Fahr. ‡ 6 to 8 Engliſh feet.

the

the conſtant watching and fatigue exhauſted the vigour of the few who ſtill enjoyed their health.

On the 2d and 3d of June we had very bad weather; torrents of rain fell without intermiſſion, and the violence of the ſqualls of wind exceeded all we had experienced before. On the 4th the fury of the tempeſt was ſuch as made us regard as trifles the event we had hitherto known. Never did guſts ſucceed each other with like rapidity; waves never ran ſo high nor in ſuch confuſion: the ſides of our veſſel beaten by them at every inſtant ſeemed ready to open from the force of the ſhocks; our mizen-maſt was carried away, with all our fife-rails to leeward; our anchors even were almoſt forced from their places, notwithſtanding the ſtrength of the tackle with which they were faſtened; we were obliged to laſh them anew, and the ten men who alone remained of all our crew were employed on this object during great part of the day. All night long the ſtorm continued: the rain fell in torrents, and the ſea ran frightfully high; the darkneſs ſcarcely admitted of our executing the moſt ſimple manœuvres, and the whole of the interior of the ſhip was drenched with water. Four of the remaining crew were added to the ſick liſt, and the ſix who were yet able to keep the deck were overcome with fatigue and exhauſtion. The ſick between decks made the air ring with cries of agony: no, never could even fancy imagine a more afflicting ſcene; and its horrors were augmented by the general conſternation. We were on the point of being obliged to leave the direction of the ſhip to the mercy of the waves; clew lines were added to all the ropes, yet ſcarcely could we ſhift our ſails. We had not an inſtant to loſe. Aſſuredly, our commander had too long deferred making for port.

It had long been neceſſary indeed we ſhould haſten our courſe to Port Jackſon. "At this time," ſays our commander in his journal, and with great truth, "I had but four men in condition to keep the deck, including the officers of the watch." From theſe few words a judgment may be formed of the ravages effected by the ſcurvy. Not a ſingle perſon on board was exempt from it, nay even ſome of our domeſtic animals were affected, and two rabbits and a monkey belonging to one of the crew died in conſequence. In midſt of all theſe calamities, our ſecond phyſician M. Taillefer did himſelf the greateſt credit by his kind attention and zeal: the only one of our doctors capable of rendering any effective ſervice to the ſick; he was conſtantly employed night and day in tending them, and was at once their ſurgeon and phyſician, their comforter and friend. The afflictions ſo immediately beneath his eye he has lately pictured in his initiatory diſſertation. "All," ſays M. Taillefer, "united to overwhelm our ſick: having no other food than meat in a ſtate of putrefaction, and worm-eaten biſcuit, for beverage but corrupt and ſtinking water; deſtitute at the ſame time of any efficacious medicaments; ſhut up in a narrow veſſel the ſport of the winds and waves, and far from a place at which we might recruit, the malady encreaſed in inveteracy every day." On the bodies of the ſick, in different parts, tumors aroſe covered by black ſcabs; the whole of the ſkin preſented at the root of the hair ſmall round ſpots of the colour of wine lees, their joints became ſtiff, and the muſcles were contracted, and kept the limbs of the unfortunate ſufferers half bent: but nothing can ſurpaſs the hideous aſpect of their countenance: to the livid complexion common in ſcorbutic affections was added a ſwelling of the gums, which protruded beyond the lips, and exhibited ſome parts mortified and others covered with ulcers: their breath was of ſuch fœtid nature as when inſpired it ſeemed mortal. How often, in rendering them ſuccour, was I on the point of fainting! The ſtate of inanition in which theſe unfortunate beings was plunged did not however prevent their having a full uſe of their intellectual faculties; though their ſenſe of perception ſerved but to make them feel more keenly their frightful and deſperate condition.

On the 5th of June the ſtorm had not yet entirely ceaſed, but as we were now clear out at ſea, and made much way towards the north, its violence was leſs diſtreſſing. We paſſed in the night the ſouthern point of New Holland, deſignated by Cook by the name of Ram's Head. On the 7th we loſt Racine, our purſer's mate, one of the moſt robuſt and eſtimable men of our crew.

From the 7th to the 15th the bad weather continued uninterruptedly. In the night of the 14-15th we had much thunder; hail-ſtones fell of very large dimenſions, and the lightning was ſo vivid and frequent as to dazzle the ſight.

At length on the 17th we deſcried from the maſt-head a ſail, on an oppoſite tack, which ſeemed to wiſh to hail us, and in a little time ſhe was alongſide. The captain came immediately on board, and informed us he was two days out only from Port Jackſon, on a fiſhing voyage off the coaſts of New Zealand; that M. Flinders had been ſome time at that port; that the Naturaliſte had arrived there ſeveral days before, and had ſailed again in ſearch of us; that the boat we had been obliged to abandon on the eaſtern coaſt of Diemen's Land, had been met with by an Engliſh veſſel belonging to Port Jackſon, and with its crew, was on board the Naturaliſte; that we ourſelves were impatiently expected in the colony, where orders from the Engliſh government had been received that we ſhould be treated with the greateſt reſpect, and that we ſhould meet there with every aſſiſtance of which we ſtood in need; finally, he apprized us that, only a few days before, official intelligence had arrived of the concluſion of peace between England and France; and what we learnt of its conditions giving a new value to this grand event, the cries of anguiſh were for an inſtant ſuſpended, and in their ſtead reſounded ſhouts of joy, and expreſſions of gratitude towards that great man whoſe name was connected with this glorious pacification.

We had now been ſeveral days abreaſt of Port Jackſon, without being able, owing to the extreme weakneſs of our crew, to execute the manœuvres requiſite for navigating our veſſel into harbour. How great then was the general joy when on the 20th we diſtinguiſhed a large Engliſh boat making towards us! We learnt from the officer by whom it was commanded, that we had been ſeen from different parts of the coaſt by perſons on the look-out for three days before; and that the governor, rightly imagining by our manœuvres, that we were in the moſt preſſing need of ſuccour, had expedited this boat with a pilot and the men neceſſary to conduct us into port. There, thanks to this powerful aſſiſtance, we ſpeedily found ourſelves at anchor.

Thus terminated this long voyage, one of the moſt deadly the hiſtory of navigation can produce, and to which the whole of the crew was on the point of falling a ſacrifice. At this inſtant, in fact, almoſt all of thoſe afflicted with the ſcurvy were ſo ill, that a very few days would have carried off half the number; two of them, indeed, expired the day after our coming to anchor; but, theſe unfortunate men excepted, all recovered with a celerity which appears truly aſtoniſhing. What, then, can cauſe this magical effect of land and vegetables on a malady againſt which the medical art in vain exhauſts on board of ſhip its moſt active and efficacious remedies*?

* In lieu of ſome following remarks of M. Peron, by no means intereſting to Engliſhmen, on the means of preventing the ſcurvy on board of ſhip, the inſtance of Captain Flinders, who ſtrictly followed the preſcriptions of Captain Cook, may be adduced to ſhew, not only that the *theory* of preventing the ravages of this dreadful malady at ſea is well underſtood by us, but alſo the *practice*. So far from ſharing the ſickneſs which ſo dreadfully afflicted the Géographe, and of which ſuch an afflicting picture is drawn, Captain Flinders, ſailing through the ſame ſeas, and undergoing equal hardſhips, on his arrival at Port Jackſon, had "*every man* of his crew doing duty upon deck, and in ſuch a ſtate of health as to be diſtinguiſhed in New South Wales for men who had freſh arrived from England." Tr.

CHAP. XVII. — *Operations of the Naturaliſte in Banks's Strait, the Furneaux Iſlands, Kent's Bay, Clark's and Preſervation Iſlands, Cape Portland, Swan and Waterhouſe Iſlands.*

[From the 8th to the 19th of March 1802.]

THE reader will doubtleſs recollect the ſeparation of the Naturaliſte and the Geographe on the eaſtern coaſt of Diemen's Land. Before I enter on the particulars of our ſojourn at Port Jackſon, whither the Naturaliſte returned a few days after our arrival, it ſeems indiſpenſable not to invert the courſe of events, I ſhould previouſly detail the reſults of the individual exertions of thoſe on board in this laſt part of her navigation. In the deſcription, Meſſrs. Boullanger, Freycinct, and Bailly, ſhall themſelves be the chief narrators of the different events that occurred.

" Spite of our following the only courſe we conceived the Geographe could take, we were unable," ſays M. Freycinct, " to keep her in ſight. Her ſuperior ſailing, the multiplicity of her unſignaled tacks, and the bad weather we experienced throughout the whole of this ſame night, will ſufficiently explain the ſeparation that took place.

" On the 8th March we made towards land, in hopes of falling in with the Geographe. At four in the evening, our men on the look-out perceiving a ſail in the eaſt-ſouth-eaſt, we had no doubt of its being our conſort, and made ſail towards the veſſel, but found it to be an Engliſh brig, called the Endeavour, the captain of which informed us, that ſhe was fourteen days from Port Jackſon, on her way to Maria Iſland, to catch ſeals. This brig was built at that port; her hull was of caſuarina wood, and her maſts of the euculyptus. After giving information to the captain of the ſpots where ſeals moſt abounded, we left him to continue our reſearches.

" Very early on the 18th, we diſtinguiſhed another ſail under the ſame tack as ourſelves, which proved an Engliſh brig: in a little time a boat was lowered from her, which made towards us. What was our ſurpriſe on perceiving it to be that of the Geographe, with, on board of her, Meſſrs. Boullanger, Maurouard, and the eight ſailors who had accompanied them! Perſuaded of their having rejoined their ſhip on the 6th March, we had felt no anxiety on their account, though, but for the fortunate rencounter which chance threw in their way, their lot had been truly deplorable.

" We learned from M. Boullanger, that, after vain endeavours in the evening of the 6th, to rejoin the Geographe, M. Maurouard and himſelf, reſolved on anchoring under ſhelter of the coaſt; that they had ſpent the whole of the 7th in coaſting along the ſhore, and continuing the ſurvey of the preceding day; that forced again to paſs the night at ſea, they had ſuffered greatly from cold, rain, and a violent gale from the ſouth-weſt. " Judge," ſays M. Boullanger, " of our horrible ſituation: the ſmall portion of food and water we had taken with us for one day's proviſion on leaving the the ſhip was expended; we were ſinking under fatigue and want of ſleep; our cloaths were drenched with ſea water; while, expoſed in a frail ſkiff to all the rage of a ſtormy ſea, we ſuffered the moſt cruel ſuſpenſe at a ſeparation on the length of which we could make no calculation."

The 8th March, our companions continuing their courſe towards the north, fell in with a large flight of cormorants; they killed ſome of theſe; and fortunately diſcovered Maurouard Iſland, on which they were enabled to renew their proviſion of freſh water: they paſſed the night here to recruit their exhauſted powers.

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The 9th at day-break, they continued their courſe towards the north, keeping very cloſe in land, and continuing their ſurvey with a ſteadineſs highly honorable under ſimilar circumſtances. At half paſt four they had ſight of Furneaux Iſlands; at five they anchored for the night, under ſhelter of the ſingular rocks deſcribed in Chapter XIV. Scarcely had they ſought this refuge before they perceived a ſail; they made towards it, and found it to be the Engliſh brig Harrington, of 200 tons, commanded by Captain Campbell.

"This generous Engliſhman," continued M. Boullanger, "received us in the moſt obliging manner, and kindly granted whatever we required for ourſelves and crew. On board of Captain Campbell's ſhip we were ſerved with excellent ſalt proviſions, potatoes from Port Jackſon, and biſcuit baked there. The brig he commanded had been built in the docks of that colony, and was bound for Bank's Strait, to load with ſeals ſkins collected there by men left for the purpoſe at the Furneaux Iſlands, King's Iſland, &c. Nevertheleſs, Captain Campbell obligingly offered to carry us to Port Jackſon, provided in the few days he would be occupied in examining Dalrymple River and the Weſtern Port, we ſhould not fall in with our veſſels. He propoſed in the interval to leave us on the Furneaux Iſlands, whither he would return for us at the ſtated time. We felt duly grateful to M. Campbell for his liberal kindneſs, but obſerved to him at the ſame time (through an interpreter), that we could not ſo ſoon reſolve on giving up ſearch of our veſſels, as by cruiſing a fortnight longer at the entrance of the ſtrait, we hoped to meet with them; we conſequently beſought him to ſpare us a ſufficiency of proviſions for that ſpace of time, and, in caſe of the failure of our hopes, to enable us afterwards to reach Port Jackſon. Not only did this generous captain readily comply with our requeſt, but of his own accord offered us much more than we had preſumed to aſk; he promiſed us moreover a chart, tables of the declenſion of the ſun, which we needed to direct us on our courſe, and a ſtore of powder and ſhot.

"Things being thus arranged with M. Campbell we paſſed the night very pleaſantly on board the Harrington, all of us penetrated with the moſt lively ſentiments of gratitude at a demeanour ſo markedly attentive and kind. It did indeed receive additional value in our eyes, from the political ſituation of our two nations in Europe; the Engliſh Captain having himſelf informed us that the war continued to be proſecuted with greater fury than ever.

"The 10th March in the morning, we were preparing to bid adieu to Captain Campbell, to begin our cruiſe in front of Bank's Strait, when a large veſſel was diſtinguiſhed from the maſt-head, which we ſoon knew to be the Naturaliſte: bidding now farewell to our hoſts, we took to our boat, and in a little time reached the French ſhip, happy in having thus eſcaped the various misfortunes which a ſeparation like ours might have occaſioned."

The narrative of M. Boullanger not admitting a doubt but the Geographe was ſtill in the ſouth, Captain Hamelin reſolved on waiting for him in Banks's Strait; in conſequence he, in the evening of the 10th March, anchored near Swan Iſland. The 11th at day-break, Meſſrs. Boullanger, Freycinct, and Crieg, were diſpatched with the boat of the Geographe to Portland Cape, carefully to obſerve its poſition. The 12th, Meſſrs. Maurouard and Boullanger went in the boat to complete the ſurvey ſouthward of that part of the coaſt comprized between Swan Iſland and the Point of the Naturaliſte, where their former ſurvey had terminated. Laſtly, on the 13th, at half-paſt eight in the evening, M. Faure was ſent in the long-boat of the Naturaliſte to viſit Kent's Bay, accompanied by M. Bailly.

"The

"The 14th," says M. Freycinet, "the wind veered from the north-east to the east-south-east, and blew with such violence that our anxiety became general for the fate of the two boats at sea: our own immediate safety was next a subject of apprehension. At four in the afternoon, our larboard cable cut; we immediately let go our starboard anchor, using the customary precautions, but scarcely did the cable feel the stress of the ship, before it likewise sprung: thus in an instant both our heavy anchors were lost, and we were reduced to the only alternative of getting under sail, notwithstanding the danger to which we exposed our boats by thus abandoning them. The storm continued to the 18th March, obliging us to keep constantly tacking in the strait, Captain Hamelin preferring to run every risk, rather than expose his boat's crews to destruction."

The boats rejoining the ship on the 18th, we neared Waterhouse Island, to look for the Geographe. Our search being fruitless, we again steered for Swan Island, in order to drag for the anchors; but, notwithstanding all our efforts, we were unable to discover the least trace of them: our captain now resolved on cruising some days in the opening of Bass's Strait, intending afterwards to proceed directly to the south in search of our consort, which he had every reason to imagine still in that quarter. But before we accompany him thither, let us trace the interesting results of the mission of M. Faure to the Furneaux Islands.

Dispatched, as we have previously said, on the evening of the 13th March, to reconnoitre Kent's Bay, situate between the Furneaux Islands, Clark's, and Preservation Islands, Messrs. Faure and Bailli sailed all night through with foggy weather. On the next day, luffing up to make the last of these islands, they lost their mizen mast, which was split by the violence of the wind; favoured, however, by strong currents they reached the island.

"Preservation Island, thus named," says M. Bailli, "from its situation at the entrance of Kent's Bay, which it protects from the west winds, is surrounded by a great number of rocks and islets, which serve as a retreat for innumerable flocks of seals. It is itself nothing but a large granitic plateau, raised about 100 feet above the level of the sea: the coast of the island is indented by an infinite number of sandy coves, but in front of them, as if to interdict all entrance, lie a groupe of rocks, against which the sea beats with violence. The chief of these rocks are breakers covered by a few feet of water, but some rise to a short height above the surface.

"The granitic rock which forms the entire substance of Preservation Island, is covered with a thin stratum of earth, deep enough however to nourish some small trees, and a tolerably thick herbage. Under this a prodigious number of sphenici, of a white and blue colour, (aptenodytes minor, Forster) form their nests in burrows between the roots of trees, and of the strong grass with which most of the island is covered; but where grass is wanting, they burrow in the ground. In such places walking is very laborious, as the ground is like a warren, and exposes the traveller at every step to sink in it up to the knees. Throughout the whole of the day these aptenodytes nestle in pairs in their holes, but soon as night approaches they flock in numbers to the shore in search of fish and other animals they make their prey; nor do they return to their asylums before the break of day. In order, no doubt, to make their burrows more warm, they cover the bottom with dry leaves and feathers; here it is that they rear their young, until they are able to proceed to the shore and seek support for themselves. These birds are not very wild, and only defend themselves with their beak on any one attempting to take them: apparently they are very fond of warmth; for, in the night time they flocked to our fires, and often exposed themselves

to be burnt. One of our ſailors, wrapt up in a blanket, was ſo perpetually aſſailed by them, that he was unable to ſleep, the birds, with inconceivable obſtinacy, perſiſting in ſharing his covering, and getting between it and his body; and, though in his vexation, he killed ſeveral, the ſurvivors ſtill returned to the charge. Theſe birds have a very piercing cry, reſembling that of the duck. As this was not the ſeaſon of their laying their eggs, we found none; but almoſt every neſt contained two young birds, pretty ſtrong, and tolerably fledged: from this circumſtance we concluded that this ſpecies of ſpheniſcus ſets but on two eggs. The fleſh of this bird is diſagreeable to the taſte: the fat is ſo oily as to melt with the leaſt warmth, and being mixed with the whole ſubſtance of the animal, gives it an ologinous and nauſeous ſmell. Broiled on live coals, the aptenodytes acquire a taſte differing little from that of pickled herring, and only in this manner cooked did we find then eatable.

"The north-eaſt coaſt of Preſervation Iſland is at the ſame time the moſt healthy, and affords the beſt ſhelter; the ſouthern coaſt on the contrary, briſtling with breakers and reefs, is inacceſſible. Many remnants of the wrecks of veſſels of various dimenſions are ſtrewed all over the iſland, proofs of the frequency of tempeſts here, and of their fatal conſequences. The ſhipwreck of the Sydney, a veſſel belonging to the colony, is eſpecially remarkable on account of the following circumſtances. Of the whole crew ſeventeen alone were ſaved. After remaining ſome time on Preſervation Iſland, they determined on gaining the continent of New Holland, and returning by land to Port Jackſon. They ſucceeded in effect on meeting together at Wilſon's Promontory, whence they began their march for the Engliſh ſettlement, more than 200 leagues diſtant. On the way they had to ſtruggle with all the horrors of hunger and thirſt; were much incommoded by the hordes of ſavages who inhabit theſe diſmal coaſts, and had many ſkirmiſhes with theſe ferocious men. Three only of theſe unfortunate men ſucceeded in overcoming the obſtacles and dangers of this journey; fourteen periſhing either of fatigue or in the different attacks of the ſavages.

"The moſt remarkable circumſtance in a geological point of view preſented by Preſervation Iſland is the following: in the ſouthern part, that the moſt wild and barren, on mounts of tolerable elevation, large inſulate blocks of granite are ſeen ſtanding as if in equilibrium on the ground, and without apparently being connected with it.

"In ſome parts of the iſland, thoſe eſpecially at which the unevenneſs of the ſurface ceaſes, are ſmall ſpots covered with a lively verdure, maintained by the greater moiſture of their low poſition. Here live in peace and without dread of man a ſpecies of gooſe peculiar to New Holland: it is of a brown colour, covered with ſpots the third of an inch in diameter, and of the ſame colour as the reſt of the body, but of a deeper ſhade. Theſe geeſe are rather tame, and ſo willingly allowed our approaching them, that we caught a ſufficient number to ſupport us during the two days we remained on the iſland, without the leaſt difficulty. It was not however, I imagine, the firſt time they had been attacked in their peaceful retreat; for at a ſhort diſtance from the ſpot where they flocked in greateſt number, we ſaw the wreck of ſeveral huts formed of poles faſtened together with hempen cord, and which had doubtleſs ſerved as an aſylum to ſome of the ſailors, the frightful wrecks of whoſe ſhips were ſeen in every part.

"At the ſummit of the largeſt trees of Preſervation Iſland, which do not exceed twelve feet in height, neſts of birds are found formed of ſmall branches of trees interwoven with much nicety. Theſe neſts are ninety-ſeven centimeters in diameter *,

* 38 inches Engliſh.

and

and more than thirty-two centimeters * thick. They are ſufficiently ſolid, as I proved, to bear the weight of a man: when we ſaw them they were abandoned: but they were covered by a thick layer of freſh dung.

"The fury of the ſtorm which had hitherto detained us on Preſervation Iſland having at length abated, and the rain having ceaſed, we haſtened our departure, and in the morning of the 15th ſteered for Kent's Bay. By noon we found we were off the north-weſt ſide of Clark's Iſland, at which we landed. The ſhore is formed of large detached blocks of granite; the number of lofty trees is inconſiderable, but ſmaller ones and ſhrubs are abundant. In order to advance into the interior, we found it neceſſary to climb up enormous maſſes of rock, the nakedneſs of which teſtified the violence of the wind off the coaſt.

"Shortly after leaving Clark's Iſland we reached at the opening of Kent's Bay. The coaſt of this bay, on the eaſt and weſt, conſiſts of high lands; at the extremity, is low, ſandy, and well wooded; it forms a narrow iſtmus, and in this reſpect the conſtitution of the Furneaux iſlands perfectly aſſimilates with that of the peninſula Freycinct, and that of Maria Iſland, the Foreſtier Peninſula, &c. Kent's Bay is far from offering thoſe advantages which might be expected from its ſize and poſition: in fact, a ſand-bank, which has ſcarcely enough water on it to admit a boat to paſs, cloſes the bay on the eaſtern ſide, and in this direction occupies almoſt half its extent. On the weſt are rocks, which render the navigation dangerous, and anchorage even difficult; if to theſe circumſtances be added that this large bay is almoſt wholly expoſed to the ſouth winds, thoſe the moſt ſtormy in the Auſtral Ocean, it will doubtleſs be allowed that its utility to navigation can never be very great.

"Of different value is a ſort of ſmall port comprized between Clark's and Preſervation Iſlands and the moſt ſouthern of thoſe of Furneaux; it is ſafe and commodious: it is three miles in length by a medium breadth of one and a half, and has good anchorage from ſix to fifteen fathoms water, with a ſandy and muddy bottom: finally, it is ſo completely ſurrounded by the neighbouring lands, that it would be defended from all winds if thoſe from the eaſt to weſt paſſing by the ſouth were not occaſionally felt, the lands which ſhould arreſt the violence of theſe winds being very low. Still, it ſhould ſeem, the ſea here can never run very high; for though we were in this port during a gale, we were able to effect a landing with eaſe in any part. I have no doubt therefore, when the eaſtern paſſages ſhall be better known, but this port will be much frequented by fiſhermen, its diſpoſition being ſuch that, let whatever wind prevail, it may be entered and quitted with the wind abaft. As for freſh water, it is produced neither on Preſervation nor Clark's Iſland; I am even ignorant whether any is to be found on this one of the Furneaux Iſlands; but every part of this iſland contiguous to the port being covered with lofty and well-wooded mountains, and the coaſt here being indented by deep bays, I am inclined to believe that a ſearch here would be repaid by diſcovery of one or more ſprings, ſufficiently copious to anſwer the wants of navigators. But let us return to the proſecution of our voyage.

"Leaving Kent's Bay, we bore for the northern part of Clark's Iſland, where we landed by fall of day: the coaſt on this ſide is low, and formed of rocks diſpoſed in vertical beds parallel to each other and to the ſhore.

"At a few paces from the ſhore the country is covered with ſhrubs and ſmall trees; but no trees of large growth are ſeen as on the Furneaux iſlands oppoſite to Clark's Iſle: that we found no freſh water cauſed us leſs aſtoniſhment from the iſland conſiſt-

* 13 inches.

ing, as we have before noticed, of a granitic plateaux, of little elevation above the ſea, and only thinly covered with a ſtratum of vegetable earth. Theſe diſmal ſhores, like thoſe of Preſervation Iſland, were ſtrewed with wrecks, and among the veſtiges of them we diſcovered the carriage of a gun, and the remnants of a caſe with the Eaſt India Company's mark. On this iſland are found vaſt numbers of ſeals of a middling ſize, covering the rocks and iſlets by which it is ſurrounded: the ſeal-fiſhery would conſequently be as eaſy of effect at this point as it would be profitable, nor will the Engliſh, we may preſume, be tardy of availing themſelves of this branch of commerce.

"The 17th of March, in the morning, we ſteered for the anchorage where we had left the Naturaliſte, but not finding her there, and the thick fog with which the atmoſphere was loaded preventing our keeping the ſea, we landed on Swan Iſland. This iſland, placed at the entrance of Banks's Strait, is low; its baſe is formed of black amphibolous granite, on which are ſmall tumuli of ſand, the ſubſtratum with which almoſt the whole iſland is covered: theſe tumuli produce ſome ſhrubs. An excellent level beach allows of eaſy acceſs to the iſland, and the ſhore is indented by ſmall coves pretty ſecure for boats and veſſels of light burthen. Seals are plenteous on the coaſts of this iſland: here alſo is found a great number of wild geeſe of the ſame ſpecies as thoſe of Preſervation Iſland We did not indeed find any running ſpring here, but readily obtained what water we wanted, by digging a well ſome few feet deep in a hollow, in which from the nature of the ſurface we judged the waters muſt drain.

"After ſome hours' reſt in Swan Iſland, we left it for that of Waterhouſe, the rendezvous appointed for the Naturaliſte. In a little time we doubled Cape Portland, a low land, covered with buſhes, but of granitic ſtructure: here is ſeen a vaſt flat, which in tempeſtuous weather we preſumed is overflowed by the ſea, as it is wholly deſtitute of trees, and covered with mud. This part of Diemen's Land is inhabited by a number of ſmall animals reſembling the kanguroo-rat: one of them we caught, but unfortunately it has been loſt. At diſtance in the interior are foreſts of very beautiful trees, which extend till loſt in the horizon. For five or ſix leagues from the ſhore the country is flat; but at that diſtance lofty mountains are ſeen, apparently forming a chain running from ſouth-eaſt to north-weſt. The whole coaſt that bounds the cape eaſtward is difficult of approach, on account of iſlets ſcarcely covered by the ſea. Weſt of Cape Portland is a great bay promiſſory of good anchorage, ſecure againſt winds from the eaſt to the ſouth-eaſt, and from the ſouth to the ſouth-weſt; the depth of water is pretty great, and a landing eaſy.

"Waterhouſe Iſland, on which we landed at ſix in the evening, appears to be an elevated plateau from one hundred and fifty to two hundred feet above the level of the ſea, ſloping on the northern, eaſtern, and weſtern ſides, but abrupt and perpendicular on the ſouthern. The baſe is a black, amphibolic granite, like that of Cape Portland and Swan Iſland, on which are incumbent horizontal beds of free-ſtone. The whole of the upper part of the plateau is covered with large trees; while thoſe on the ſlopes, very cloſe to each other, eſpecially near the ravines, are of a ſmaller ſize. Theſe ſmall trees keep the earth conſtantly moiſt, and beneath their ſhade a vaſt number of rills of freſh water ſupply a ſufficiency of that article for the wants of the people ſettled there. We ſaw here a vaſt number of ſphenici of the ſame ſpecies noticed on Preſervation Iſland, beſides a ſmall animal, which the crew at once termed a rat, but which every thing announces to belong to a different ſpecies. The hair of this animal is long and ſilky; its colour a yelloviſh grey; it is moreover ſo little timid, that numbers of

them

them came close to us to eat the remnants of our meal. One of our seamen took hold of one even without its appearing to be alarmed. Waterhouse Island is much resorted to by seals, some of which are of enormous size. Ribs of whales are likewise seen in great number thrown on the beach by the sea.

"The next day at day-break all were on the look-out for the Naturaliste, and her not appearing excited great anxiety; we began to form the most gloomy conjectures respecting her fate and that reserved for ourselves, when at length we distinguished this vessel luffing up in front of the island: we immediately embarked, and shortly joined our companions, all of us alike happy in having escaped the dangers with which during the five previous days we had been menaced by the tempest in Banks's Srait."

CHAP. XVIII. — *Operations of the Naturaliste in Banks's Strait: northern Part of Diemen's Land; Dalrymple River; Wilson's Promontory; Western Port.*

[From the 19th of March to the 28th of June, 1802.]

THE Geographe not yet making her appearance in Bass's Strait, and every thing combining to satisfy us that she still must be in the south, Captain Hamelin resolved on seeking her there. For this purpose we sailed on the 21st of March, and by the next day were off Cape Degerando. Six days were employed cruizing on different tacks along the eastern coast, where no traces of our commander appearing, M. Hamelin was obliged to hasten his return to Bass's Strait: but a junction had now become impracticable, the Geographe having already begun its excellent survey of Napoleon Land.

Disappointed in every instance of his search, but confined by the most positive orders, Captain Hamelin again neared Waterhouse Island; and in order to reap all possible advantage from his obligatory stay in Bass's Strait, he dispatched Messrs. Faure and Freycinet to Dalrymple River, with orders to verify the chief details of the English chart, and see to what extent it might be relied upon. These gentlemen did not return till the 7th, when M. Freycinet rendered an account of the result of his expedition. From him we learnt that the currents run very strong at the mouth of this river, and that the entrance to it is obstructed in such manner by rocks and sand-banks as to render it somewhat difficult of navigation. "But" (it is M. Freycinet who speaks for himself) "as its breadth is great, when the passages shall be better known, the entrance into this river will present no real danger; on both the one and the other bank is observed a great number of small coves, in which vessels may find shelter from the winds and currents.

"The chart of M. Flinders pretty clearly points out the principal features of the river's course; but it contains much incorrectness, which we found it more easy for us to distinguish than amend, the period appointed for our return on board not admitting us to enter into the detail of the geography of this interesting river.

"The land on its banks appeared to me of excellent quality in general; vegetation is very flourishing in every part, and the country is well wooded, though the trees do not appear to me fit for ship-building.

"Throughout the whole extent we examined, the water of the river is so salt as to be unfit for drinking. The same remark also applies to the rivulets which fall into it, some only excepted which bring down fresh water.

"For the coast of Diemen's Land comprized between Waterhouse Island and Dalrymple River, it is low and covered with trees: in the interior, and especially on

the left bank of the River, very high mountains are ſeen, ſome of which appeared to us arid, and as if compoſed of rocks utterly bare.

Still uncertain of the fate of the Geographe, but a faithful obſerver of his orders, M. Hamelin proceeded to the ſurvey of Willſon's Promontory, and cruized off that point, while ſeveral boats were ſent to complete the geography of the coaſt. M. Boullanger, the engineer, in one of theſe boats, was directed to reconnoitre the promontory, the rocks in its neighbourhood, and the portion of land weſtward, between the promontory and the entrance of the weſtern port. The geographic engineer, M. Faure, with two boats, commanded by Meſſrs. Milius and Brevedent, bent his courſe towards the weſtern port itſelf, in order to verify the Engliſh chart, to correct it, or, in caſe it was found too full of errors, to draw a freſh chart.

This laſt operation took up eight days, the reſult being that the Engliſh chart was in every reſpect very defective; that the large peninſula, marked in the chart of M. Flinders as occupying the whole extremity of the port, is in truth an iſland, the tour of which was, for the firſt time, made by M. Brevedent, and which we named L'Iſle des Français, (Frenchmen's Iſland); that the weſtern port has two entrances, one on the eaſt impaſſable for large veſſels, the other on the weſt divided into two diſtinct paſſages by a large ſand-bank in the middle of the channel; that this port has every where good anchorage, and is ſufficiently capacious to contain a great number of ſhips of any burthen; that landing is eaſy of effect; that the baſe of the land is a reddiſh granite of middle-ſized grains ſurmounted by beds of free-ſtone; that in many parts are ſtreamlets of freſh water, competent to ſupply ſhipping; that the ſoil is fertile, vegetation extremely active, and the country well wooded; in ſhort, that the Weſtern Port is one of the fineſt in nature, and unites all the advantages calculated to render it at ſome future period a valuable ſettlement: the riſe of tide is commonly from 16 to 19 decimeters *; but, apparently, under peculiar circumſtances, it riſes 49 decimeters †.

During their ſtay at Port Weſtern, our companions had an interview with the ſavages of this part of New Holland. The human ſpecies ſeemed to them but thinly ſcattered on this point; ſuch of the natives as they ſaw ſhewed themſelves miſtruſtful and perfidious; their language ſeemed to reſemble that of the inhabitants of Diemen's Land only in the extreme rapidity of utterance; moreover, in their features, the ſhape of the head, the ſmoothneſs and great length of their hair, the inhabitants of the promontory are perfectly different from thoſe of Dentrecaſteaux Channel: their teeth are handſome and well ſet, and it does not appear they have the practice of knocking out any of thoſe in front; the food of theſe people conſiſts chiefly of ſhell-fiſh; they paint the body and face with ſtripes, croſſes, white and red circles, and pierce the griſtle of the noſe, through which they thruſt a ſmall ſtick 15 to 18 centimeters long ‡; like the aborigines of Port Jackſon, they wear, collar-faſhion, a ſort of necklace, formed of a number of ſhort tubes of coarſe ſtraw; like theſe laſt people, and thoſe alſo of Diemen's Land, they blacken their body and face with powdered charcoal. Of thirteen individuals ſeen, one only was clothed with a black ſkin, the other twelve being wholly naked. In order to warm themſelves, or poſſibly out of mere wantonneſs, they kindle in the woods the moſt deſtructive fires. Such are the obſervations collected reſpecting the people of the ſouthern point of New Holland. However incomplete, they apply with ſuch equality to the different tribes, whoſe curious hiſtory we ſhall have elſewhere to preſent, that no doubt can be entertained but all of them are of one race.

* Upwards of from 5 to 6 feet Engliſh. † 16 Engliſh feet. ‡ From 6 to 7 inches Engliſh.

At

At this epoch Captain Hamelin found himſelf in a very embarraſſed ſituation: he had traverſed the whole of Baſs's Strait without meeting with the Geographe; his ſtock of proviſions was ſo nearly exhauſted, that he had not ſufficient to laſt till he reached ſome port in the Indies; and before he went thither he had to complete the ſurvey of the ſouth-weſt coaſt of New Holland. In this extremity, the only plan he could adopt was to ſteer for Port Jackſon. After the return therefore of all his boats, he traverſed the ſtrait, doubled Cape Howe, the moſt ſouthern of thoſe diſcovered by Cook, on the 20th April, from this point ſteered N. E. by N. and the next day was in the latitude of Dromedary Point, preciſely on the ſame day and at the ſame hour that it was diſcovered by the immortal Cook, thirty-two years before; and on the 24th April was in ſight of Port Jackſon, in which the next day he caſt anchor.

War ſtill continued between France and England; the famous northern confederation, by placing Great Britain on the very verge of deſtruction *, had rendered more inveterate the ſentiment of national hatred, and Captain Hamelin had reaſon to fear that he ſhould not have been allowed to remain in the port, or at leaſt, that thoſe ſuccours would be refuſed him which he came there to ſeek. But ſhort was his anxiety; the Engliſh received him from the firſt inſtant with that noble and righteous (grande et loyale) liberality, which can only be accounted for, or have been produced, by the perfection to which civilization nas ariſen in Europe. The firſt houſes of the colony were open to our companions, and during the whole of their ſtay, they experienced that delicate and endearing hoſpitality, which does equal honour to thoſe who practiſe it, and thoſe who are its objects. The whole reſources of the country were placed at the diſpoſal of the French captain; and already Captain Hamelin was laying in a complete ſtock of proviſions, to enable him to make the ſurvey of the ſouth-weſt coaſt, when he was plunged into a ſea of doubts (about how to act) by the arrival of Captain Flinders at Port Jackſon. On this occaſion he learnt that the Geographe had been on this very coaſt ſeveral months before; and, as the commodore had ſeveral times repeated to him, that after this voyage he intended to proceed to the Iſle of France, he at length reſolved on proceeding thither: in conſequence, he haſtened his preparations, and ſet ſail the 18th May in the morning, leaving behind him M. Milius, who was very ill.

A few days before the departure of the Naturaliſte, official intelligence had been received of the concluſion of peace between France and Great Britain. This event, however, could add nothing to the friendly ſentiments of the Engliſh at Port Jackſon; but was a ſubject for great rejoicing on the part of our companions. The reflection to them was grateful, in fact, at the inſtant of their departure, that they were about to find their country happy and at peace, and governed by the ſame man who had effected ſuch miracles to inſure that happineſs, and that wiſhed-for peace. Vain deluſions! the demon of war had not yet ſatiated his rage, and even our conſort, as we ſhall elſewhere notice, was nigh becoming one of his earlieſt victims.

* En mettant la Grande Bretagne a deux doigts de ſa perte. The aſſemblage of wiſe men on this expedition muſt have had very crude ideas of the power of Great Britain, to fancy that even her children were alarmed at this northern confederation, much leſs that it could have intimidated the government, or have rendered ſo inveterate the ſentiment of national hatred, as to occaſion either that government or its ſervants to depart from a promiſe given. The confederation, indeed, was inimical to the intereſts of Great Britain, and in conſequence was cruſhed. The thunder of one armament, under the immortal Nelſon made the parties to the confederacy abandon their pretenſions and ſue for peace. So much for placing Great Britain on the very verge of deſtruction. TR.

Satisfied

Satisfied from his own experience, and by all he had heard at Port Jackson, of the danger to be apprehended in Bass's Strait, Captain Hamelin first resolved on bearing directly towards the south, to double the austral point of Diemen's Land; but in order to shorten his course, he determined to attempt, at least, the passage of the Strait; but repeatedly driven back by the western winds and currents, by storms and bad weather, he returned to his primary intention of doubling the South Cape.

The 5th of June he found himself in latitude 44° 55′ S.: the sea ran dreadfully high, and the wind blew with violence, and in outrageous squalls; rain fell in torrents; and, to complete his misfortune, constant west winds opposed his doubling the Cape.

The 8th of June, the same bad weather still continued: the sailors, constantly enveloped in fogs, overcome with fatigue, and reduced to subsist on the most unwholesome food *, loudly complained of so much adversity; and as it seemed impossible to contend with the violence of the winds from the south-west, Captain Hamelin held council with his officers: all agreed on the insufficiency of the provisions on board for a voyage of such bad omen, and which was likely to be of double the length computed. The Captain consequently resolved on tracing back his course, and tacked about for the north: at this time he was in latitude 47° S., exposed to all the rigours of a southern winter, which was now setting in; and the first symptoms of the scurvy already began to manifest themselves among his crew.

The 20th of June he made Maria Island; the 21st was abreast of Furneaux Islands; on the 23d the Ram's Head, on the east coast of New Holland, was distinguished. The sea now, which had been so rough and stormy, ceased to strain the ship; the fogs gradually dispersed; the temperature was milder, and every thing announced to our companions their estrangement from the stormy regions of the extremity of the eastern (southern) world. At length, on the evening of the 27th June, they had sight of Port Jackson, into which they entered the next morning; but owing to calms and baffling winds, they were unable, until the 3d of July, to reach the anchorage, where we had already been lying for several days. Thus were again united a second time, and by the merest chance, two vessels, which the constant perversity of the commodore in refusing to attend to the rendezvous appointed, had compelled twice to cruize by themselves, at those two epochs of our voyage when it would have been most advantageous for them to have acted in concert.

CHAP. XIX. — *Stay at Port Jackson.*

[From the 20th June to 18th November 1802.]

FROM what I have said in the foregoing chapters, the reader will premise that our arrival at Port Jackson could then be no subject of wonder; but how much reason had we for astonishment on beholding the flourishing state of this singular and distant colony. The beauty of the port was the admiration of every one. "From an entrance," says Commodore Phillips,—nor is there any exaggeration in this description,—"from an entrance not more than two miles broad, Port Jackson widens gradually into a great basin, with sufficient depth of water for the largest ships, and spacious enough to contain in perfect safety all that could ever be collected here: nay, a thousand sail of the line could manœuvre in it with greatest ease. It stretches inland about

* How can this possibly be true; Captain Hamelin being now but three weeks out from Port Jackson, where "the whole resources of the government were open to him," and where he had laid in a stock of fresh provisions, to last him till his arrival at the Isle of France? Tr.

Engraved by George Cooke

View of Sydney and the Mouth of the Parramatta.

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thirteen miles in a weſtern direction, and contains at leaſt a hundred ſmall creeks, formed by very narrow tongues of land, which furniſh excellent ſhelter from all winds. For ſpaciouſneſs and ſafety, Port Jackſon is inconteſtibly one of the fineſt ports in the world.

About the middle of this magnificent harbour, and on the ſhore of one of its principal coves on the ſouthern ſide, riſes the town of Sydney, the capital of the county of Cumberland, and all the Engliſh colonies in Auſtralaſia. Built on the ſlope of two neighbouring hills, and traverſed lengthwiſe by a ſmall rivulet, this riſing town has a pleaſing and picturesque appearance. To the right, and on the northern point of Sydney Cove, is ſeen the Signal Battery, built on a rock of difficult acceſs; ſix pieces of cannon, protected by a trench of turf, croſs the fire of another battery, which we ſhall preſently deſcribe, and thus defend, in the moſt efficacious manner, the approach to the town and its peculiar port. Beyond, the large buildings of the hoſpital preſent themſelves, capable of containing two or three hundred ſick: among theſe buildings, that eſpecially is worthy of notice, of which all the pieces, faſhioned in Europe, were brought in the veſſels of Commodore Phillips, and which, a few days after his arrival, was in a ſtate to receive all the ſick he had on board. On this ſame ſide of the town, on the ſea-ſhore, is a very handſome warehouſe, cloſe to which the largeſt veſſels come to diſcharge their cargoes. In different private dock-yards, ſmall craft, and brigs of various tonnage, are on the ſtocks, intended for the internal or exterior commerce of the colony: theſe veſſels, of from 30 to 300 tons burthen, are excluſively conſtructed of country timber, their maſts even being the produce of the Auſtral foreſts. It is noticed in Chap. XIV of this hiſtory, that the diſcovery of the ſtrait, which ſeparates New Holland from Diemen's Land, was effected by a ſimple whale-boat, commanded by M. Baſs, ſurgeon of the ſhip Reliance. Conſecrated, as I may ſay, by this grand diſcovery, this bold navigation, M. Baſs's boat is preſerved in this port with a kind of religious reſpect. Snuff-boxes made of its keel are relics, of which the poſſeſſors are as proud as they are careful, and the governor himſelf imagined he could not make a more reſpectful preſent to our chief than a piece of wood from this boat ſet in a large ſilver etui, round which were engraven the particulars of the diſcovery of Baſs's Strait.

Veſſels belonging to individuals unload at the dock, called the Hoſpital: beyond the hoſpital, and on a line with it, is the priſon, in which are ſeveral cells capable of containing from 150 to 200 priſoners; it is ſurrounded by a lofty and ſtrong wall, and protected night and day by a ſtrong guard. At a little diſtance thence is the warehouſe for wines, ſpirits, ſalt proviſions, and other ſimilar articles; fronting is the parade, where the garriſon every morning muſter to the ſound of a numerous and well-appointed band belonging to the regiment of New South Wales. The whole of the weſtern ſide of the ſquare is occupied by the houſe of the lieutenant-governor, behind which is a vaſt garden, equally intereſting to the philoſopher and the naturaliſt, on account of the great number of uſeful vegetables tranſported thither from all quarters of the globe by its preſent reſpectable proprietor M. Paterſon, member of the Royal Society of London, and a diſtinguiſhed traveller. Between the houſe and the magazine of which I am ſpeaking, is the public ſchool: there, are inſtructed in the principles of religion, morality and virtue, thoſe young girls, the hopes of the growing colony, whoſe parents, of nature too corrupt or too poor, could not themſelves educate with ſufficient care; there, under reſpectable tutoreſſes, they have at an early age inculcated into them to know, reſpect, and cheriſh the duties of a good mother. But let me not anticipate one of the moſt affecting pictures we have to preſent to our readers, but rather reſerve

reſerve the particulars of this venerable inſtitution for the chapter in which I ſhall preſent, in an aggregate view, the fine ſyſtem of colonization purſued on theſe ſhores. At the rear of the houſe of the lieutenant governor, in a very large warehouſe, are depoſited all the dry proviſions and flour belonging to the government: this is a ſort of public granary, eſpecially deſigned for the maintenance of the troops, and thoſe who receive their ſubſiſtence from the ſtate. Along the whole extent of the principal ſquare, called Sydney-ſquare, are the barracks, in front of which are ſeveral pieces of field artillery: the buildings, containing the apartments of the officers, form the lateral parts of this ſquare, and the powder-magazine is in the middle. Near this ſpot, in a ſmall houſe belonging to an individual, the chief civil and military officers are accuſtomed to aſſemble; it is a kind of coffee-houſe maintained by general ſubſcription, in which different games are played, eſpecially billiards.

Behind the parade, which I have previouſly deſcribed, riſes a large ſquare tower, which ſerves as an obſervatory for ſuch of the Engliſh officers as ſtudy aſtronomy: at the foot of this tower are laid the foundations of the church, of which it is intended for the belfry; but a ſtructure of this deſcription, exacting a large expence, many hands, and much time, the governors have hitherto neglected to proſecute it, preferring the formation of thoſe eſtabliſhments more immediately indiſpenſible for the exiſtence and proſperity of the colony. Till the church ſhall be completed, divine ſervice is performed in one of the halls of the large wheat magazine belonging to government. Two handſome wind-mills on the ſummit of the weſtern hill terminate on this ſide the ſeries of the principal public buildings.

On the ſmall rivulet that runs through the town, at the time we were there, was a wooden bridge, which, by means of a ſubſtantial cauſeway, occupied, as I may ſay, the bottom of the valley, through which the ſtream flows*. We ſhall croſs this bridge, in order to take a curſory view of the eaſtern portion of Sydney town.

At the eaſtern point of the cove is a ſecond battery, the fire of which, as we have before obſerved, croſſes that of the Signal battery. On the ſhore, proceeding towards the town, ſmall ſalt-ponds are ſeen, at which ſome Americans, ſettled for this purpoſe at Port Jackſon ever ſince 1795, manufacture by evaporation part of the ſalt employed in the colony. Beyond, and towards the bottom of the port, is the dock called Government Dock, on account of its being exclufively appropriated for the veſſels of government. Between this dock and the ſalt-ponds, is the careening place for ſhipping. The wharf naturally ſlopes in ſuch a manner that, without any labour or expence on the part of the Engliſh, the largeſt veſſels can be laid up without danger.

Near the Government Dock, are three public magazines: in one are ſtowed all articles requiſite for domeſtic uſe, ſuch as potter's-ware, furniture, utenſils of all kinds for the kitchen, &c. farming inſtruments, &c. &c. The number of articles is truly immenſe, and the mode of delivery is marked by wiſdom and liberality. On theſe diſtant ſhores, in fact, European merchandize bears ſuch an extravagant price, that it would have been next to impoſſible for the populace here to procure thoſe articles indiſpenſible for obtaining the firſt wants of life: the Engliſh government, to remedy this, delivers from its plentiful ſtock whatever is required, at ſtated prices, ſome even inferior to thoſe given for the ſame articles in Europe. But, in order to prevent the

* This wooden bridge has been removed ſince our leaving Sydney town to make room for a new ſtone bridge; at the ſame time a water-mill has been conſtructed at this ſpot by government, and ſtrong ſluices have been made, as well to keep back the freſh water, as to reſtrain the incurſion of the tide which uſed to flow a conſiderable diſtance up the valley.

ſpeculations of greedy men, and dilapidation, no one can receive any thing from theſe ſtores without anorder ſpecifying what is to be delivered to him. In a neighbouring ſtore-houſe are kept different clothing, as well for the troops as convicts; here alſo is ſtore of ſail-cloth and cordage for the government ſhips. The laſt of the three edifices is a public work-houſe, where the female convicts and priſoners are kept at labour.

Behind theſe warehouſes ſtands the governor's houſe, built in the Italian ſtyle, ſurrounded by a colonnade equally ſimple and elegant, and having in front a very beautiful plantation which ſlopes down to the ſea-ſhore: already in this plantation are combined a great variety of trees; the pine of Norfolk Iſland, and the ſuperb columbia, riſe by the ſide of the bamboo of Aſia; farther on, the orange of Portugal, and the fig of the Canaries, ripen beneath the ſhade of the apple-tree from the banks of the Seine; the cherry, peach, pear, and apricot, are confounded with the bankſia, metroſederos, corneas, melateucas, caſuarinas, eucalypti, and a number of other indigenous trees. Beyond the government-garden, and on the back of a neighbouring hill, is the wind-mill, ſlaughter-houſe, and ovens, belonging to government; the laſt, eſpecially, deſigned for baking of ſea-biſcuit, and capable of furniſhing daily from 15 to 1800lbs. Not far from a neighbouring cove, at a ſpot called by the natives Wallamoola, is the charming dwelling of the commiſſary-general of government, Mr. Palmer: the grounds are watered by a rivulet of freſh water, which falls into the extremity of a cove that forms a very ſafe and commodious port. Here it is that Mr. Palmer cauſes thoſe ſmall veſſels to be built he employs in the whale and ſeal fiſhery off New Zealand, and in Baſs's Strait. The neighbouring brick-ground, likewiſe, furniſhes a conſiderable number of tiles, bricks, and ſquare tiles for the public and private buildings of the colony.

At a little diſtance to the ſouth of Sydney Town, on the left of the high road to Paramatta, are the remains of the firſt gallows raiſed in New Holland. Driven from its ſite, as I may ſay, by the ſpreading of the houſes, this gallows has been replaced by another in the ſame direction, contiguous to the village of Brick Field. This village, compoſed of about two ſcore houſes, has ſeveral manufactories of tiles, pottery, Fuenza ware, &c.; its poſition is pleaſing, and the neighbouring lands leſs ſterile than the vicinage of Sydney Cove, repay with greater intereſt the various culture introduced into theſe diſtant climates. The great road to Paramatta paſſes through the middle of Brick Field, which alſo is croſſed by a ſmall rivulet before its fall into the extremity of a neighbouring cove. Between this village and Sydney Town is the public burial ground, already remarkable for ſome very large tombs, executed in a ſtyle much ſuperior to what could be expected from the ſtate of the arts in the colony, and the recency of its foundation.

A variety of objects equally intereſting at the ſame time * preſented themſelves before us: in the port we ſaw ſeveral veſſels recently arrived from different quarters of the world, the majority of them deſtined for new and hazardous voyages. Here, from the banks of the Thames or the Shannon, ſome about to proceed to the foggy ſhores of New Zealand, and others, after landing the freight conſigned by the government of England for the colony, about to ſail for the Yellow River of China; ſome laden with coal intended for the Cape of Good Hope and India; many of ſmaller built ready to depart for Baſs's Strait, to collect the furs and ſkins obtained there by men left on the different iſlands to take the amphibii who make them their reſort: Other veſſels again of greater burthen and ſtrength, and well armed, were intended for the weſtern ſhores of

* We obſerved what is above related.

America, deeply laden with merchandize, for a contraband trade with the inhabitants of Peru. Here again one was equipping for the rich traffic in furs on the north-weſt coaſt of America; there all was buſtle to fit out ſtore-ſhips for the Navigators, Friendly, and Society Iſlands, to bring back to the colony the exquiſite ſalt pork of thoſe iſlands. At the ſame inſtant the intrepid M. Flinders, after effecting a junction with his conſort the Lady Nelſon, was preparing to reſume his grand voyage round New Holland, a voyage afterwards terminated by thegreateſt diſaſters *. Already the road to Port Jackſon had become familiar to the Americans, and their flag was inceſſantly flying in this port throughout the whole courſe of our ſtay.

This aſſemblage of grand operations, this conſtant movement of the ſhipping, impreſſed on theſe ſhores a character of importance and activity which we were far from expecting in a country ſo lately known to Europe, and the intereſt it excited increaſed our admiration.

Nor leſs was the population of the colony a ſubject with us for wonder and meditation. Never perhaps was a more worthy ſubject preſented for the ſtudy of the ſtateſman or philoſopher, never perhaps has the happy influence of ſocial inſtitutions been evinced in a more ſtriking or honourable manner, than in theſe diſtant ſhores. Here thoſe formidable peſts, ſo long the terror of their country, are found collected together: outcaſts from European ſociety, baniſhed to the extremity of the globe, and from the firſt inſtant of their exile placed between the certainty of puniſhment and the hope of a happier fate, conſtantly under a vigilance as inflexible as active, they have been fain to renounce their anti-ſocial habitudes. The majority, after having expiated their crimes by a rigorous ſlavery, have entered again into the rank of citizens. Forced to become intereſted in the maintenance of order and juſtice, to maintain the property they have acquired; and become almoſt at the ſame inſtant huſbands and fathers, they are bound to their preſent condition by the moſt powerful as by the deareſt of ties.

Like is the revolution, produced by ſimilar means, among the female ſex; and the once wretched proſtitute, brought by inſenſible degrees to a more regular mode of conduct, now becomes the mother of a family at once intelligent and inclined to toil.

* Alluſions to theſe before has been made, but the moſt terrible diſaſter, and that which ſtamps infamy on the Governor Du Caen and on the French government, who, years after application, refuſed an order for his releaſe, was the impriſonment of Captain Flinders during ſix years and upwards at the Iſle of France. What a contraſt does this circumſtance afford between the two governments! The French navigators were treated like brethren, and relieved from their diſtreſſes at Port Jackſon: the hand of death was ſtopped by Britiſh interpoſition when upreared to ſtrike its victims; and the renovated French, after experiencing "the moſt delicate and generous hoſpitality, were ſent away amply ſtored for their voyage." Captain Flinders, the Engliſh navigator on a ſimilar expedition, after one ſhip being condemned at Port Jackſon, and the other loſt at ſea, made the Iſle of France in a ſmall veſſel of 29 tons. The French navigators had arrived there before him; their reception by the Engliſh at Sydney Cove, and every where on the iſland and at ſea, was known at the Iſle of France; the French *gentlemen* on board the Naturaliſte and the Geographe, (among which certainly was M. Peron,) had not been ſilent; they had extolled in even higher terms than it merited the kindneſs they had received, and warmly ſpoke of the civility, the intrepidity, and ſkill of Captain Flinders. Reader, in return for the hoſpitality of the Engliſh, though known in his real character to the governor, Captain Flinders was treated as a ſpy, ſhut up in a cloſe room at Port Louis at a time the ſun was vertical, and when freſh air was ſtated by the ſurgeon who attended him for the ſurvey, to be indiſpenſable, for *fifteen* weeks; and, only at the interceſſion of the worthy Captain Bergeret, after that period, *as a favour*, was transferred to the priſon where other officers were kept. Here he la iſhed *ſeventeen months longer*, and when a cartel was eſtabliſhed for an exchange of priſoners between th iſland and India, Captain Flinders was the only one excluded from its benefit. After this period, to ſave the trouble of a guard for only one priſoner, he was indeed allowed to live in the interior of the iſland, but continually experienced marks of the tyrannical caprice of the governor for *four years and a half longer*, in ſpite of all interceſſion for his releaſe. Reader! the name of this ſavage governor was Du Caen. He is now our priſoner, and *in himſelf* has to experience the difference of the civilization and humanity of the two nations. Tr.

But not only in the moral character of theſe women do we notice this important change: their phyſical condition likewiſe undergoes a modification at once ſuited to enlighten the legiſlator and the naturaliſt, and which on this account merits further detail. It is known to every one that common proſtitutes in large capitals very rarely have children: at Peterſburgh as at Madrid, at Paris as in London, pregnancy is almoſt a phenomenon among courtezansof this deſcription, although, by any thing that can be gathered from them, no other reaſon is aſſigned but a want of aptitude for conception. The difficulty of experiments had hitherto left undecided how far this barrenneſs is to be attributed to the mode of life of theſe women, and whether it is liable to removal by reformation of conduct; but both theſe problems have been reſolved by the occurrences in this ſingular ſettlement. After one or two years' reſidence at Port Jackſon moſt of the Engliſh proſtitutes become remarkably prolific; and what, in my opinion, evidently proves that this effect is leſs to be aſcribed to the climate than a change of life in theſe women, is the circumſtance that thoſe whom the police ſuffer to continue their ſhameful courſes, remain as in Europe conſtantly barren. We may hence therefore deduce this double axiom, of ſuch importance in phyſiology, — that exceſs of venery impairs the organs of woman, and exhauſts her ſenſibility to that degree as to render her incapable of conceiving; and that, to reſtore to thoſe organs their priſtine functions, all that is required is abſtinence from this deſtructive exceſs, and a ſubſtitution of that moderation which conſtitutes the real pleaſure of enjoyment, as that alone can lengthen its duration.

While theſe different objects were the ſubject of deepeſt meditation with us, all the officers and citizens of the colony were aſſiduous in remedying our misfortunes, and in their efforts to make us forget them. Our numerous ſick, admitted into the hoſpitals of government, were attended with niceſt care by the Engliſh ſurgeons. M. Thomſon, chief phyſician of the colony, himſelf preſcribed for them, and was unremitting in his viſits. Whatever the country afforded was placed at our diſpoſal. The governor-general gave our commander an unlimited credit on the public treaſury, and delivered to him printed bills on the government, with blanks, which he was at liberty to fill up with whatſoever ſum he found neceſſary; and theſe bills, without any other guarantee than the ſignature of the French commodore, were received by the citizens with a confidence highly honourable to the government of our country *. Our ſalt proviſions, our taffia, (bad rum) and biſcuit, were expended; in recruiting our ſtock of theſe important articles every facility was afforded, and oftentimes were the government's ſtores opened to us for obtaining ſuch articles the merchants could not furniſh. Thanks to aſſiſtance ſo ample, we were enabled to new clothe our crew, who were in want of every

* Here is another miſtake: though certainly in many reſpects a good naturaliſt, when he touches on things without his immediate province, M. Peron wades beyond his depth. Nothing leſs than a compliment to the French government was intended by the coloniſts who accepted theſe bills; if they were government bills *(cedules royales)* which M. Baudin had given him by the governor, the bills had the government ſtamp, and were received becauſe the receivers knew they would have value for them with the Engliſh government, unleſs they were forged. Now forgery in New South Wales is puniſhed with death, if detected; the vigilance of the police inſures detection, as is before obſerved; and the gallows, as likewiſe is noticed by M. Peron, is at hand. Separate from theſe conſiderations, the coloniſts could not imagine other than that the French commodore had had theſe bills given him by the governor as the repreſentative of government; and they conſequently looked to him for payment, without the ſlighteſt degree regarding in the tranſaction that French government, in which, according to Peron, the acceptance in payment of theſe bills was "une confiance bien honorable." Tr.

thing; to repair our two ſhips; to buy a third; and finally to reſume the continuation of our voyage.

In the mean time our ſcientific reſearches met with every encouragement. An Engliſh guard was mounted to protect our obſervatory, placed on the north point of the eaſtern ſide of Sydney Cove. The whole country was open to the incurſions of the naturaliſts. Though ſo rarely permitted, even to the inhabitants of theſe regions, we, as well as our people, were allowed to carry our fuſils; guides and interpreters were appointed to attend us in our longer incurſions: in ſhort, the procedure of the Engliſh government here, with reſpect to us, was ſo noble, ſo generous, that to fail in the acknowledgment of our gratitude on this occaſion would prove us void of every principle of honour and juſtice *.

Imitating thoſe in power, all the coloniſts treated us with the moſt delicate kindneſs. Each of them, no doubt mindful of the noble procedure of France with reſpect to the veſſels of Cook† and Vancouver‡, ſeemed emulous of acquitting himſelf a part of the honourable debt of the Engliſh nation towards our own. Oftentimes did they repeat with complacency that excellent maxim, which France firſt inſcribed on the code of European nations: "*Cauſa ſcientiarum, cauſa populoram.*" §

In the mean time the main object of our ſtay at Port Jackſon was proſecuted by all with equal ardour. While the ſailors were repairing the damages ſuſtained by our veſſels, and collecting ſtores for the voyage, the naturaliſts extended their reſearches to every portion of the phyſical hiſtory of this intereſting country. The ſcurvy, which had ſtiffened my ſwollen joints, already began to give way to the genial influence of good nouriſhment and of the climate: I directed my firſt ſteps towards Botany Bay, the mouth of which is ſome leagues to the ſouth of Port Jackſon. A broad and commodious road runs from Sydney Town to this bay: all the intermediate country is arid, ſandy, apparently unadapted to any ſpecies of culture, and conſequently is deſtitute of any European dwellings. The ground, after riſing into the lofty hill, at the foot of which is Mr. Palmer's ſeat, ſlopes into a ſandy plain extending to the marſhy banks of Cook's River. Different ſpecies of hakea, ſtyphelia, eucalyptus, bankſia, embothryum, and caſuarina, ſpring up among the ſands; and large plots are excluſively covered with the xanthorrœa, whoſe gigantic ears ſprout at the height of ſix to ſeven meters‖ from the

* No author, whoſe work has paſſed through the Imperial preſs, has preſumed, with the exception of M. Peron, however it may have been deſerved, to ſpeak thus highly of any thing Engliſh. M. Peron died ſhortly after the publication of this firſt volume; and the ſecond, though printed three years back, has not yet been publiſhed. Tr.

† To the honour of the court of France, on occaſion of the 3d voyage of Captain Cook, then on his return home, the following reſcript, dated 19th March 1779, was ſent by M. Sartine, at that time ſecretary of marine, to all commanders of French ſhips: "Captain Cook, who ſailed from Plymouth in July 1776, on board the Reſolution, in company with the Diſcovery, Captain Clerke, in order to inveſtigate the coaſts, iſlands, and ſeas of Japan and California, being on the point of returning to Europe, and reſearches of ſimilar nature being of univerſal utility; it is the King's pleaſure that Captain Cook ſhall be treated as a commander of a neutral and friendly power; and that all captains of armed veſſels, &c. who may meet that celebrated navigator, ſhall make him acquainted with theſe orders of the King; but at the ſame time admoniſh him that he muſt refrain from all hoſtilities." Tr.

‡ At a time when every principle of juſtice was diſregarded in France, the National Convention enacted a law, ordaining reſpect to be ſhewn to the veſſels of Vancouver, and that they ſhould have all aſſiſtance rendered them they might need.—M. Peron. Thus even the National Convention, *when every principle of juſtice was diſregarded in France*, reſpected more the laws of nations and humanity than has done the preſent ſovereign in the inſtance of Captain Flinders before noticed. Tr.

§ The cauſe of ſcience is the people's cauſe. ‖ 15½ to 23 Engliſh feet.

ground.

ground. In the diſtance riſes the ſmoak of different fires; they are thoſe of the unfortunate hordes who dwell on theſe gloomy ſhores.

On approaching Botany Bay the ground gradually declines, and ſinks at length into dangerous marſhes, formed by the ſalt water of Cook River northward, and that of the river St. George towards the ſouth. Theſe marſhes are of ſuch vaſt extent and ſometimes ſo deep, as in different parts to be impaſſable towards the ſea. On the margin of them, and along the banks of both the rivers mentioned, vegetation is exceedingly flouriſhing; thouſands of trees of different kinds, and numerous ſhrubs crowded together, have an enchanting appearance, and preſent ſuch a ſhew of fertility, that Captain Cook and his illuſtrious companions themſelves were deceived by it. Much, indeed, is wanting in this celebrated bay to juſtify thoſe hopes conceived of it from their brilliant deſcription. Choked by large ſand-banks, and open to the eaſt and ſouth winds, it is not itſelf ſafe on all occaſions; while the marſhy quality of the neighbourhood renders it at once inſalubrious and unfit for general cultivation. Hence Commodore Phillips, after ſurveying Port Jackſon, ſpeedily abandoned Botany Bay; and from that time no other eſtabliſhment has been preſerved there than a kiln for burning lime, which is ſupplied by ſhells found on this coaſt in great abundance. Botany Bay and its vicinage are known to the aborigines by the name of Gwea, and to this part belongs the tribe of ſavages called Gwea-Gal, who acknowledge for their chief Ben-nil-long, an individual the intereſting hiſtory of whom will be given elſewhere.

About twenty-five miles weſt of Sydney Cove is the town of Roſe Hill, or Paramatta; this I early viſited, accompanied by the chief phyſician of the Naturaliſte, M. Bellefin; a ſerjeant of the regiment of New South Wales ſerved us for a guide, and by order of Colonel Paterſon was directed to procure us the means of extending our reſearches as far as poſſible. A high road leads from Sydney Town to Paramatta: without being paved it is handſome, and well kept, and in almoſt every part is wide enough to admit three carriages abreaſt: bridges have been thrown over thoſe ſpots neceſſary, and the progreſs of the traveller meets with no impediment. Cut through the middle of thoſe vaſt foreſts ſo long reſpected by the axe, this high road preſents to view an immenſe avenue of trees and verdure. Beneath theſe tufty ſhades a grateful coolneſs reigns perpetually; and their ſilent quietude is alone diſturbed by the cries and frolics of ſhining parroquets, and the other airy inhabitants of the foreſt.

The country to Roſe Hill is almoſt generally flat, being chequered only by a few gentle riſings. Proportionally to the diſtance from the ſea it becomes leſs ſterile, and the vegetable reign preſents more varied produce. In ſome places there are larger intervals between the trees; here a very ſlender and odoriferous herbage carpets the ſurface with verdure: amid theſe paſtures it is thoſe numerous flocks of ſheep are reared we ſhall notice in another part. The mild temperature of theſe climates, and the peculiar and pleaſing fragrance of the chief part of their food, have proved ſo congenial to theſe valuable animals, that the fineſt races of Spain and England alike ſucceed; nor have they to dread the ravage of the wolf, for neither wolves nor any obnoxious animal whatever exiſt in the country to moleſt them. Already, as is ſaid, does the wool of theſe antarctic flocks exceed the rich fleece of the Aſturias, and the Engliſh manufacturers pay for it a higher price than for Spaniſh wool. In the general picture of the colonies of the Engliſh in Auſtralaſia I ſhall dwell more at length on this article; one which promiſes to Great Britain a new branch of commerce at once eaſy of practice and lucrative.

On the way, at intervals, the foreſt opens, and lands of various extent, redeemed from ſhades, are ſeen brought into culture; the traveller diſtinguiſhes comfortable dwellings,

dwellings, ſhielded by umbrageous and elegant trees: he contemplates with much emotion theſe new fields, on which the ſlender gramina of the north riſe on the wreck of the mighty eucalyptus; and ſees delighted ſo far from their native plains the moſt uſeful animals of his cheriſhed home. Here the large dew-lapped bull bounds with a vigour exceeding even that of its famous Iriſh ſire; the cow, more fecund in theſe leſs chilly climes, yields milk in larger portions than what ſhe does in ours; the Engliſh horſe here ſhews an equal ſtrength and equal ſpirit with that on the banks of the Thames; while the hog of Europe is improved by numerous croſſes with that of the South Seas, which ſurpaſſes it in ſhape, in lard, and fleſh. Neither have all kinds of poultry ſucceeded leſs than larger animals, the farm-yards ſwarming with numerous varieties of turkies, geeſe, fowl, ducks, pheaſants, &c., many of which are preferable to the fineſt in Europe.

Still more is the traveller intereſted on viſiting the interior of the houſes. Beneath theſe rural ſheds, in the midſt of deepeſt foreſts, dwell now in peace thoſe men whoſe lawleſs life was formerly the dread of Europe, men familiarized with and living but by crimes, to whoſe atrocities there ſeemed to be no end but that which puniſhment and death ſhould put: here dwelt ſwindlers, thieves, and knaves of all deſcriptions, worthleſs vermin which ſeem to multiply the more, the more ſociety improves: all theſe wretches, the refuſe and diſhonour of their country, by the moſt inconceivable of metamorphoſes, become laborious huſbandmen, and peaceful and happy ſubjects. In fact, murder or robbery are things unheard of in the colony, where in theſe reſpects the moſt perfect ſafety reigns. Happy effect of the laws, equally rigid and beneficent, by which it is governed, and to which we ſhall have occaſion to revert in another portion of the work.

The more at our eaſe to enjoy this intereſting ſcene, M. Belleſin and myſelf frequently entered their rural abodes. Every where we met with the moſt obliging welcome; and as we noticed the tender care of the mothers for their children, and conſidered that, but a few years before theſe ſame women, void of every tender and delicate feeling, were nothing but abandoned proſtitutes, this unuſual revolution in their moral conduct gave origin to reflections of the moſt gentle and philanthropic nature.

At length we came within ſight of Paramatta, ſituated in the middle of a pleaſant plain, on a cognominal river which admits the navigation of boats thus high. This town, of leſs extent than Sydney Town, conſiſts of 180 houſes, which form a very large ſtreet parallel with the river, and cut at right angles by an inferior one, terminated at one end by a ſtone bridge and at the other by the church. This laſt edifice, the ſtructure of which is mean and heavy, was not yet completed when we viſited the town; and the progreſs towards its completion is ſlow, as the governors of the colony, with reaſon, conſider other neceſſary works of greater importance; hoſpitals, for example, priſons, work-houſes, clearing of land, the fiſhery, ſhip-building, &c. on which in preference the convicts and the funds of the colony are chiefly employed.

At one of the extremities of the great ſtreet of Paramatta are barracks, capable of receiving from 250 to 300 infantry; they are built of brick in ſhape of a horſe-ſhoe, and embrace a large ſpace, kept in excellent order and well covered with ſand, where the troops parade. The force at this time at Paramatta conſiſted of 120 men of the regiment of New South Wales, under the command of Captain Piper.

The entire population of Paramatta, comprehending the garriſon and inhabitants of the neighbouring farms, almoſt the whole of whom are addicted to agriculture, tending cattle, and a few mechanical employments, may be computed at from 1400 to 1500 *.

* In 1796 the population of Paramatta was 975; and at that time the town had not been founded above eight years.

Here

Here is a well appointed hoſpital, of which M. D'Arcy Wentworth is chief phyſician, a tolerably ſtrong priſon, a work-houſe for female convicts, a public ſchool for girls, &c. This town is moreover the reſidence of a juſtice of the peace for the county of Cumberland, and is intended to be the principal ſeat of the civil adminiſtration of the colony, Sydney continuing to be that for what may relate to navigation, commerce, and war.

Towards the weſtern extremity of the main ſtreet of Paramatta is Roſe Hill, whence the town firſt received its name; but that of Paramatta given by the natives to this part of the country generally prevails, even among the Engliſh themſelves. The whole eaſtern part of Roſe Hill preſents an extremely gentle ſlope towards the town, on which is the garden of government. There intereſting experiments for the naturalization of exotics are purſued with ardour; and there are collected the moſt remarkable indigenous plants, intended to enrich the royal gardens at Kew; thence alſo have been imported into England thoſe which it has latterly acquired, and which have proved ſuch valuable acquiſitions to the botanical works of that country. A well-informed botaniſt, M. Cayley, ſent from Europe, has the ſuperintendance of the garden; and the learned Colonel Paterſon, to whom New South Wales is indebted for this eſtabliſhment, has conſtantly taken great intereſt in its improvement.

The ſide of Roſe Hill oppoſite to Paramatta is ſteep, and forms a large creſcent, which at firſt ſight might be taken for the effect of human labour. At the foot of this ſingular hill runs a ſtream, of little conſequence in general, but which, at the period of inundations, ſo frequent and ſo terrible in theſe climates, is ſwollen ſo as greatly to damage the neighbouring plantations.

On the ſummit of Roſe Hill ſtands the government-houſe of Paramatta *; it is ſimple, elegant, and well planned, but receives its chief recommendation from its ſite, which commands the town, its meadows, the neighbouring woods, and the river. This houſe is commonly uninhabited; but its apartments and furniture are ſo contrived that as often as the governor and lieutenant-governor came to Paramatta they can be commodiouſly accommodated, as well as their families and ſuite.

To add an additional charm to ſuch a beautiful ſite, the Engliſh governors planted here the firſt vineyards formed in the colony: if the vine had ſucceeded on the back of the creſcent which I have noticed, the government-houſe would then have been ſurrounded on this point by a rich amphitheatre of cluſters of grape and verdure; but experience unfortunately has proved that the ſite was the leaſt adapted of any that could have been choſen for this ſpecies of culture, for a portion of the hill is expoſed to the north-weſt winds, the moſt dreaded of any in this part of New Holland.

Hence, notwithſtanding the promiſe of ſucceſs held forth for plantations of this deſcription by the temperature of the climate and nature of the ſoil, the reſult of the experiments, made at conſiderable coſt, have hitherto been of a very diſcouraging nature.

In vain have the beſt plants of the Cape of Good Hope, of the Canaries, Madeira, Xeres, and Bourdeaux, been introduced here; in vain the moſt intelligent vine-dreſſers of Europe been employed; the activity and intelligence of theſe men have been rendered abortive by the terrible N. W. winds. On a ſecond trip to Paramatta, in company with Colonel Paterſon, I had frequent opportunities of interrogating the vine-dreſſers, two of whom were from Bourdeaux; all of them agreed that the climate and ſoil perfectly ſuited the vine, but, in their opinion, as long as the government perſiſted in continuing the plantation at Roſe Hill, it was impoſſible they ſhould ſucceed. "In no part of the world," obſerved they, "does the vine ſhoot forth in greater ſtrength and vigour than

* This houſe is called the Creſcent, from the ſingular form of the hill on which it ſtands.

here.

here. Every thing for the ſpace of two or three months combines to promiſe the moſt bountiful vintage; but ſoon as the ſlighteſt breeze from the N. W. is felt, all hope is deſtroyed; buds, flowers, and leaves alike become the victims of its fiery breath, and wither and die away."

Taught by experience and the remonſtrance of theſe vine-dreſſers, Governor King has at length reſolved to tranſport the vines to a part of the country ſelected by theſe men, which ſeems likely to anſwer the moſt ſanguine expectations.

Whatever be the reſult of this new attempt, we may be fully aſſured that the Engliſh government will not abandon the proſecution of the culture of the vine; a culture which ſoon would be productive of the greateſt advantage, until every likelihood of ſucceſs ſhall have vaniſhed. In fact, by one of thoſe chances difficult to comprehend, Great Britain is the only one of the dominant maritime powers which does not produce wine, either on its immediate territory or in its colonies, although the conſumption of this article, on board its fleets and throughout the immenſe regions ſubject to its empire, is immenſe. Obliged to import enormous quantities of this beverage from Portugal, [Sicily] and France, ſhe ſees with regret a conſiderable portion of her capital annually abſorbed by purchaſes of this article, and is anxiouſly ſolicitous of the means of freeing herſelf from this onorous tribute *. It was chiefly with this view, as we have in a former part of the work obſerved, that ſhe attempted during the laſt war the conqueſt of the Canary iſlands; this alſo was one of her motives for twice attacking the Cape of Good Hope. What ſhe was unable to obtain, or what ſhe aſſuredly will only have temporarily obtained by force of arms, ſhe endeavours and hopes to effect by means of her colonies in Auſtralaſia; and, notwithſtanding the obſtacles I have recounted there can be no doubt but ultimately ſhe will effect her purpoſe. But, without dwelling longer on this point, let us return to the deſtructive winds of the north-weſt, which preſent one of thoſe numerous phenomena peculiar to New Holland; the explanation or even the exiſtence of which ſeems, at variance with the leaſt diſputed principles of the general phyſics of great continents and their meteorological hiſtory.

The county of Cumberland, which comprehends all the preſent eſtabliſhments of Great Britain in New South Wales, is bounded on the eaſt by the wide Auſtral Ocean; on the north by Broken Bay and the river Hawkeſbury, of which we ſhall ſhortly ſpeak; on the weſt by a chain of mountains which, bending above Broken Bay and below Botany Bay, ſurrounds in ſhape of a creſcent the whole county. Theſe

* This aſſertion is not proved by the meaſures of the miniſtry; and it is even queſtionable whether any financial regulations, the only ones that could in the preſent ſtate of affairs be adopted, would be effectual to alienate the national taſte for the accuſtomed wines, and moſt eſpecially for that very inſipid wine Red Port: an experiment might yet be made; the Cape of Good Hope belongs to us, and lands, which might be cultivated to any extent, adapted to the culture of the vine. The plants indeed tranſported to the Cape have in almoſt every inſtance changed their quality, but in ſome for the better, eſpecially the Madeira grape. Cape Madeira, if it were generally known, and if the duty ſhould be reduced (as it is the production of a colony of our own) to the ſame proportion with reſpect to Portugal wine as the duty of rum bears to that of brandy, that is to ſay, to two-thirds of the duty on Portugal wine, would be preferred to all other wines, port excepted, and might even compete for ſale with that. It is equally ſtrong with Madeira, pleaſant to the taſte, and poſſeſſes a briſkneſs analagous to Champagne. While five millions annually, on the average of many of the years laſt paſt, are paid by this country for the balance of its imports of grain and corn alone, it certainly behoves the miniſtry to leſſen as much as poſſible the further exit from the country of ſpecie, eſpecially when its ſcarcity is conſidered; and what mode would be more ſecure of this end, and at the ſame time of calling back the immenſe ſums lately ſent to Portugal and Spain, than rendering unneceſſary the import of wines from theſe countries, or at leaſt leſſening the quantity imported from them, a quantity amounting annually to from 30 to 36,000 tons, and at the preſent extravagant prices drawing from the nation from 12 to 1500,000 pounds; this alſo, excluſive of wines carried by American and Britiſh ſhips to our foreign poſſeſſions in the Eaſt and Weſt, from France, Portugal, Madeira and Spain. Tr.

mountains are only a ſlender portion of the great chain which from the moſt northern cape of New Holland advances along the eaſtern coaſt of the continent to its ſouthern extremity, and is joined by the groupes of Kents and Furneaux iſlands, with the frowning mountains of Diemen's Land, which appear to be at once a prolongation of the former and their concluſion.

With a general direction, like the Cordelleras, from north to ſouth, theſe mountains of New Holland have a ſingular reſemblance in diſpoſition to the Andes of South America. No one, indeed, is ignorant that this mighty chain approaches ſo near to the weſtern ſhores of South America that it leaves but a very narrow plain between its flanks and the ſea, while eaſtward of this chain ſpread immenſe vallies, in midſt of which roll the amazing volumes of water that form the Plate, the Oronooko, and the Amazon rivers.

In New Holland nature has followed a ſimilar but inverted plan to that in South America. On the eaſtern coaſt here is found the chain of mountains of which we are ſpeaking: not only are very few traces of them perceptible on the weſtern ſhores, but all that has been ſeen of this laſt part ſeems to announce that, in this direction, plains exiſt analogous to thoſe of Guinea, Brazil, and Paraguay. Unfortunately, between theſe plains and thoſe of South America the difference is extreme: the former every where covered with a rich and deep bed of vegetable earth, watered in all directions by large ſtreams and innumerable rivers, exhibit the pleaſing picture of unbounded fertility; while the diſmal ſhores on the weſt of New Holland, covered with an arid ſand, deſtitute of any river, and poſſeſſing merely ſome few ſtreams of freſh water, ſeem devoted by nature to the moſt frightful barrenneſs. It is, however, ſufficient I ſhould have pointed out theſe grand phenomena in the phyſical conſtitution of the continent of which I treat; phenomena on which elſewhere I ſhall more amply dwell: to the mountains of Cumberland, previouſly, it is fit I ſhould revert.

Theſe, although deſignated officially by the names Carmarthen and Lanſdowne, are ſo generally known by the title of the Blue Mountains by the Engliſh coloniſts, and by thoſe authors who have treated of them hitherto, that it ſeems to me indiſpenſable to mention them under this denomination.

In clear weather theſe mountains are readily diſtinguiſhed from the upper part of Sydney Town, that is to ſay, the diſtance of fifty miles: they here preſent the appearance of a blueiſh curtain, raiſed but in a ſmall degree above the horizon, and the uniformity of which ſcarcely admits ſuſpicion of their conſiſting of different tiers. Seen from the heights of Caſtle Hill, that is to ſay, five-and-twenty miles away, their ſummits appear leſs regular: at intervals ſome bold peaks are perceived, and the different tiers appear like ſo many lines, riſing in height as they advance deeper into the country, and the dull colour of which ſeems to indicate their being arid and bare.

Viewed from the vicinage of the Hawkeſbury, at the diſtance of but eight or ten miles, "they reſemble," ſays M. Bailly, "a vaſt curtain, which limits the horizon on the north-weſt: no break, no peak, varies the outline; an horizontal line, above which is diſtinguiſhed another regular tier of mountains of a browner ſhade, depicts the melancholy aſpect of theſe mountains." On advancing to the foot of theſe ſame mountains, M. Bailly obſerved the ſame uniformity in their length, the ſame continuity in their ſummits; the only break they preſent, in fact, in this part, is that from which the river Groſe precipitates; a river the ſource of which, as yet unknown, appears to be at diſtance in the interior of the mountains, and which, by its junction with the river Nepean, conſtitutes the famous Hawkeſbury River, of which we ſhall have to ſay ſo much in the courſe of this hiſtory.

The height of the firſt tier of the Blue Mountains exceeds not from to 600 meters *; their ſtructure conſiſts excluſively of the ſame kind of quartzy freeſtone which forms the baſe of the neighbourhood of Sydney Town, of the hills on which it is ſituate, and of the whole extent of country which from the ſea-ſhore ſpreads to the foot of the mountains. Wherever the Engliſh have penetrated, they have found nothing but this freeſtone; and, notwithſtanding they have advanced in a direct line forty miles into the mountains, they have never yet diſcovered any kind of primitive rock. We ſhall, however, ſee in a little time that, from collections made by M. Depuch and Bailly, in the deep bed of the river Hawkeſbury, there can remain no doubt of the Blue Mountains being fundamentally of primitive and granitic origin: but the numerous obſtacles we ſhall have to recount have hitherto prevented Europeans from reaching the granitic plateaux of the interior.

The apparently ſlight elevation of the Blue Mountains, and their uniformity, not allowing the Engliſh at firſt to ſuſpect the difficulty of exploring them, they were ſatisfied, in the infancy of the colony, with ſending a few men to ſcale their ſummits. At the ſame epoch, ſeveral convicts, ſeeking to free themſelves from ſlavery, endeavoured to paſs this formidable barrier: ſome of theſe died in the undertaking, and the others were conſtrained to abandon this ſcheme of enfranchiſement.

It was not until the month of December 1789, that the government itſelf reſolved on attempting their exploration. With this view, Lieutenant Dawes was diſpatched with a conſiderable detachment of troops, and a ſtock of proviſions for ten days; but after much fatigue and many hazards, he returned to Port Jackſon, without having been able to penetrate more than nine miles into the interior of the mountains. According to his account, his progreſs was ſtopped by impaſſable ravines and chains of very lofty rocks, exceedingly ſteep and precipitous.

Eight months after the expedition of Lieutenant Dawes, that is to ſay, in the month of Auguſt 1790, Captain Tench himſelf ſet out with a very ſtrong eſcort of ſoldiers, and all the articles requiſite for renewing the attempt of paſſing theſe mountains; but Captain Tench was not more fortunate than his predeceſſor.

Diſcouraged by the want of ſucceſs, the Engliſh government ſuffered three years to elapſe without making any new attempt; and if ſome few expeditions, equally fruitleſs, made for the purpoſe by individuals, be excepted, nothing was effected in the interval towards the diſcovery of the weſtern country. The celebrated M. Paterſon at length recalled the attention of government to the Blue Mountains, and he himſelf, in September 1793, was charged with the new expedition, to render which ſucceſsful nothing was neglected. The plan of M. Paterſon was, after reconnoitring the mouth of Broken Bay, to aſcend the river Hawkeſbury as high as it is navigable, and thus at once reach the foot of the mountains. To facilitate the navigation of the river, two extremely light boats were conſtructed, on board of which was embarked a plentiful ſtore of proviſions, ammunition, ladders of cord, grapples, cordage, &c. A ſtrong eſcort of ſoldiers accompanied the colonel; ſeveral of the moſt intrepid highlanders of Scotland were of the party; and ſome of the natives of Port Jackſon were to ſerve as guides: finally, M. Paterſon himſelf was habituated from earlieſt infancy to climbing the ſteepeſt mountains of Scotland, where he was born, and had become familiarized, by his long travels in the midſt of Africa, with all the incidental privations of a ſimilar excurſion: thus, as is premiſed, nothing which could enſure the effectuation of the object of the

* 1300 to 2000 feet.

enterprize

enterprize was omitted. Still the obſtacles and difficulties met with rendered null all the preparations made, and M. Paterſon was not more fortunate than the previous adventurers. After diſcovering the river Groſe, which falls into the Hawkeſbury above Richmond-Hill, he advanced farther into the country the ſpace of about 10 miles, aſcending ſeveral cataracts, one of which ran at the rate of from 10 to 12 miles in the hour. Shortly after, navigation became impracticable; one of the two boats ſunk, and the other grounded on ſome trunks of trees which obſtructed the courſe of the river. In vain did the party continue to advance; the number of the cataracts encreaſed, one of them falling from a perpendicular height of 130 meters*; frightful precipices ſurrounded them on all ſides; one ridge of mountains ſurmounted ſerved but to ſhew others, ſtill increaſing in aridity, and in difficulty to ſcale: at length it became neceſſary to return. In front of the ſpot which the party reached was a very large peak, denominated Harrington Peak by Colonel Paterſon. On this excurſion it was that the coloniſts had their firſt communication with the Bâ-dia-Gal, a ſingular people, who live in the vicinage of the Hawkeſbury River, and who differ from the natives of Port Jackſon and thoſe of Botany Bay in manners, language, mode of life, and above all, in a ſingularly remarkable characteriſtic of their phyſical conformation: all the individuals of this race have their arms and thighs diſproportionately long with reſpect to the reſt of the body. But as obſervations of this kind will with more propriety be preſented in a different part of this work, among others, I ſhall continue the hiſtory of theſe ſingular mountains.

A year had not yet elapſed before other adventurers ſcaled theſe mountains†. The individual who attempted the deſperate undertaking of paſſing them, was the quarter-maſter of the Sirius, one Hacking, an intrepid and ſpirited man, who was accompanied by others of equally determined character. Ten days were employed by this party in ſeeking a paſs; their efforts were not altogether miſpent: they penetrated about 20 miles farther than thoſe by whom they had been preceded, but ultimately were forced to return. Beyond the different peaks diſcovered by Hacking, the mountains preſented ſtill additional tiers, which he deemed even more difficult to ſurmount than thoſe he had paſſed; from north to ſouth they formed an immenſe bulwark, and were frightfully arid. The interior peaks conſiſted of a reddiſh freeſtone of ferruginous nature. Among theſe mountains but one ſavage was diſtinguiſhed, who, at the ſight of the Engliſh, fled with precipitation: the only ſpecies of quadruped ſeen was a ſort of red kanguroo, hitherto unknown to naturaliſts, and which will doubtleſs form one of the moſt curious ſpecies of this genus of animals, ſo remarkable in its form and habitudes.

Among the moſt intereſting characters of this Auſtral colony muſt be placed M. Baſs, ſurgeon of the Reliance, who, in a ſlight whale-boat, dared to venture on an unknown ſea, and diſcovered the famous ſtrait to which his name was affixed by public gratitude. This extraordinary perſonage was alſo ſolicitous of attempting to paſs the Blue Mountains; and in the month of June 1796 ſet off for the purpoſe, accompanied by a ſmall number of men, on whoſe courage and ſkill he could depend. Never in an attempt of this kind was greater hardihood diſplayed. With his feet and hands armed with iron hooks, M. Baſs ſeveral times climbed the moſt ſteep and horrible mountains. Repeatedly ſtopped by precipices, he cauſed himſelf to be let down them with cords. Great as this zeal, it was of no conſequence; and after fifteen days of fatigue and unparalleled danger, M. Baſs returned to Sydney, confirming further by his inefficiency

* 426 Engliſh feet. † In Auguſt 1794.

the impracticability of penetrating beyond theſe ſingular mountains. From the ſummit of a very elevated peak, which he aſcended, M. Baſs diſcovered before him, at the diſtance of 40 or 50 miles, another chain of mountains of a ſuperior elevation to any of thoſe he had hitherto paſſed, and the intermediate ſpace preſented obſtacles and dangers equally great with thoſe in his rear. In this perilous excurſion the party ſuffered exceedingly from thirſt, their proviſion of water being expended, and no means of recruiting it being found in theſe arid mountains. "When," ſaid M. Baſs to me, "we by chance diſcovered any moiſt earth or mud in the crevices of rocks, we applied our handkerchiefs to the ſurface, and ſucked as forcibly as poſſible, in order to imbibe the remaining moiſture."

Such, to the period of our arrival at Port Jackſon, had been the reſult of the different efforts to paſs the Blue Mountains. Tired of the expence and fruitleſſneſs of the enterprize, the Engliſh government for ſome years ceaſed to regard it as a matter of any conſequence. My companions and myſelf, however, ſucceeded in perſuading Governor King, towards the cloſe of our ſtay, that is to ſay, in October 1802, to iſſue orders for a renewal of the undertaking. The direction of the expedition was confided to M. Bareillier, a French emigrant, an engineer belonging to the colony, and aide-de-camp to the governor. I was myſelf anxious to accompany this party, but M. King did not conceive himſelf juſtified in extending his complaiſance ſo far as to grant me permiſſion. To the different precautions uſed on anterior expeditions, was ſuperadded the ingenious plan of ſtationing ſmall poſts at various intervals, increaſing in number in proportion to the advance into the interior of the mountains, and thus forming an active chain of communication between the advancing party and the neareſt Engliſh eſtabliſhment. The ſame fate which attended the others awaited the attempt of M. Bareillier; it does not even appear that he was able to penetrate ſo far as ſome of his predeceſſors. From this weariſome excurſion he brought back only a ſmall number of ſpecimens of freeſtone, ſimilar to that of the ſea-ſhore, and of the intervening ſpace between it and the mountains.

What is more ſingular in the hiſtory of theſe mountains, the natives of this country know as little of them as the Europeans. All agree in the impoſſibility of clearing this weſtern barrier; and what they relate of the country beyond proves it to be utterly unknown to them. There, ſay they, is an immenſe lake, on the banks of which are inhabitants fair as the Engliſh, dreſt like them, and like them building ſtone houſes and large towns. We ſhall ſee in another part of this work that the exiſtence of this large lake, this ſort of Caſpian ſea, is not leſs deſtitute of probability than the tale of the white inhabitants and their civilized condition; I ſhall merely remark, that it is very probable theſe ideas are of no older date than the ſettlement of the Engliſh colony, which appears to have inſpired them *.

* Beſides the different attempts noticed by M. Peron to paſs the Blue Mountains, one was made in January and February 1799, by a convict of the name of Wilſon, a man accuſtomed to a ſavage life from having long reſided with and followed the manners of the natives; he was attended by a freed man belonging to the governor. Fifty miles ſouth-weſt-half ſouth of Paramatta, Wilſon diſcovered abundance of rock ſalt; at eighty miles ſouth-weſt, ſaw a fine country and a mine of coal, with abundance of limeſtone; when one hundred miles ſouth-weſt quarter-weſt, the land was interſected by creeks, which appeared to receive rivers: north of this laſt ſtation the country was open and thinly wooded; north-weſt it was mountainous, but with much good land; at one hundred and thirty miles ſouth-weſt-by-weſt of Paramatta he fell in with the head of a river nearly as large as the Hawkeſbury, appearing to run from ſouth-eaſt to north-weſt. Now ſhould this river continue the courſe here deſcribed, and paſs to the weſt of the mountains by ſome undiſcovered ſciſſure, it muſt either empty itſelf into a lake, or become abſorbed. The truth of the remainder of Wilſon's relation was not diſputed by Governor Hunter, after having diſpatched people to verify the exiſtence of the rock of ſalt deſcribed by him, who found it at the ſtated place. Tr.

However,

However, the ſavages on theſe ſhores have a ſort of religious veneration for the Blue Mountains. Here, in their opinion, an evil ſpirit or malificent divinity reſides, of which elſewhere we ſhall preſent ſeveral groteſque figures traced by the natives themſelves. From the ſummit of theſe inſurmountable rocks, this terrible god hurls his thunder, and ſends forth the burning winds and floods which alternately lay waſte the country. However ridiculous ſuch belief, it yet has its origin in obſervations of the phenomena of nature; for, from the ſummit of theſe mountains it is that all the ſcourges noticed here deſcend. In this point of view, the majority of the religious opinions of different nations are equally worthy of the attention of the naturaliſt and the philoſopher: in another place we ſhall produce additional intereſting proofs of this uſeful truth.

The rapid ſketch of the general hiſtory of the mountains of the county of Cumberland, into which I have digreſſed, was indiſpenſable, in order that a juſt idea might be formed of the extraordinary phenomena attendant on the winds from the north-weſt; phenomena which, if their origin be regarded, are not only extraordinary but even incomprehenſible.

We have noticed before that the whole of the weſtern and north-weſtern parts of this portion of New Holland are covered with a very broad chain of mountains *, the height of which apparently muſt be equal to that of moſt of the lofty chains hitherto known. Who, allowing this circumſtance, and from the breadth of theſe mountains, but muſt conclude that the winds by which they are traverſed ſhould generally be of a cold temperature? This is a conſequence ſo natural, ſo conformable to all the principles of phyſics, general or particular; a conſequence ſo clearly deduced from the long and continuous attention paid to meteorological phenomena, that it ſeems irrefragable; ſtill, in the inſtance in queſtion, the exception to this conſequence is indiſputable and poſitive: as if the atmoſphere of New Holland, as well as the animals and vegetables of this ſingular continent, was ſubject to diſtinct laws, and alien to our principles of ſcience, to all the rules of our ſyſtems, and to all the analogy of our ideas!

Far from poſſeſſing that cold of leſs or greater intenſity, which they ſhould deduce from the immenſe mountains they traverſe, the north and north-weſt winds are fiery blaſts unſurpaſſed by the moſt terrible of this deſcription experienced in Africa. Their parching breath carries deſtruction whitherſoever it penetrates; the livelieſt vegetation, fountains, and ſtreams, are withered and annihilated, while animals periſh by myriads, the victims of its fatal influence. As, however, in this country of wonders effects ceaſe to correſpond with cauſes, to experience alone can appeal be made for their exiſtence; now, congruous as it is with the unanimous teſtimony of the inhabitants of New South Wales, the ſtatement made here is ſupported by the authority of the moſt valuable hiſtorian this country can hitherto boaſt.

(February 1791.) "At this epoch," ſays Collins, "the greater part of the torrents and ſtreams were dried up; and they were obliged to dig pits in the bed of Sydney River to furniſh water for the ſupply of the town. The 10th and 11th of this month ſo great was the heat at Sydney Town, that Fahrenheit's thermometer ſtood at 150° in the ſhade. At Roſe Hill, thouſands of large bats periſhed in conſequence. In parts of the port the ground was covered with different ſpecies of birds, ſome already ſuffocated with the intenſity of the heat, and the reſidue on the point of expiring; many, while flying, were ſtruck dead and fell to the ground. The ſprings not yet entirely dried up were ſo much tainted by the vaſt number of the birds and bats which,

* What we ſhall ſhortly obſerve reſpecting the prodigious ſwell which the ſmall rivers of the country experience, will more and more clearly prove how very broad the Blue Mountains muſt neceſſarily be.

having ſought them to quench their thirſt, had expired on the ſides of them, that the water for many days was infected. The wind then blew from the north-weſt, and did much injury to the gardens, conſuming all expoſed to its breath. Thoſe individuals whom neceſſity obliged to go without doors, declared that it was impoſſible to front the point whence the wind proceeded for the ſpace of five minutes together.

(November 1791.) "The extreme heat during this month occaſioned many individuals to fall ſick. On the 4th, a convict waiting for Mr. White in the paſſage leading from his houſe to the kitchen, was ſtruck by the ſun, and, inſtantly deprived of motion and ſpeech, expired in the ſpace of four-and-twenty hours. The thermometer this day at noon ſtood at 95°, and the wind blew from the north-weſt. The country, as if to add to the conſuming heat of the atmoſphere, was every where on fire. At Sydney, the graſs and buſhes behind the hill weſt of the creek, caught fire, or poſſibly might have been ſet fire to by the natives; the conflagration, excited by the ſouth-weſt wind which blew violently, ſpread with great rapidity, and devoured all it reached with incredible fury. One houſe was already burnt, and all the ſummit of the hill being covered with flames, the town was menaced with complete deſtruction, when fortunately the united efforts of the garriſon and inhabitants ſtopped its progreſs. The general alarm occaſioned every individual to leave his houſe: the heat was ſo intenſe that the people could ſcarcely breathe; almoſt all the pot-herbs were reduced to powder, and the thermometer of Fahrenheit ſtood at 100° in the ſhade. At Paramatta and at Tongabee the heat was equally extreme; the whole country was in flames, and ſome dwellings caught fire and were burnt. During this alarming day, it thundered repeatedly in the diſtance, and towards evening a quantity of rain fell, which ſomewhat refreſhed the atmoſphere.

"The effect of this formidable wind was felt as far as the iſland Maria, more than 250 leagues from Port Jackſon; for, at the ſame time the Engliſh colony was thus endamaged, the American ſhip, Hope, experienced in the vicinage of that iſland a horrible tempeſt, occaſioned by this ſame wind. The weather was cloudy, oppreſſive, and very hot, and the atmoſphere ſeemed loaded with thick ſmoke.

(Auguſt 1794.) "The ſcorching land-wind viſited us on the 25th of this month for the firſt time this ſeaſon, blowing violently till night; it was then ſucceeded, as is uſual after ſuch hot days, by a wind from the ſouth."

From the facts I have thus exhibited, the number of which it would be ſo eaſy to multiply from the remarks of Philipps, Hunter, Watts, Tench, King, &c. we may therefore deduce the following conſequence:

"The winds which traverſe New Holland from north-weſt to ſouth-eaſt, in the county of Cumberland, have the double characteriſtic of great dryneſs and extreme heat, notwithſtanding the extent and height of the mountains over which they muſt paſs before their arrival at this laſt point."

We have previouſly noticed that, off the coaſt of Leuwin's Land, the wind blowing from eaſt to weſt preſented ſimilar properties: we have further remarked that, at the ſouthern extremity of Diemen's Land, the ſame phenomena accompany the north wind, which however could not here be felt without traverſing the lofty mountains of Wilſon's Promontory, thoſe of the Furneaux Iſlands, Baſs's Strait, and the lofty ſummits of Diemen's Land, which ſhould be eternally covered with ice and ſnow. We therefore, from the ſum of theſe obſervations, are led to this ſecond deduction, more comprehenſive than the preceding:

"That the winds paſſing over New Holland from north to ſouth, from eaſt to weſt, and from the north-weſt to the ſouth-eaſt, are dry and ſcorching winds."

Theſe

Theſe reſults, with others analogous, will be ſeen in another part applied to the ſolution of the great problem reſpecting the phyſical ſtate of the interior of New Holland. We ſhall now reſume the deſcription of the territory of Paramatta.

I have already noticed that the diſtance of the trees from each other in the foreſts contiguous to this town, and the plenteouſneſs and excellent quality of the graſs, formed in this part of New South Wales immenſe paſtures, alike ſuited to the grazing of cattle and ſheep. A ſimilar advantage could not eſcape the Engliſh government; and at the very off-ſet of the colony hither were tranſported all the larger of its domeſtic animals. They have multiplied to ſuch a degree that the number of horned cattle belonging to the ſtate alone, at an epoch but little preceding our arrival at Port Jackſon, was 1800, of which 514 were bulls, 121 oxen, and 1165 cows. The progreſs of the multiplication of theſe animals is ſo rapid that, in the ſpace of only eleven months the number of oxen and cows had encreaſed from 1856 to 2450; which for the whole year will give an increaſe of 650, or more than a third of the whole. If the multiplication of theſe cattle be calculated to continue after this rate for the ſpace of thirty years, or even at a rate only half ſo quick, New Holland by that time muſt be covered by numberleſs herds of cattle *.

Sheep have proved even more prolific; nay, ſo rapidly have they multiplied on theſe diſtant ſhores, that Captain Mac Arthur, one of the wealthieſt proprietors of New South Wales, makes no heſitation in affirming, in a memoir publiſhed on this ſubject, that New Holland alone in the ſpace of twenty years might furniſh England with all the wool at preſent imported from the neighbouring kingdoms; the annual expenditure on which article every year amounts to 1,800,000l. ſterling.

Mr. Mac Arthur himſelf now poſſeſſes more than 4000 ſheep, the flocks compoſing which number I have viſited, and found extremely beautiful †. "The climate of New South Wales," ſays he, in his intereſting memoir, "is peculiarly adapted to the increaſe of fine-woolled ſheep; and from the unlimited extent of luxuriant paſtures with which that country abounds, millions of theſe valuable animals may be raiſed in a few years, with little other expence than the hire of a few ſhepherds. He calculates that they will, with proper care, double themſelves every two years and a half;" and this his experience has ſhewn to be leſs than the truth. "The ſpecimens of the wool," he ſays farther, "have been inſpected by the beſt judges of wool in this kingdom; and they are of opinion that it poſſeſſes a ſoftneſs ſuperior to many of the wools of Spain, and that it certainly is equal in every valuable property to the very beſt that is to be obtained from thence."

Captain Mac Arthur is not the only one to whom ſheep have proved the honourable ſource of conſiderable profit ‡. On my different excurſions I had frequent opportunity of

* If the increaſe were computed at one-third of 1856 for the firſt year, and progreſſively every year to be equally great, that is to ſay, one-third of the whole, the number of cattle would be doubled every eight years, and in thirty-two years, or by the year 1833, would amount to the prodigious number of 18,560,000. If half this annual increaſe be allowed, or one-ſixth of the whole, the herds would be decupled in fifteen years, and by the year 1832 would amount to 245,000; either number immenſe. Tr.

† Captain Mac Arthur's farm, which is a very fine one, and kept in excellent order, comprizes 3400 acres of ground, of which 3160 are in paſture, 40 in wheat, and the reſidue under culture for articles of inferior import. On this ſame farm are likewiſe 27 horſes and mares, and 182 horned cattle, of which three are bulls, 55 oxen, and 124 cows. — M. Peron. The memoir to which M. Peron adverts in the preceding article, was preſented by Captain Mac Arthur at the Right Hon. Lord Hobart's office, 26th July 1803; and a copy of it may be ſeen at large, Vol. 16, p. 163. of the Phil. Mag. Tr.

‡ Not indeed the only one, not only in New Holland but in Europe, who have been illuſtrified by this

of ſeeing flocks as remarkable for their number as their beauty. Mr. Palmer* poſſeſſes 800 ſheep; Mr. Marſden † a much larger flock: the major part of the other coloniſts have likewiſe their ſpecial flocks. Wandering amid the woods without enemies of any deſcription, ignorant of wintry froſts and our autumnal rains, protected by friendly ſhades from the rays of the ſummer ſun, and feeding on the moſt delicate and aromatic herbage, theſe flocks already exhibit ſingular ſtrength and beauty, and are likely to attain perfection never known before. What, indeed, may not be expected from a climate which has produced changes ſo extraordinary and beneficial on the ſheep of Aſia and Africa. Every body knows that the flocks of Bengal and the Cape of Good Hope, inſtead of wool, are covered with a ſort of hair, very ſhort, harſh, and totally unſerviceable to the manufacturer. In vain, as is ſaid, have experiments been multiplied to ameliorate the fleece of theſe animals, or rather, to give them a fleece; they have either altogether failed, or have been attended with ſuch little advantage, that the moſt intelligent proprietors of the Cape, and of Bengal, in rearing ſheep, appear to reckon nothing on the fleece. In New Holland, on the contrary, by croſſing theſe breeds with thoſe of England and Spain, in leſs than ten years they have ſucceeded in transforming the hair of the ſheep of Africa and Aſia into a wool, which indeed has not yet attained any great length, but which is noticed for its fineneſs and its ſoft and ſilky nature. "As a proof," ſays Mr. Mac Arthur, "of the extraordinary and rapid improvement of my flocks, I have exhibited the fleece of a coarſe-woolled ewe, that has been valued at ninepence a pound, and the fleece of her lamb begotten by a Spaniſh ram, which is allowed to be worth three ſhillings a pound."

It is not only in the quality of the wool that this amelioration is obſerved; it extends to the weight of the fleece. "When I left Port Jackſon in 1801," ſays further Captain Mac Arthur, "the heavieſt fleece that had then been ſhorn weighed only three pounds and a half; but I have received reports of 1802, from which I learn that the fleeces of my ſheep have encreaſed to five pounds each, and that the wool is finer and

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this commendable and lucrative purſuit. To this England owes its wealth, and Florence its ſplendour. The profeſſion of ſheep-owner (beccajo) was in the time of Dante, and long previouſly, in ſuch high eſteem, that the moſt eminent nobility of Italy, (as is obſerved by the author of L'ami des Hommes, t. iii. p. 365,) thought the addition of this title to their diſtinctions rather an honour than a diſparagement. Unfortunately this opinion ſo little prevailed in other countries, that Francis I. of France, took conſiderable umbrage at Dante having termed one of his anceſtors beccajo; what with juſtice on one ſide of the Alps was conſidered meritorious as well as a denomination neceſſarily implying territorial poſſeſſions, on the other being fooliſhly regarded as degrading and offenſive. Tr.

* The whole of the conceſſions to Mr. Palmer amounts to 1070 acres, great part of which lies on the river Hawkeſbury. Of this territory 320 acres are in wheat, 20 in maize, 15 in barley, 3 in peas and beans, 2 in potatoes; 392 acres conſiſts of paſture, on which the ſheep are maintained, and, beſides them, 17 horſes and mares, 27 beaſts, and a great number of hogs and goats; the 318 acres remaining, lately cleared, will ſoon be fit for culture.

† This gentleman, the paſtor at Paramatta, is owner of 651 acres of land, 103 of which ſubject to various culture; independent of his flock, his farm ſupports 26 horned cattle, 30 hogs, and 10 goats. This farm lies at ſome diſtance in the interior of the country, on the left of the Paramatta river; from the ſummit of the hill on which it is ſituate, a part of the river's courſe is diſtinguiſhed: the buildings are ſpacious and well faſhioned; the garden and orchard already combines moſt of the fruit-trees in Europe. Still in 1794 the whole of this ſpot was covered with immenſe and uſeleſs foreſts of eucalypti. The ſite of the farm is 7 or 8 miles from Paramatta, in the midſt of foreſts, yet was I carried hither by a charming road, in a very handſome one-horſe chaiſe. What labour muſt not ſuch a road have coſt, Yet this road, the houſes on the way, with the meadows, fields, and crops, were the work of no more than eight years!

ſofter

ſofter than the wool of the preceding year. The beauty of it indeed is ſuch as to cauſe it to be eſtimated at ſix ſhillings the pound."

With reſpect to the ſheep of Spaniſh origin, which form the main ſtock of the numerous flocks of New South Wales, they are the offspring of a pretty conſiderable number of beautiful Merinos, which the Engliſh government has cauſed at different times to be tranſported to Port Jackſon, and of thirty rams of exquiſite beauty, deſtined, as is ſaid, as a preſent from the viceroy of Peru to the court of Spain, but intercepted during the war by an Engliſh cruizer, at a ſhort diſtance from where they were embarked.

In the courſe of my excurſions round about Paramatta, I procured a variety of animals. More than a hundred and fifty ſpecies of inſects of novel deſcription were added to my former collections; among theſe, forty butterflies, the chief of them of the moſt lively and ſplendid colours. Among the coleopetra, or beetle kind, was an admirable cetonia, claſſed by me under the deſignation orpheus, on account of a golden lyre moſt diſtinctly marked on the middle of its back; the colour of the back is an emerald green.

The family of lizards, which preſents ſo many ſingular ſpecies in every part of New Holland, furniſhed me here with many of conſiderable intereſt. One of theſe belong to the genus ſtellio Cuv., and is remarkable above all its kind on account of the extreme flatneſs of its body, the thickneſs of which ſcarcely exceeds 2, 5 centimeters*; it is in length 11 centimeters†; and in breadth 13, 5 centimeters‡, and imperfectly reſembles the torpilla or torpedo. From the ſingularity of its ſhape, a ſhape hitherto undiſcovered among this family, I have deduced its ſpecific name of ſtellio diſcoſomus N. It has a very large goitre, filled with air, of an extreme deep blue colour.

In the genus ſcincus, in that approximative genus which I have termed ſcincoïdus, in the tupinambo, and the gecko kind, Paramatta afforded me many remarkable ſpecies. I found here likewiſe that curious long-tailed gecko (gecko platurus,) deſcribed by Shaw, but which to me, by its form and habitudes, ſeemed ſo materially to differ from the generality of the gecko tribe, that I have ranked it as a new genus under the name of geckoides, which on account of its affinity, in the claſſification of modern naturaliſts, ſhould immediately follow the gecko.

In fact, all the geckos hitherto known, have their toes ſhort, broad, flat, depreſſed, and beneath exhibit a number of ſmall indurated leaflets, by means of which they are enabled to climb the moſt poliſhed ſurface, or even run like flies on the roofs of apartments. The geckoides on the contrary have their toes elongated, laterally much compreſſed, and are deſtitute of the leaflets by which the gecko is characterized. From this firſt difference in the organs of motion, reſults, that the geckoides are incapable of climbing, and paſſing a portion of their lives on trees like the major part of the geckos, with foliated toes. They inhabit low and muddy grounds, and live on the larvæ of aquatic inſects, and on ſome even of theſe inſects themſelves. Their phyſiognomy reſembles that of the gecko, and is equally melancholy and repulſive; their eyes are large and protuberant, the pupil lineary and vertical: the whole of their body is extremely flat, and their tail, ſhaped like the head of a ſpear, is divided into joints in ſuch manner that one can ſcarcely touch it but it breaks off entirely from the body.

Along the arid and ſandy coaſts of Leuwin's Land, of Endraght, and De Witt's

* $\frac{2225}{10000}$ parts of an inch. † $4\frac{1}{8}$ inches. ‡ $5\frac{7}{10}$ inches.

Land, I was enabled to trace none of the genus batracia, and was the leſs ſurpriſed as every where the great ſcarcity, or rather poſitive nullity of water, afforded no habitation for theſe animals, I did not however the leſs regret that I had not been able to procure a ſingle one of this great family of reptiles when my ſtay at Paramatta enabled me to complete, in this reſpect, my zoological labours in New Holland.

There, in fact, I collected two hitherto unknown ſpecies of frogs, which I deſcribed one under the head rana puſtuloſa, the other under that of rana pollicifera, on account of its having on its hind feet a very ſalient appendage, which at firſt ſight might be taken for a toe. The toad genus likewiſe afforded me two new ſpecies, the bufo leucogaſter, and proteus: in the firſt ſpecies, indeed, the belly is of a ſhining whiteneſs, and the other exhibited a ſingular variety of hues. The protean toad is one of the ſmalleſt known, for it ſcarcely meaſures an inch in length; and by its pleaſing and various ſhades of colour it differs materially from the diſguſting genus to which it belongs.

On the banks of ſtreams, in fountains, in the hollows of the cooleſt rocks, and beneath the foliage of trees, is frequently ſeen the magnificent ſpecies of frog (rainette,) deſcribed by me under the name of hyla cyanea. The whole back of this animal is of a very lively blue-purple colour, relieved on each ſide of the body by two gloſſy ſtripes of ſilver; the belly is of a deep Pruſſian blue. This ſpecies is one of the largeſt and handſomeſt of its kind; it is not leſs than fifteen centimiters in length* from the noſe to the extremity of its hind-legs. Among the other frogs I procured in my excurſions, there is one remarkable on account of a vaſt number of black ſpots, round, circled with a white ring, and ſprinkled on a ground of brown colour: I called it hyla ocellata N. A third received the denomination H. nibuloſa N. on account of the vagueneſs of its colour. The hyla janopoda N. is diſtinguiſhed by the beautiful violet-colour of its hind-feet. In the citropoda, all the joints of the hind-legs are marked by a large ſpot of a lemon-colour. Inferior in ſize to any I have mentioned, the hyla rubeola is ſprinkled over with very ſmall white points, on a light wine-lees colour. Among the terreſtrial and fluvia conchæ I likewiſe made ſome intereſting diſcoveries, as I did alſo with reſpect to worms, and the fiſh of the Paramatta river; but ſo abundant are the new objects which preſented themſelves, that were I merely to enumerate them, I ſhould be obliged to ſacrifice the mention of things of more general importance.

The objects of our excurſion to Paramatta being now completed, M. Bellefin and myſelf returned to Sydney Town.

Previous to the obſervations which follow reſpecting the ſcarcity or almoſt abſolute want of rivers in New Holland, M. Peron fills a number of pages with the hiſtory of a Frenchman tranſported for forgery; but the relation being better adapted for the Newgate Calendar than a work of this deſcription, is paſſed over. Preparatory to theſe obſervations, M. Peron gives account of thoſe ideas affixed in Europe to the terms ſtreamlet, river, large river, and torrent, at which part the tranſlator reſumes the work.

In Europe we apply the term ſtreamlet to the union of ſeveral running ſprings in a continuous current of water of ſmall extent, which after a limited courſe loſes itſelf, now in different reſervoirs, now in the ſea, but which commonly falls into other currents of water of ſimilar nature to itſelf.

A combination of many ſuch ſtreamlets in one current forms a river, which, with

* Near 6 inches.

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the characteriſtics of the preceding, poſſeſſes a courſe more rapid, and of greater length acroſs continents or iſlands, and generally unites with ſtreams ſimilar to itſelf in forming large rivers (fleuves); theſe not only empty themſelves into the ſea, but have a very conſiderable length of courſe, and roll a broader volume of water.

Torrents, however great, materially differ from ſtreamlets and rivers, as their courſe, dependent on the ſeaſons or atmoſpherical viciſſitudes, is not continuous but periodical.

Theſe general notions ſettled, we ſhall apply them to the peculiar hydrography of New Holland, and in this inſtance ſhall ſee new phenomena worthy of profound attention, and not leſs remarkable than thoſe before preſented relative to the Blue Mountains and the north-weſt winds.

In fact, throughout the whole extent of this vaſt continent, compriſing more than 100,000 ſquare leagues * of ſurface, no river has yet been diſcovered equal in ſize to the Marne or the Allier †, allowing that definition affixed in the commencement of this article to the term river.

In vain, every inſtant, does the navigator who ſails along the coaſts of this country, imagine he diſcovers in deep inlets, which admit of his penetrating to conſiderable diſtance, the mouth of ſome large river; the ſaltneſs of the fancied river diminiſhes not as he advances; and ſoon he diſtinguiſhes that it has no other motion than what is communicated by the tide. Still, the depth of water is ſo conſiderable, its breadth ſo great, and he proceeds ſo far inland, that the illuſion yet continues. The navigation inland is further proſecuted; numerous creeks are ſeen which reſemble the mouths of large rivulets; the creeks are examined, but no where is freſh water found. Expectation diſappointed, is ſtill ſuſtained by the impoſing appearance of the principal branch, which yet preſerves the ſimilitude of a great river. The navigator has now aſcended it ſixty or eighty miles, and truſts to proceed much higher. Vain hope! the majeſtic river dwindles to a wretched ſtreamlet, incapable of floating the lighteſt boat, and which at different ſeaſons of the year is but a few inches deep. The aſtoniſhed traveller halts; and when he perceives that the ebb and flow of tide is almoſt equally perceptible at the extremity as at the beginning of his navigation, he wonders at the very ſlight fall in the nearly level ſurface of the country.

Such is the general picture of the rivers of New Holland, there is not one but it ſuits in the moſt literal manner, and without other modification than reſults from its greater or leſs extent. Thus, King George's River, Cook's at Botany Bay, that of Paramatta at Port Jackſon, of Hawkeſbury at Broken Bay, the river Hunter, Endeavour River, all the rivers of the Gulf of Carpentaria, recently explored by Captain Flinders, the rivers or havens of the Bay of Sharks, the River of Swans, that of the Bay of the Geographe, the Port of King George, Bonaparte Gulf, Joſephine Gulf, Philipps's Port, the Weſtern Port, &c.; all of them preſent a ſeries of phenomena analogous to the picture I have given. Even Diemen's Land, notwithſtanding its different geological conſtitution, in all its rivers exhibits the ſame ſingularity. The river Huon, Swan Port, the North River ‡, Dalrymple River, &c., are but ſo many gulfs more or leſs narrow, but all eſſentially ſalt, all affected by the tides, and indebted to them chiefly

* 766,215 ſquare miles Engliſh of 69,2 to a degree, the French league being that of which there are 25 to a degree; but here M. Peron ſpeaks at random, for New Holland comprizes a ſurface of at leaſt 2,739,600 ſquare ſtatute miles, or upwards of 350,000 ſquare leagues. Tr.

† The breadth and volume of the Trent. Tr.

‡ The Derwent; this is a miſtake noticed in Chap. xii., the river, as there obſerved, being navigable much beyond the mountains where it was ſuppoſed by the French geographers to have its ſource, and having, according to Captain Flinders, from three to four fathoms of freſh water. Tr.

for what motion they are liable to, and terminating all of them in ſcanty rivulets, almoſt entirely dry in the hot ſeaſon of the year.

However ſingular the circumſtances already adduced relative to the rivers of New Holland, ſtill are not theſe their only peculiarities; we ſhall preſently notice in their overflowings a new ſubject for meditation and enquiry: in the interim it is requiſite I terminate what reſpects my firſt excurſion to Paramatta.

It is not only by opening new and commodious roads that the Engliſh government ſeeks to facilitate communication in this colony: from the cloſe of 1793 it has eſtabliſhed packet-boats, which ſail every day from Sydney and Paramatta, and carry goods and paſſengers. The fare is one ſhilling for each individual, and the ſame for every hundred weight of merchandize or goods. The whole boat may alſo be hired for ſix ſhillings. Beſides theſe means of tranſport common to the public, the government has a number of very comfortable, and even elegant boats, for its own uſe and that of its officers; and in one of theſe it was that M. Bellefin and myſelf returned to Sydney. We embarked oppoſite the barracks at Paramatta; a ſpot where the river ſtill preſerves ſufficient depth of water to float the largeſt boats, while two hundred paces above, it dwindles to a ſcanty rivulet, incapable of floating the moſt ſlender pirogue.

In proportion to the diſtance, below Paramatta the river becomes broader and more deep, and in a ſhort time has depth ſufficient for the largeſt ſhips to navigate, not leſs even than from eight to ten fathoms. On both ſides the river, attention is excited by a variety of ſmall coves, penetrating in a leſs or greater degree into the country, their margins pleaſingly decorated with ſuperb woods. Already, however, has the European marked his reſidence in theſe parts by different portions of land cleared of trees. Here, at the extremity of a verdant creek, is ſeen the humble cottage of the new coloniſt; the ſounding axe heard from a diſtance announces his labour and activity: beyond, in natural meads, ſtray the cows, ſteeds, and oxen, yet few in number, of the infant farm; in other ſpots are ſeen the ripening crops of fields ſo recently ſubmitted to culture. Occaſionally, in the ſummit of ſome pictureſque ſlope, the larger and elegant abode is diſtinguiſhed of a proprietor more wealthy and more active than his neighbours, ſurrounded by wider fields, more numerous ſervants, more extenſive crops: of this deſcription was the ſeat of Mr. Cox, paymaſter of the colony, whom I had ſeen at the houſe of M. Paterſon. As ſoon as we were perceived by this gentleman, he put off in a boat belonging to the farm, and invited us in ſo preſſing manner to reſt ourſelves awhile at his houſe, that we could not refuſe.

While dinner was haſtily getting ready, we employed ourſelves in looking over the minutiæ of the farm, all of which to us were ſources of aſtoniſhment. Still was not this the only farm which Mr. Cox poſſeſſed on theſe ſhores; on a ſecond viſit I paid him, in company with Colonel Paterſon and others, Mr. Cox took us to another much finer and more fertile in the interior towards Caſtle Hill. The road which leads from one of theſe farms to the other is tolerably wide, and commodious enough to allow of our travelling in a carriage; it is nevertheleſs ſix or ſeven miles in length; and in order to make it, it required a vaſt number of trees ſhould be felled. The whole amount of the grants of land to Mr. Cox is eight hundred and ſixty acres, more than three hundred of which were ſowed with wheat, fifteen with maize, ſix with barley, twelve with oats, &c.; three hundred and forty-nine acres were reſerved for paſture, the cattle on which conſiſted of five horſes, three mares, twenty-ſeven horned beaſts, and eight hundred ſheep of the fineſt fleeces. Mr. Laycock, a gentleman of our party, quarter-maſter of the regiment, poſſeſſes fourteen hundred and

ſeventy acres, principally ſituate in the moſt fertile parts of the colony. At the different farms which make up this number of acres, he has ſix horſes and mares, one hundred and twenty-eight horned cattle, of which fifty-three oxen and ſeventy-five cows, and very numerous flocks of ſheep.

After thanking Mr. Cox and his lady for the civilities we had experienced, M. Bellefin and myſelf returned to our boat, and in a few hours time reached Sydney Town.

While I was purſuing the different obſervations I have related, my worthy friend, M. Leſueur, had been employed in making a rich ornithological collection; he had killed more than two hundred birds: add to this, our zoological ſtore was encreaſed by ſixty-eight quadrupeds, the reſult of his activity; a vaſt number of drawings and colourings alſo had been completed.

As ſo many of our two crews had periſhed, owing to the long privations and the horrible epidemy to which they had been ſubject, as the remainder was no longer competent to navigate the two ſhips, as alſo we had from experience been taught that theſe ſhips were themſelves of too great burthen for the geographical details we had yet to complete, either on the ſouth-weſt, or north-weſt parts of New Holland, it was determined the Naturaliſte ſhould be ſent back to France, after taking out of her almoſt all the ſound men on board, and ſubſtituting in their ſtead the convaleſcents and valetudinarians of the Geographe. A bark of thirty tons was on the ſtocks, and this was purchaſed as a conſort for us, the command being given to M. L. Freycinet, firſt lieutenant of the Naturaliſte, and the author of the chief geographical works effected on board that corvette. Captain Hamelin himſelf was to return to Europe in his corvette, and render account to government of the reſults of the voyage.

M. Leſueur and myſelf found ourſelves, in conſequence of this reſolution, fully occupied in arranging the different objects we had to forward to France by the Naturaliſte, and were from that inſtant obliged to ſuſpend our reſearches. What perſevorant labour, in fact, muſt it not have required to diſpoſe methodically more than forty thouſand animals, of all claſſes, collected from ſo many ſhores in the courſe of the two years paſt. Thirty-three large caſes were filled with theſe collections, the moſt numerous and valuable that any traveller before had tranſported to Europe, and part of which only, diſplayed in the large houſe occupied by M. Bellefin and myſelf, excited the admiration of all intelligent Engliſhmen, but eſpecially of the celebrated naturaliſt, M. Paterſon.

Of all known countries there is not perhaps another in which electrical phenomena are ſo frequent and terrible as in this ſingular climate. In the run from the Montinette Iſlands to Port Jackſon, we had already obſerved with much ſurprize the continuity of phenomena of this deſcription, in a ſeaſon, and during the prevalence of weather ſo little adapted to their developement; but, during the latter part of our ſtay at Sydney, we witneſſed ſtorms ſo violent and ſo repeated, that our aſtoniſhment was conſiderably heightened. Never had we heard before ſuch tremendous claps of thunder, or ſeen the atmoſphere furrowed by lightning ſo vivid and ſo ſucceſſive. In one of theſe tempeſts the Engliſh ſhip Perſeus, which was deſtitute of a conductor, was ſtruck by the lightning and nearly periſhed.

The 7th October preſented us a phenomenon of this kind of which I know of nothing parallel in meteorological annals. The weather in the fore part of the day had been remarkably fine; a calm reigned as well in the atmoſphere as on the ſea; but, in the afternoon, the wind veered ſuddenly to the north-weſt, blowing ſtrong and in ſqualls; a vaſt collection of large black clouds, borne by theſe winds from the ſummits of the Blue Mountains, were precipitated into the plain. The clouds were ſo heavy

that

that they nearly ſkimmed the ſurface of the ground. The heat was ſuffocating; Reaumur's thermometer almoſt inſtantaneouſly roſe from 18 to 27° *. In a little time the clouds opened with a horrid craſh, the lighting now almoſt deprived the gazers of ſight by its luſtre, and now darted through the air in a ſerpentine blue line. At this period the wind blew in all directions, and with encreaſed fury. Several ſhowers of rain falling we truſted the ſtorm would ſpeedily blow over, when, from the deep boſom of a higher floating cloud, much more black than the reſt, there ſuddenly fell a copious ſhower of hail, the ſtones of which were even more remarkable for their ſhape than their highly extraordinary dimenſions: Some of theſe ſtones weighed nearly three decagrammes †; and all of them, in lieu of the globular ſhape of the hail of our climates, were of the form of an elongated and irregular priſm, the proportions of which in one of the largeſt I could find were in length 65 millimeters ‡, breath 39 millimeters §, thickneſs 18 millimeters ‖.

However ſtrange to us hail in this ſhape, it was not ſo to the Engliſh, who, ſince their ſettlement on theſe ſhores, had had frequent opportunities of remarking it, but at no time with characteriſtics ſo prodigious as in the month of December 1795. The preciſion of the following account by Mr. Collins was atteſted to me by ſome of the moſt reſpectable and enlightened inhabitants of the colony.

(December 1795.) "The beginning of this month," ſays Collins, "was remarkable for a meteorological phenomenon of a very extraordinary kind. Four farms on Ruſes's Creek were entirely laid waſte, not by fleet or hail, but by the fall of large maſſes of ice. Lieutenant Abbott, the military officer in the command at this ſtation, in his report of this event to the governor, relates that the ſtorm proceeded from the north-weſt. The effect of it was tremendous: the wheat was laid flat on the ground, the ears cut off, and the grain perfectly beaten out of the ear; even the thickeſt ſtems of maize were unable to reſiſt its violence: the ſides of the trees expoſed to the ſtorm ſeemed as if ſhattered by ſmall ſhot; and the earth was covered with their twigs and branches. The temperature of the two ſucceeding days was extremely mild, notwithſtanding which the hail-ſtones ſtill laid on the ground nearly as large as at their firſt falling. Some pieces of this hail brought to Hawkeſbury by Lieutenant Abbott, two days after they had fallen, were ſtill from ſix to eight inches long. This ſtorm was felt neither at Sydney nor at Paramatta."

How ſingular the climate which in every part of its hiſtory preſents a phenomenon ſo paſſing ſtrange.

Soon as our different collections were arranged, I ſet off with Colonel Paterſon to viſit the ſettlement at Caſtle Hill. After aſcending the Paramatta river the ſpace of about three leagues, the colonel and myſelf, attended by a party of ſoldiers, landed to commence our ſearch after objects relating to natural hiſtory. In midſt of thoſe different trees, which time or the axe had in every part levelled with the ground, we found beneath their fungous and putrid bark, at every inſtant, beautiful coleopteræ, divers ſpecies of lizards, and many reptiles, of which we made a large collection. As we penetrated deeper into the foreſt, where hitherto the axe and fire had not been introduced by the Engliſh, we obſerved inſects to be much more rare than elſewhere; a ſingularity which we attributed to the practice of the ſavages of ſetting fire to the woods, and of thus deſtroying with them an enormous quantity of the eggs of theſe inſects, of their larvæ, and even of the inſects themſelves.

* 64,4° to 80,6° of Fahr.
† An ounce and eight-tenths of a dram, Eng. avoird.
‡ Upwards of two inches and a half, Eng.
§ One inch and a half.
‖ Seven-tenths of an inch.

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Whether owing to the congeniality of the nature of the light and ſandy ſoil, or to the climate, the peach, of all European trees, is that which has beſt ſucceeded in New South Wales. There are orchards entirely compoſed of this fruit-tree, and it yields ſuch large crops as to admit of many being dried for preſerves: many make from the juice of them a very pleaſant wine; ſome diſtil brandy from them; and in certain inſtances they are ſo numerous as to be given as food to pigs.

On reaching Paramatta, Mr. Paterſon and myſelf took up our abode, in the government-houſe, which I have elſewhere deſcribed; and the next day proceeded with the kind M. Cayley on our courſes of natural hiſtory. With what intereſt for ſeveral days did we traverſe theſe ſcenes ſo rich in productions unknown to Europe! With what ardour vie in our explorations! And with what kindneſs did my reſpectable fellow-labourers add to the collections I made thoſe articles which eſcaped my notice!

On theſe little excurſions, ſo truly full of charms, I frequently made an obſervation ſufficiently important to attract particular attention. In the deep vallies which we oftentimes paſſed, ran rills of water, ſo ſlender, and of ſuch narrow breadth, that the wideſt of them might be ſtepped over with greateſt eaſe; ſtill, at the height of fifteen or even twenty feet above their ordinary level, on the ground itſelf, and on the trees, were evident marks of the recent ravage of the torrent. My companions confirmed the truth of this remark from their individual obſervations, and furniſhed me with valuable documents on this ſubject, which, combined with thoſe I had previouſly obtained, or afterwards ſucceeded in obtaining, allow of my preſenting with greater intereſt the ſingular hiſtory of the inundations of the rivers of this part of New Holland.

We have already ſeen that the whole of theſe rivers, however wide their mouth, are nothing but gulfs filled with ſea-water, which terminate univerſally in ſlender rivulets, almoſt utterly dried up at one ſeaſon of the year, and ſubject at times to a prodigious increaſe in the volume of the waters they bring down. We are now about to revert to the inundations of theſe rivers; but, in order that the reader may be enabled to comprehend more fully that which their origin and effects preſent of ſurprizing, it is neceſſary we ſhould give a more detailed deſcription of the Hawkeſbury river, a river which has exhibited a ſeries of the moſt wonderful phenomena of this kind, and thoſe the beſt ſuited to throw light on the great extent of the mountains we have already deſcribed.

Eight or ten miles north of Port Jackſon is the ſingular opening to which Captain Cook, who had but a curſory view of it, gave the name of Broken Bay, on account of the rent and broken appearance of the contiguous country. This bay at its entrance ſeparates into many branches, three of which are larger and more remarkable than the reſt. The moſt capacious of theſe is that of the north, but, at the ſame time, this is the moſt uſeleſs, ſeeing at low tide its mouth has no more than twelve feet water: that on the ſouth, which Commodore Phillips eſteemed the moſt beautiful piece of water he had ever beheld, and which he denominated Pitt-Water, is very extenſive, and might eaſily, according to that illuſtrious navigator, contain the entire navy of Great Britain; it is however, unfortunately, obſtructed by a ledge of rocks, on which at low tide there is but three fathoms water, a circumſtance that prevents its receiving large ſhips. The third branch of Broken Bay, the direction of which is ſouth-weſt, is more narrow than Pitt-Water, but its depth being every where from five to thirteen fathoms, it is capable of receiving veſſels of the largeſt ſize.

Beyond theſe three principal branches, Broken Bay ſtill forms a number of narrow and deep creeks, after which the bay itſelf narrows where the river Hawkeſbury terminates; that river the origin of which we are about to trace.

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The whole county of Cumberland, as we have elſewhere ſaid, is environed by the inacceſſible chain of Blue Mountains. From the moſt precipitous part of theſe ſingular mountains, and directly weſt of Broken Bay, the river Groſe, which commonly is but a trickling rivulet, falls in a long ſucceſſion of caſcades. On reaching Richmond Hill, a very remarkable ſpot of which mention will be made, the Groſe becomes confounded with the Nepean; and both theſe rivulets, at the point of junction, loſe their name. The whole courſe of the Nepean is hitherto unknown; on aſcending it, however, you proceed :—firſt, to the feet of the mountains, and along their ſides, in which courſe it deſcribes a great curve to the parallel of Mount Hunter; then towards the ſouth through very fertile meadows, which it frequently overflows; and laſtly, the mountains themſelves, from which it runs; beyond which point nothing is known of its origin or extent. Were one to judge from its diminutive breadth at this point one ſhould eſteem the ſource of the river at hand, but the immenſity of the inundations produced by the waters it occaſionally brings down, ſufficiently refutes this ſuppoſition, and proves that it ſprings from a conſiderable diſtance within the mountains, and has very vaſt ramifications. Often, indeed, this river, apparently ſo deſpicable, ſuddenly ſwells; its waters riſe to a conſiderable height; exceed their accuſtomed barriers, and roll their waſteful torrents over the neighbouring fields, ſpreading afar their ravage and exciting general alarm. Hitherto ſtrangers to theſe frightful floods, the Engliſh who firſt ſettled on the Hawkeſbury river, experienced conſiderable injury from them; andeven ſince they have found no other means of avoiding the ſpoliations of the floods than by conſtructing their dwellings at diſtance from the dangerous banks of the river, or on eminences above the riſe of its waters. Still, ſpite of this double precaution, the farmers in the neighbourhood of the river are far from conceiving themſelves ſecure from diſaſter; and how, in fact, can they reckon on always eſcaping from inundations in which the waters riſe above the common level of the river from twenty-five to thirty, forty, and even fifty feet*; inundations which bear no relation to the natural courſe of the ſeaſons, and which have been known to be renewed even as often as eleven times in the year. Theſe laſt circumſtances indeed more particularly merit our enquiries and meditations.

Every body knows that in equatorial climates the year is divided into two chief ſeaſons, the dry and the rainy, this laſt correſponding to the epoch at which the ſun reaches the tropic from the equator, enveloped, as one may ſay, in the vapours which his beams have raiſed, and which inceſſantly reſolved into rains fall in torrents, and are replaced by new aggregations of vapour ſubject to like revolutions. At this epoch all the rivers ſwell and overflow their banks, extenſive lands are buried beneath their waters, and even the air is filled with moiſt and dangerous haze. But now the ſun retrogrades towards the oppoſite tropic, and carries in its ſuite its vapours and miſts, its torrents and humidity, and ſuddenly, in the regions it leaves, the air becomes more purified, the moiſtened ſoil reſumes its ſolidity, the rivers enter again their accuſtomed beds, and vegetation ſhews itſelf more rapid from the heat having diſtended the veſſels, and mollified the texture of plants. The effects to which animals are liable are analogous; their relaxed fibres become more tenſe, epidemics ceaſe, and the human race is again reſtored at once to plenty and to health.

This rapid ſketch of the progreſs of the ſeaſons in equatorial countries equally ſuits thoſe regions immediately bordering on them; and, as high as 30 or 35 degrees of latitude ſouth, all the grand phenomena of meteorology more or leſs affect the regular ſucceſſion of which I ſpeak.

* In 1809 or 10 they roſe ſixty-five feet. Tr. From Port Jackſon Gazette.

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Theſe principles admitted it would not be extraordinary if the county of Cumberland, comprized within the 35th degree of latitude ſouth, ſhould be expoſed to conſiderable inundations, did not the very nature of theſe inundations preſent the moſt evident proof of their not being conſequent on the rotation of the equatorial ſeaſons. For in this rotation every thing is immutable, the rains and inundations have their diſtinct and appointed period; they may be calculated upon and provided againſt; they occur but once in a year and never happen in oppoſite ſeaſons. While on the contrary, in what relates to the Hawkeſbury River it has already been proved by experience, 1ſt, that the overflowing of this ſingular river takes place in all ſeaſons of the year; 2d, that the recurrence of this circumſtance varies from once or twice to eleven times in a year, without any reaſon aſſignable for the difference; 3d, that theſe prodigious inundations have no relation whatever to the conſtitution of the atmoſphere as affected either by the violence or direction of the winds; 4th, that they are indeed oftentimes preceded by violent tempeſts, but that theſe tempeſts themſelves may devolve from any point of the horizon without their influence on the inundations appearing more or leſs conſiderable; 5th, that not only have theſe inundations no general relation to the ſeaſon of the year or the nature of the winds, but they do not even preſerve any order with reſpect to their recurrence: in fact, ſix months have paſt without any flood happening, while again, three or even four times in a month has the river overflowed its banks.

From all theſe facts we may then deduce the remarkable conſequence that the overflowing of the rivers of New South Wales is not owing to the ſame cauſes as the inundations of equatorial countries, or even of thoſe bordering on the tropics.

On the other hand, theſe phenomena are as little explained by what takes place in temperate climates, where the grand floods are chiefly occaſioned by the melting of the ſnow, and in accumulated mountainous regions. The thaw in theſe is annual, and periodical; it commonly takes place in the ſpring; at times, but very rarely does this happen, it is delayed until the dog-days: but when was it obſerved in midſt of the winter's cold?

No other cauſe therefore remains to which to aſſign the overflowings of the Hawkeſbury River, but the frequency and abundance of the rain which falls on theſe mountains where it has its ſource: but, allowing this, how wonderful muſt theſe heavy rains appear which can ſuddenly occaſion the waters of a ſmall ſtreamlet to riſe to the height of from 30 to 50 feet, which happen at the moſt oppoſite ſeaſons, occur ſo frequently in a year, and in a manner ſo independent of the conſtitution of the atmoſphere, of the courſe of the winds, or of tempeſts! On what an immenſe extent of country muſt they not fall at the ſame time! How rapid their courſe through the mountains, at once, and almoſt inſtantaneouſly, to unite in ſuch prodigious maſſes! It muſt be allowed that, in this, as in many other phenomena, New Holland defies our concluſions from compariſons, mocks our ſtudies, and ſhakes to their foundations the moſt firmly eſtabliſhed and moſt univerſally admitted of our ſcientific opinions. As we proceed in ſpeaking of this continent, juſtly denominated by the Engliſh the unequalled and wonderful, we ſhall find ſtill other and not leſs inconceivable examples of theſe apparently whimſical freaks of nature: but before we revert to the ſmall ſtreamlets of Paramatta, which induced us to travel to the banks of the Hawkeſbury, let us firſt terminate what relates to this ſingular river.

If, by its inundations, it ſpreads alarm among the cultivators ſettled in its vicinage, what benefits, on the other hand, does it not diffuſe over the country through which it

flows: bearing along in its courſe, from the ſummit of the mountains, and from the interior of the continent, all the vegetable earth it meets in its way, it precipitates this earth into the vallies, depoſits it into the fields it overflows, and accumulates it there in invaluable beds, the depths of which, according to M. Marſden, is not leſs than from 30 to 60 feet; thus furniſhing inexhauſtible aliment for the moſt active and varied culture! Indeed, in no part of the world is the fecundity of the banks of this Auſtral river exceeded; without much toil, and with ſcarcely any tillage, the earth here preſents the moſt grateful crops; wheat has here been ſeen to yield, the firſt year of breaking up the land, 95, barley 140, and maize 200 for one. This is the chief granary of the Engliſh colony, and hence does it draw the proviſion of wheat neceſſary for its ſupport; it is another Delta, comparable in every reſpect for fertility to that of Egypt. The Engliſh, in fact, commonly deſignate this river by the title of the Nile of New Holland *, nor are many circumſtances wanting to juſtify the compariſon; like the Nile the Hawkeſbury River hides its head in mountains which forbid acceſs; like this African river it is ſubject to overflow, and as does that brings from the mountains a vegetable earth to depoſe it in the valley through which it takes its courſe; finally, like the Nile, it is the ſource of abundance and happineſs in a country generally wild and barren.

The chief difference exiſting between the two rivers is, in the circumſtance of the overflowing of the Nile being only ſingular in the year and periodical at the ſame ſeaſon, ſo that the time of its occurrence, its progreſs and effects may be calculated; while nothing ſimilar applies to the Hawkeſbury River. Another difference may be pointed out: in Egypt the failure of the expected inundation is a ſource of dread to the farmer; in New Holland the exceſs of the floods. Thus, even in its reſemblance to the moſt extraordinary phenomenon of the Old World, the ſouthern continent appears to mock all reaſoning deduced from analogy.

The ſingular picture I have exhibited not only ſuits the river Hawkeſbury; all the other rivers, and even all the rivulets of the county of Cumberland, are ſubject to ſimilar increaſe, an increaſe apparently to be aſcribed to copious rains falling on a connected ſpace of greater or leſs extent.

The lady of Colonel Paterſon, who was anxious of accompanying us to Caſtle Hill, had come in her carriage to Paramatta †. We immediately after ſet out to join Mr. Cox and his family at the farm he occupies on the ſide of the river, which I have before deſcribed; here we ſlept, and the next morning early our whole party, enlarged by the addition of our hoſts, departed for the ſpot we were about to viſit.

In proportion as we proceeded farther from Paramatta, the elevation of the ground became greater: the vicinage of Caſtle Hill conſiſts of a number of hills divided from each other by pleaſing vallies, through which ſerpentine occaſional ſlender rivulets. The vegetable earth here ſeems, generally ſpeaking, deeper and of ſuperior quality to that at Paramatta.

Of all the ſettlements in New South Wales the moſt recent is Caſtle Hill; when I was there ſcarcely three years had elapſed from the foundation of the eſtabliſhment.

* Collins, page 415.

† Here I cannot refrain a remark of importance: while I have ſeen colonies belonging to powerful European nations, and eſtabliſhed for centuries, in which not a ſingle carriage is kept, as an object of luxury, and in which it would be impoſſible to make uſe of them, owing to the badneſs of the roads, in the town of Sydney alone no leſs than eight or ten carriages of great elegance and beauty are kept, independent of a number of whiſkies and gigs, diſtributed over the whole ſurface of the colony. In the ſlighteſt of theſe vehicles may the county of Cumberland be traverſed in every direction; ſtill, not twenty years have elapſed ſince the firſt appearance of civiliized men on theſe ſhores!

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The growing town conſiſted then of no more than about a dozen houſes: but already large openings in the woods of the neighbouring hills were effected, and ſeveral pretty farms were ſeen in the valleys. Six hundred convicts were employed in cutting new roads through the foreſt, and in twenty different places roſe immenſe clouds of ſmoak, ariſing from the combuſtion of the trees felled on the newly ceded lands.

For a long time the Engliſh government, in order to prevent theſe deſtructive conflagrations, ordained that the lands ſhould be cleared merely by felling the trees: it was hoped that the ſalient part of the ſtem, and the roots of them, ſoon decompoſed by heat and humidity, ſo far from being injurious to the labours of the field, would become a valuable compoſt. This meaſure is ſaid to be practiſed with ſucceſs in various parts of America; but the reſult was difficult in New Holland, as if experience ſhould, in every inſtance on this continent, be found of no avail! The wood of the eucalyptus, which is ſo rare a circumſtance to meet with perfectly ſound, even in growing trees, and which promiſes to be liable ſo ſoon to periſh, preſerved doubtleſs by its reſinous matter from the deſtructive action of the air, is proof againſt all changes of weather: in every quarter are ſeen yet in ſound condition the remains of thoſe trunks felled fifteen years before, as well as the roots, which, from their ſpreading wide and near the ſurface, greatly impede the labourer in his toil. In order to remedy this inconvenience, the cultivator is obliged to dig up theſe roots and ſtems, though ſometimes they are conſumed by fire, kept up for whole weeks together for this purpoſe.

This difficulty, which was not foreſeen by the Engliſh, obliged them to renounce the firſt mode adopted for clearing the lands, and to have recourſe to fire: the method uſed is: firſt, to inſulate the portion of the foreſt to be cleared by creating large intervals; fire is lighted then at different places, and a few days ſuffice to annihilate the growth of centuries. This laſt method, beſides it being the quickeſt and moſt eaſy of effectuation, has the further advantage of extirpating, as I may ſay, all heterogeneous plants; it likewiſe, at the ſame time, imparts a beneficial warmth to the earth, which diſpoſes it to yield more abundant crops in the firſt inſtances; and the aſhes of the burnt trees furniſh an excellent compoſt.

After taking refreſhment at Caſtle Hill, we went to viſit a neighbouring eſtate: "I wiſh," ſaid M. Paterſon to me, "to introduce you to a former countryman of yours, whom I rank among my friends; it is M. de la Clampe, once a colonel in the French ſervice, who acquitted himſelf in an honourable manner during the laſt wars in India, and who, forced by the events of the revolution to ſeek an aſylum in England, conſtantly refuſed to take up arms againſt his country. Tired, at length, of an inactivity ſo little correſponding with his taſte and former habits, he entreated to be allowed to ſettle in theſe diſtant climates. Not only did the government comply with his requeſt, it, moreover, ſhewed its liberality to this reſpectable character in a manner that has inſured him, if not a brilliant, yet an ample and comfortable ſubſiſtence for the remainder of his life. In the three years he has reſided at Caſtle Hill, he has only once been to Sydney Town; he avoids ſociety, and excuſes himſelf from complying with the repeated invitations of his friends to dedicate his whole time to the purſuits of agriculture; of his knowledge and induſtry in this occupation you will ſoon be enabled to form a judgment."

We had now walked for the ſpace of a quarter of an hour through a tufted wood, when the modeſt abode and fields of the poor French colonel opened on our view. At the head of ſix convicts, furniſhed by the Engliſh government, we found him, ſetting them himſelf an example of labour, and, like them, nearly ſtripped to the ſkin. The unexpected arrival of ſo numerous a party at firſt diſconcerted M. de la Clampe, who

ſeemed mortified at appearing before us in a dreſs ſo truly wretched that with difficulty did it allow of our diſcriminating between the maſter and the men. He haſtily ran to the houſe, in order to dreſs himſelf, and in a ſhort time was with us again.

The interior of the rural manor houſe, into which we entered, combined, with the greateſt ſimplicity, a ſpecies of elegance, which clearly evinced the genius and taſte of the owner; and this the more from the total abſence in it of any thing like pomp.

Mr. Paterſon now introduced me to M. de la Clampe, and informed him of my object in viſiting this country. On hearing I was a Frenchman, the unfortunate emigrant advanced towards me, and embracing me with tranſport: "Ah Sir," ſaid he, "how is it with our dear France?" What pleaſure did I not receive in detailing to our intereſting countrymen the ſucceſſion of prodigies by which a great man had ſucceeded in reſtoring happineſs and peace to our common country! With what attention was my narrative heard! With what tender earneſtneſs did the good colonel imprecate the bleſſings of Heaven on the head of the Firſt Conſul, and put up prayers for his long life!

After a frugal repaſt, we ſallied forth to examine the farm of our hoſt, he himſelf being our guide, and dilating, with viſible gratification, on the moſt minute works, and their ſucceſs: but of all that he pointed out nothing ſo forcibly excited my attention as a beautiful plantation of cotton and cocoa-trees, in a very promiſing condition. M. de la Clampe aſſured me that, by a ſeries of tedious and very nice experiments, he had ſucceeded in raiſing cotton-trees, yielding cotton of various ſhades, and eſpecially that peculiar to the fine nankeens of China, a faſt colour hitherto not obtained, whether by dint of culture, or by dyeing. "Either I am much miſtaken," ſaid the colonel, "or in a ſhort time I ſhall have created two branches of commerce and exportation for this colony of the greateſt value; I have but this means left of acquitting the ſacred debt I owe to a nation which gave me ſhelter in the hour of misfortune; and I am the more impatient for the moment which will enable me to ſatisfy this firſt deſire of my heart, as a teſtimony of gratitude like this will beſt agree with my ſentiments of delicacy and patriotiſm."

While I was thus employed in inveſtigating a conſiderable portion of this ſingular colony, two of my colleagues, Meſſrs. Depuch and Bailly, mineralogiſts, belonging to the expedition, paid a viſit to Tongabee and Hawkeſbury, the two laſt towns of the county of Cumberland, and penetrated as far as to the weſtern mountains. I ſhall here tranſcribe the chief details of their intereſting excurſion from the manuſcript afforded me by M. Bailly.

Our friends left Sydney Town, in company with the chief phyſician Mr. Thomſon, in the morning of the 21ſt of October, proceeding by water as far as Roſe Hill, landing when at about two-thirds of the diſtance, to viſit a ſmall brewery at which beer of an inferior quality is made from maize and a decoction of hop ſent from England.

On arriving at Paramatta our two mineralogiſts viſited the bed of the river, or rather the rivulet of this town. "The breadth of this bed, aud its depth, "ſays M. Bailly, "compared with the ſmall ſtream of water flowing in it at that time, but too forcibly ſhew the prodigious ſwell to which it is ſubject, and which occaſionally deſolates the land; but theſe inundations, ſo alarming for the inhabitants, ſingularly aſſiſt the geologiſt in expoſing to his view the conſtitution of the country.

"As we ſhall ſoon demonſtrate, the ſtrata of freeſtone, of which the whole of the country of Sydney Town and its environs is conſtituted, extend thus far, and even much beyond this point; but theſe ſtrata at Paramatta are diſtinguiſhed from thoſe at the former place by being incumbent on bituminous ſchiſtus impreſſed with the

figures of plants, among which many ſpecies of fern. The thickneſs of the ſtrata of freeſtone above the ſchiſtous layers is of ſeveral feet. The ſchiſt is diſpoſed in horizontal beds, and is alternated with freeſtone, and pudding-ſtone, impregnated with a black and bituminous matter. In midſt of all theſe ſubſtances it is that the rivulet of Paramatta takes its courſe.

" Were it allowable to judge from analogy, and from indices without number preſented in the conſtitution of the ſoil, one might conclude that a conſiderable quantity of coal exiſts beneath Paramatta; and the diſcovery of this article at Port Stephen on the north, and at Hacking Port on the ſouth of Port Jackſon, tends much to confirm this concluſion. It may even be inferred that the ſeams of Paramatta lie but at little depth below the ſurface: this laſt circumſtance, the poſition of the town in the centre of the country, and the facility afforded to tranſport, uniting in affixing importance to a mine here; ſhould it really exiſt, it may reaſonably be conceived, that the Britiſh government will not long delay availing itſelf of the advantages it muſt afford.

At the diſtance of four miles weſt of Paramatta is the riſing town of Tongabee, whither our companions repaired: " Part of the way thither," continues M. Bailly, " is through woods, the reſidue between fertile fields, in a ſtate of cultivation, ſpreading over Conſtitution Hill. As yet Tongabee is only a village of ſcattered houſes; it ſtands on the margin of a rivulet in a fertile valley, ſurrounded by hills of ſlight elevation, all of them ſubmitted to culture. Wheat forms the principal article here, and when we were at this place it was in flower and promiſed a grateful harveſt. Tongabee, indeed, with good reaſon, is reckoned one of the granaries of the colony. The population did not to us appear conſiderable, but a pretty large number of houſes built of wood, and empty at the time, announced more occaſional inhabitants than we had opportunity of ſeeing. We indeed learnt that moſt of the land at Tongabee being under culture on account of government, the convicts employed on the works of the field reſide here only at thoſe periods when their labor is required, after which they are removed to different points of the colony where public or private works exact their ſervice.

" The road leading from Paramatta to Tongabee, and from this laſt ſpot to the town of Hawkeſbury is wide, and kept in excellent order; inſpectors appointed by government, looking to the preſervation of it in good condition, and directing the neceſſary repairs.

" To the diſtance of three or four miles beyond Tongabee the land is almoſt wholly cultivated, and is covered with houſes and farms of leſs or greater extent and beauty. Beyond this diſtance you reach a rivulet, which runs by the foot of a hill of little elevation, but ſteep, and over which a bridge is thrown. At this rivulet the clearage of the wood terminates towards the N. E. of Tongabee. In this part of New South Wales a great number of cattle is reared, which, ſpread over the country, might effect conſiderable injury to the fields in culture: to prevent this the proprietors have adopted a mode of encloſure practiſed in North America, a mode which a great ſuperfluity of timber alone can juſtify. Large trees are laid horizontally on the ground, one upon another, and diſpoſed in a zig-zag manner, ſo as to preſent alternately a ſalient and an inner angle.

" The water of the rivulet of which I ſpeak has a ſlightly ſaltiſh taſte, a taſte not to be attributed to any admixture of ſea-water; this indeed leſs on account of its diſtance from the ocean than the different level over which it runs. This brackiſhneſs is the reſult, without any ſhadow of doubt, from its waſhing in part of its courſe ſome mine

of

of rock ſalt, as in various parts of the county of Cumberland large blocks of this ſalt have been found.

" Croſſing the rivulet, until we reached the pariſh of Hawkeſbury, we ſaw neither houſes nor culture. The whole intermediate ſpace is covered with wood, and is only removed from a perfect flat by a few very ſlight undulations of ſurface. Here and there ponds of freſh water are ſeen apparently formed by the rains.

" The thickneſs of the foreſt had hitherto excluded all ſight of the Blue Mountains, when, at laſt, a few miles before we reached Hawkeſbury, a natural opening preſented them to our view. From this point they ſhewed themſelves in form of a vaſt curtain ſtretched towards the N. W. along the horizon. No break, no peak was perceptible, the courſe of this immenſe chain was marked by one regular horizontal line.

" At about a mile from Hawkeſbury we quitted the foreſt, and the eye wandered with pleaſure over well-cultivated lands, meeting with no obſtruction but the mountains, which, at a diſtance of ſeven or eight miles, riſe like an immenſe rampart. A number of houſes, irregularly diſpoſed on the right bank of the river, in this place very ſteep, forms what is denominated Hawkeſbury Town. Among theſe houſes, that of the governor is diſtinguiſhed from the reſt by its handſome appearance, and by its favorable ſite; it is ſeparated from the river only by a very large garden terminated by a handſome terrace. A number of other houſes diſperſed over the adjacent country announce ſo many rich farms to which they belong. A ſheet of freſh water curves in a ſerpentine form through the country comprized between the foreſt we had juſt left and the Hawkeſbury River. This ſheet of water, confined by lofty banks, is of great depth, and about twenty paces over: it is croſſed by a wooden bridge, erected by a private perſon to whom in conſequence the government granted a right of toll for a certain number of years."

At Hawkeſbury our friends took up their abode at the houſe of M. Arndell the phyſician and chief magiſtrate of the town *, to whom Governor King favoured them with letters of recommendation, and who received them with the moſt friendly kindneſs. At the ſpot where the town is ſituate the river is about as broad as the Seine at Paris, and high as here veſſels of fifty tons are able to aſcend. " This river," ſays M. Bailly, " did not appear to us to abound in fiſh, but it produces ſparingly two kinds, one reſembling the carp, and the other the gudgeon."

After a curſory glance over the town, my companions proceeded to the foot of the Blue Mountains by water. The benevolent M. Arndell procured them a guide who knew the country, on which M. Bailly thus purſues his remarks. " We travelled through well cultivated fields, in midſt of which were ſprinkled houſes and farm-yards forming a pleaſing contraſt with the foreſts by which a portion of the country continues yet to be covered. Three or four miles beyond the town cultivation ceaſes, and at this diſtance the foreſt again is ſeen uncleared, ſtretching along both ſides of the river, which in this part is conſtantly of conſiderable breadth, though become ſo much ſhallower as to have but five or ſix feet water. Numerous trees here obſtruct its courſe and render it difficult of navigation; running foul of one of theſe we with great difficulty were diſengaged.

" On the left bank of the river, where the foreſt begins, an eſcarpment is ſeen, the talus of which forms an angle of more than 80 degrees. This eſcarpment continues along the river the ſpace of two miles, and is wholly compoſed of black ſchiſt apparently in horizontal layers. Notwithſtanding the ſteepneſs of this declivity, paths were diſ-

* This gentleman poſſeſſes an eſtate of 630 acres, of which 70 conſiſt of wheat, 40 of maize, 20 of barley, &c.

tinguiſhed

tinguiſhed which our guides averred were frequented by the natives, on the expertneſs and agility requiſite for which purpoſe no comment is neceſſary.

" On the margin of the river we perceived, at intervals, ſhingle in great heaps, borne down by the violence of the ſtream. This ſhingle conſiſted of a mixture of granite, porphyry, and other matter brought from the primitive mountains; ſmaller and more rare in the vicinage of Hawkeſbury, the ſtones encreaſe in ſize and frequency as the river is higher aſcended: theſe laſt circumſtances engendered the hope that we ſhould in little time approach the ſite of their origin, and the preſumption was farther augmented by the proximity of the mountains.

" Beyond the eſcarpment I have noticed, the country again becomes viſible, and farms and cultured lands border both ſides of the river. At the extremity of theſe lands, on the left bank of the ſtream, is a ſmall mount of ſlight elevation, termed Richmond Hill, where the country ceaſes to be cleared, and where alſo the river is no longer navigable by boats of any great draught of water, on account of ſand banks by which it is obſtructed. M. Arndell, who had foreſeen this obſtacle, had directed our boatmen to procure for us at Richmond Hill a very ſmall boat, capable of carrying us over theſe banks.

" We now ſoon reached a ſmall low iſlet entirely compoſed of ſhingle, on which grow ſome ſtunted trees. Here the right arm of the river * was nothing but a ſlender rill, and the left arm † alone was navigable: this arm however continued ſo but for a ſhort diſtance, being obſtructed by beds of ſhingle, on which we continually grounded. Moreover, the ſlope of this branch was ſo conſiderable here that, in order to overcome the ſtrength of the current, the men were obliged to get into the water, and drag the ſkiff along.

" After contending for a long time with this laſt obſtacle we reſolved on landing, and got on ſhore on the iſlet noticed. The ſhingle of which, as we have obſerved, it is compoſed, conſiſts of a variety of ſubſtances, but moſt eſpecially of thoſe which form primitive mountains; granite, porphyry, gneiſs or micucious ſchiſt conſtitute the majority, confounded with bituminous ſchiſt, freeſtone, pudding-ſtone, breccias, and other ſubſtance of ſecondary origin. From the primitive ſtones adverted to being found no where but in the bed of the river, we muſt perforce conclude that the mountains whence they are brought are themſelves of primitive nature: ſtill, as yet, the Engliſh have been unable to extend their reſearches beyond the banks of freeſtone of which the foremoſt tiers of mountains are compoſed, which banks alſo extend to the ſea.

" Thwarted by the different obſtacles to our ulterior navigation, and deſtitute of the means neceſſary for penetrating foreſts through which no roads are cut, and which preſent no reſources of any kind, my colleague and myſelf at length determined to return to Hawkeſbury. The current of the river much facilitated our progreſs now, and ſoon did we paſs the ſand banks and ſhelves which retarded us on our advance to the mountains. We were moreover indebted in great meaſure for this facility to a circumſtance the concurrence of which had not entered into our computation. The flowing in of the tide had raiſed the waters of the river about three decimeters ‡ notwithſtanding we were at a diſtance from the ſea, computing the windings of the river, of more than one hundred miles. From this obſervation it reſults: that the difference of level between the foot of the Blue Mountains and the ſea ſhore does not exceed from ſix to nine decimeters §, ſeeing the riſe of tide at Port Jackſon is commonly not more than four to five feet."

* The river Groſe. † The Nepean. ‡ A foot Engliſh. § 2 or 3 feet.

After

After this detail of his intereſting excurſion, M. Bailly gives the reſult of his reſearches into the mineral productions of the county of Cumberland as follows:

"Independent of the quartzy freeſtone, of which the baſe of the country from the ſea to the mountains is compoſed, large ſpaces are found covered with ſchiſt, but this is of poſterior formation to the freeſtone, as is evident from its incumbency on that ſubſtance.

"Both the freeſtone and ſchiſt are horizontally diſpoſed, or at leaſt, in a direction very nearly parallel to the horizon; occaſionally their thickneſs exceeds ſeveral yards, at other times but a few lines: commonly there is little adherence in the one ſtratum to the other, and they are readily ſeparated.

"In the freeſtone cavities more or leſs large are found as in geodes (lithotomi cavernoſi), lined with a ſpecies of oxidated hæmatites of iron, diſſolved by water and afterwards depoſited.

"On the beds of ſchiſt and freeſtone repoſes the vegetable earth, of little depth near the ſea, but increaſing in depth in proportion to the diſtance from its ſhores, and, on the banks of the Hawkeſbury River, acquiring very conſiderable thickneſs.

"Vegetable earth does not appear to be the excluſive depoſit made on the beds of freeſtone; for there are alſo found on them ſeams of ferruginous clay, exceedingly compact, and ſerving to make excellent bricks.

"In other parts, and eſpecially the vicinage of Sydney Town on the road to Paramatta, other ſeams are found of a whitiſh clay, mixed with quartz, mica, and a ferruginous matter, apparently carbonated iron. This remarkable combination which has been compared to, and does not ill reſemble granite in a decompoſed ſtate, was deſcribed ſome years back in the Philoſophical Tranſactions of the Royal Society of London, under the name of Sydneyte, or Sydneya, and was noticed as a new ſubſtance, although it contains no new element. This clay, or rather this mixture, is ſucceſsfully employed in the manufacture of divers kinds of pottery, for which purpoſe ſeveral kilns have been erected at the village of Brick Field. I have ſeen of their production ſome ſpecimens, equally remarkable for the fineneſs of the paſte of which they were made, and for their whiteneſs.

"Throughout the whole extent of country occupied by the Engliſh, and in its neighbourhood, Port Stephen, for example, the river Hunter, Port Hacking, Bateman Bay, &c. not the leaſt veſtige of any calcareous ſtone, has hitherto been found; and, in every part, the inhabitants are fain to uſe for making lime the ſhells of oyſters and other fiſh, of which conſiderable quantities are found at Botany Bay. In vain has government proffered handſome rewards for the diſcovery of any ſtratum of limeſtone; all ſearch after this article has hitherto proved fruitleſs, nor is there room for ſuppoſing that any will hereafter be found*.

"On the road from Hawkeſbury to Tongabée, at nearly an equal diſtance from the two towns, we obſerved oxidated hæmatites of iron, in chambers. This ſubſtance was diffuſed in large quantities, and in maſſes of conſiderable volume, over the ſurface of the ſoil; we conjectured it could not have been brought from any great diſtance, and that it had been collected at this ſpot by ſome particular accident, the nature of which it would be difficult to fathom, as there is no mine yet worked in the country. This matter appeared to us ſuſceptible of yielding excellent iron; and in a country where

* Wilſon, who in the beginning of February 1798 accompanied three convicts on an attempt to paſs the weſtern mountains, by order of the governor, at a diſtance of between ſeventy and eighty miles nearly ſouth weſt of Paramatta, diſcovered both limeſtone and coal. TR.

wood

wood is ſo extremely abundant, the diſcovery of a mine of this deſcription could not fail of becoming on many accounts very valuable.

"This iron excepted, no metallic ſubſtance has hitherto been diſcovered *; and among the pebbles depoſited by the river, nothing which I ſaw juſtifies the preſumption of the exiſtence of any vein in the interior of theſe mountains.

"Of all the mineral productions of the Engliſh colony the moſt abundant and uſeful is coal. At Port Hacking and Port Stephen immenſe beds of it are found, almoſt at the ſurface, and ſloping in almoſt every direction. This coal is of excellent quality, its only fault being in its too greatly abounding in bitumen: it is uſed at Sydney Town for domeſtic purpoſes; and cargoes of it, freighted for Bengal and the Cape of Good Hope, have gone to very profitable markets.

"Independent of coal, which I ſuſpect exiſts under the ſoil of Paramatta, my colleague, M. Dupuch, and myſelf, diſcovered at the foot of the mountains large maſſes of bituminous ſchiſtus, which burns with a very lively flame, exhales a decidedly bituminous ſmell, and yields a thick ſmoke. The pieces of this ſchiſt loſe nothing of their priſtine figure by combuſtion; fire only renders them more brittle, and deprives them of their colour. In a country deſtitute of coal, and in which wood ſhould be ſcarce, this ſchiſtus would be a valuable acquiſition.

"To the mineral ſubſtances I have previouſly noticed muſt be added ſal gemma (rock ſalt), of which I underſtand very conſiderable quantities have been found in different parts of the colony; I myſelf ſaw a ſpecimen of this article in poſſeſſion of the governor, more than a foot in diameter.

"After having terminated our mineralogical obſervations at the foot of the Blue Mountains, and in the vicinage of Hawkeſbury, we reſumed the road to Paramatta, which we entered the next day. During the ſhort ſtay we made here, I went to viſit a tannery, which yet, indeed, was of no great conſequence, but which will annually increaſe in proportion to the augmenting number of cattle. I ſaw here ſome ſeal-ſkins, tanned into a leather applicable to many economical uſes.

"I muſt not conclude this narrative without noticing the liberal conduct of the governor of the colony and of Mr. Arndell. The boats, rowers, guide, and interpreter, all were provided for us by the Engliſh government; our chief even refuſed us the proviſions neceſſary for the excurſion."

Not only is it in its mountains and rivers, its winds and ſtorms, that New South Wales preſents a ſeries of grand phenomena; in its vegetables and animals nature in a ſimilar manner has every where ſhown herſelf extraordinary; the hiſtory of its inhabitants likewiſe adduces many ſtriking ſingularities, nor muſt be omitted that afforded by the admirable ſyſtem of colonization introduced by England on theſe diſtant ſhores. But the too great length of this chapter already forbids ulterior details: to another ſeaſon muſt I delay the expoſition of the valuable conſequences to be expected from the laſt-mentioned circumſtance, and firſt terminate what concerns our ſtay at Port Jackſon.

I have already obſerved that the Naturaliſte, freighted with the collections and valitudinarians of both ſhips, was about to return with Captain Hamelin to France. In conſequence of this determination Meſſrs. Leſchenault, Faure, and Bailly, the only ones of my colleagues who remained belonging to that veſſel, were turned over to the Geographe, which, on the other hand, loſt M. Dupuch, too much exhauſted to be able

* Indices of copper and tin have however ſince the period at which our author wrote, as is reported, been diſcovered. TR.

to continue the voyage with us, together with Meſſrs. Bougainville, the ſon, Maurouard and Brue, mid ipmen of the firſt claſs: theſe three gentle nen had the misfortune to incur the pointed hatred of our commander, and were condemned by him in conſequence to this ſpecies of tranſportation, as well as our ſecond phyſician, M. Taillefer, the ſame whoſe devotion to the relief of our ſick has before been noticed *.

Theſe ſad and laſt arrangements made, we ſet ſail on the 18th of November in the morning, after a ſtay at New South Wales of one hundred and fifty-two days. Before, however, I reſume the hiſtory of our voyage, it ſeems to me the more requiſite I ſhould exhibit the reſult of my experiments on the phyſical ſtrength of the ſavages of the county of Cumberland, as this object is connected with ſeveral matters already known to the reader.

CHAP. XX.—*Experiments on the phyſical Strength of the Savages of Diemen's Land, New Holland, and the Inhabitants of Timor; on that of the French, and Engliſh.*

THAT ſingular æra is ſtill freſh in the memory of all, in which individuals of celebrity, carried away by an ardent imagination, and ſoured by misfortunes inſeparable from ſocial life, were ſeen to exclaim againſt that ſtate, miſprize its advantages, and aſcribe, on the contrary, to ſavages all the ſource of happineſs and every principle of virtue. Their fatal eloquence unſettled the public mind; for the firſt time, men of ſenſe were heard to lament the progreſs of civilization, and ſigh for that wretched condition rendered illuſtrious by the ſeductive title of a ſtate of nature. Happily, modern voyages, by making us ſucceſſively acquainted with ſo many nations of ſavages, have enabled us to appreciate the value of theſe vain ſophiſms; in this inſtance, our expedition will have rendered material ſervice to ſound philoſophy.

Of all the advantages which the panegyriſts of the ſtate of nature attributed to ſavages, that on which they moſt eſpecially and moſt generally inſiſted was ſuperior ſtrength. The conſequence and companion of health, ſtrength, indeed, if it were the excluſive appendage, or even if it were more peculiarly the endowment of the ſavage would certainly have given to him a title to preference, and have deprived the civilized condition of life of one of the moſt aſſured pledges of happineſs. Hence have the detractors of the ſocial ſyſtem declaimed with all the powers of eloquence on the ſuppoſed degradation in this reſpect of civilized man, and have endeavoured to eſtabliſh their opinion as a fundamental principle. Till now, indeed, means were wanting of ſatisfactory contradiction by an exact compariſon of the ſtrength of different individuals and nations, and no direct experiments to this effect could conſequently be made. M. Coulomb, in his memoir ſubmitted to the Inſtitute in the year 6, had only for object to determine the quantum of daily labour which Frenchmen could affect according to the different modes of applying their ſtrength. Prevented by circumſtances from proſecuting them himſelf, this illuſtrious naturaliſt was only enabled to point out to others the experiments which ſhould be made on other people, and the various modifications which climate and the quality of the food were likely to occaſion in their degrees of ſtrength. We ſhall have occaſion ſhortly to demonſtrate by our experiments how juſt his opinions were on this ſubject. This portion of the hiſtory of man, at the time of our

* It is pleaſing for one to be enabled to add, that our three companions, as ſoon as they arrived in Europe, were promoted to lieutenancies; and that all have rendered themſelves conſpicuous in late engagements. As to M. Taillefer, His Excellancy Vice-Admiral Decrès, miniſter of the navy, by cauſing him to be appointed by His Majeſty the Emperor, ſurgeon-major of the battalion of marines of the Imperial guard, nobly rewarded his ſervices.

departure

departure from Europe, was one which ſtill further excited the intereſt and zeal of naturaliſts.

Regnier, by the invention of the dynanometer *, had recently opened a wider field to reſearches of this kind. Without being perfect, no doubt, without being capable of minutely aſcertaining the preciſe degree of ſtrength, this inſtrument nevertheleſs preſents very cloſe approximations, and at any rate, indicates the comparative force applied with more exactitude, as I have experienced in three years' practice, than could at firſt be expected. This inſtrument I had the advantage of carrying firſt abroad and of employing among the people of the ſouthern hemiſphere: I neglected nothing to profit by it as largely as poſſible; and if from circumſtances I have been prevented from giving to my experiments the latitude that could be wiſhed, at leaſt have I rendered valuable thoſe which I made by their minute preciſion.

SECT. I.—*Experiments on the Savages of Diemen's Land.*

On Diemen's Land and the contiguous iſland Maria, exiſts a race of men entirely differing from that by which the continent of New Holland is peopled. In ſtature the individual of this race is ſimilar to Europeans, but diſſimilar in his extraordinary conformation. With a large head, eſpecially remarkable by its length from the chin to the ſinciput, he has broad ſhoulders, ſturdy loins, and the thighs generally muſcular, but at the ſame time almoſt every one has the extremities ſlender, long, and weak, with a big belly, ſalient and formed like a balloon. In other matters, theſe people are deſtitute of chiefs, properly ſpeaking, of laws, of regular government, and of arts of any kind; and are without any notion of agriculture, or of animals domeſticated for ſervice; they wear no cloaths, have no fixed abode or ſhelter but what is afforded by wretched ſcreens made of bark to defend them from the cold ſouthern blaſts; nor have they any other arms but the club and the ſpear. Conſtantly a wanderer amid the foreſts or along the ſhores of the ſea, the inhabitants of theſe regions undoubtedly poſſeſſes every characteriſtic of uncivilized man, and pre-eminently merits the diſtinction of the child of nature. Still, how widely does he differ, either regarded in a moral or phyſical point of view, from thoſe deluſive portraits of him, the offspring of fancy and enthuſiaſm, which ſyſtem-makers have drawn, and placed in competition with man in ſocial life!

With men ſo brutal as we found theſe to be, our communications, if not rare, were difficult and accompanied by danger; and, as will have been ſeen, the chief of our interviews with them terminated, on their part, in hoſtile aggreſſions.

If our general communications with them was ſo ſpare, our dynanometrical obſervations were ſtill more ſo. Hence, ſpite of exertion, have I been enabled on theſe ſhores to obtain but few data, and thoſe incomplete, as I was unable to induce any of the inhabitants to try the ſtrength of their loins. However, as all my experiments were made on individuals of the ſtrongeſt conſtitutions, and as their reſults were clear and ſimilar, we may fearleſsly apply them generally to the individuals of this firſt race: now theſe reſults uniformly exhibit a want of ſtrength truly extraordinary. For, though my experiments were repeated on the moſt vigorous claſs of the population, that between eighteen and forty years of age, no Diemeneſe was found capable of making the needle advance beyond 60°, and twelve obſervations on different individuals gave for a mean 50,6°. We ſhall preſently ſee the difference between this and the mean of experiments made on Europeans.

* The deſcription and uſe of this inſtrument, illuſtrated by a plate, may be ſeen in Vol. i. p. 399 of the Philoſophical Magazine. Tr.

SECT. II. — *Experiments on the Savages of New Holland.*

New Holland, from Wilſon's Promontory in the ſouth, to Cape York in the north, appears to be inhabited by a ſecond race of men, differing eſſentially from any hitherto known. The ſtature of theſe men is nearly the ſame as that of the inhabitants of Diemen's Land; but, independent of other characteriſtics, they differ from the race precedingly deſcribed, in the lighter colour of their ſkin, in the nature of their hair, which is ſleek and long, and in the remarkable ſhape of their head, which is ſmaller, and, inſtead of being longer from their chin to the ſinciput, is in meaſure compreſſed at the crown. The back of this people is likewiſe in general leſs broad: in other reſpects the ſame diſproportion exiſts in them between the trunk and the members, the ſame weakneſs and ſlender ſhape of the latter, and, in many inſtances, the ſame tumefaction of the belly. For what regards the ſocial ſtate, the inhabitants of New Holland are hitherto unacquainted with agriculture, or the uſe of metals; like the inhabitants of Diemen's Land, they go without raiment, and are deſtitute of laws, worſhip, arts, or any aſſured means of ſupport; being obliged, like the Diemeneſe, to depend on the foreſts or the ſea-ſhore for their ſuſtenance. But among theſe already are the firſt elements of ſocial organization perceptible: the different hordes comprize a larger number of members; they have chiefs; their dwellings, though built in a coarſe ſtyle, are more numerous and of ſuperior ſtructure; their arms are more varied and formidable; they are more ventureſome on the water; their mode of hunting is more regular; and their wars more general; already they reſpect the rights of nations in ſome degree; and, finally, they have tamed the dog, and make him their companion in hunting and in war. But again, equally brutal with the people of Diemen's Land, they are even more averſe from ſtrangers. Dampier, Cook, La Peroufe, and Flinders, at different places, and at different periods, have been obliged to repel their inſults by fire-arms, and we ourſelves avoided having recourſe to this expedient only by taking to flight.

Seventeen ſavages of the ſouthern continent made experiments of their ſtrength by the dynanometer, among whom fourteen were between eighteen and forty years of age, and conſequently of that period of life when man is ſtrongeſt. Still the ſame characteriſtic of weakneſs obſerved among the Diemeneſe was apparent here. One alone cauſed the needle to advance to 62°, and the mean ſtrength of the fourteen individuals ſcarcely exceeded 51°. Some indeed were ſo weak as ſcarcely to be able to raiſe the needle to 40°.

The ſtrength of their loins furniſhed, on experiment, the ſame reſults: if the young Ooroo Maré be excepted, who cauſed the needle to riſe to 19°, none were able to make it advance ſo far as 18°; and ſo much inferior was the renal ſtrength of the remainder as to give ſcarcely 14,8° for a mean.

SECT. III. — *Experiments on the ſtrength of the inhabitants of Timor.*

In aſcending from the Diemeneſe to the people of New Holland, we reach the firſt removal from the pure ſavage; in order to perfect the ſcale of gradation from the ſtate of nature to the approximation towards ſocial order found in the inhabitants of Timor ſeveral ſteps are wanting: the ſecond removal might be exhibited by the people of New Guinea; a third by thoſe of New Zealand; a fourth, according to the moſt authentic accounts, by the races inhabiting the great equatorial ocean; and the population of Timor

Timor and the Molucca iſlands would conſtitute the fifth remove. Unfortunately three of the intermediate gradations have not yet been ſufficiently examined to juſtify any poſitive aſſertion reſpecting them; I ſhall therefore limit my obſervations to an expoſition of the reſult of my experiments on the Malays of Timor, and the neighbouring iſlands Pooloo Rotti, Soombawa, Semawoo, Macaſſar, Ende, and Solor. Of ſimilar deſcent, inhabiting the ſame climate, ſubject to the ſame laws and cuſtoms, and ſubſiſting on ſimilar aliment, all of theſe may, I conceive, be claſſed together without any ſenſible error; and with theſe likewiſe ſome Chineſe, who for centuries eſtabliſhed on theſe iſlands from father to ſon, may be looked upon as indigenous.

The Malays are not the aborigines of the iſlands of the great archipelago of Aſia. Brutal and ſanguinary conquerors, they invaded them at a period of which hiſtory or even tradition preſerves no recollection. Eſtabliſhed on the ſhores of the ſea, they are collected together in numerous and regular ſocieties, and inhabit towns or villages of great or ſmall extent. Subject to Kings poſſeſſed of different extenſion of authority, and, by their commerce with Europeans, raiſed to a tolerable degree of civilization, they exerciſe different arts, addict themſelves to agriculture, and the care of flocks, to fiſhery, trade, and navigation, as fully as their natural apathy and deſire of gain allow. Offſpring of the ferocious warriors of Malacca, they preſerve the language of their anceſtors, their manners, cuſtoms, laws, and religion, but, by long ſubjection to the Portugueze and Dutch, they have happily loſt a portion of their original ferocity.

Fifty-ſix individuals of this generation were ſubjected to my experiments. In them was noticed; that between eighteen and thirty years of age ſtrength encreaſes, ſo as at the latter nearly to double the degree exerted at the former period; that it augments but trivially from thirty to forty; and that it gradually diminiſhes from forty to fifty, and from fifty to ſixty. Theſe experiments moreover gave for the mean degree of manual ſtrength 58,7°; for that of the reins 16,2°.

SECT. IV. — *Experiments on the ſtrength of the French.*

With ſavages, or thoſe but ſlightly civilized, ſuch as thoſe of which we have ſpoken, dynanometrical obſervations are more correctly obtained in a general point of view than can ever be the caſe among Europeans. Our numerous population, the diverſity of profeſſions followed by the individuals of which it is compoſed, our habits of life, aliment, &c. prevent any fair compariſon; for in order to find the mean ſtrength of a nation, of the French for example, ſuch a multitude of experiments would be neceſſary on ſubjects taken from all claſſes of ſociety, as to render a juſt concluſion next to impoſſible. Not ſo with hordes of ſavages, eſpecially thoſe of New Holland and Diemen's Land: in theſe parts the population is ſo thin that the moſt numerous tribes conſiſt ſcarcely of fifty individuals; and here all difference of rank, exerciſe, and food is unknown: with ſimilar wants and ſimilar reſources all have the ſame labours to follow, the ſame privations to undergo, and indulge in the ſame enjoyments. This uniformity, conſtantly exiſting through every ſtage of life, occaſions a phyſical and moral ſimilitude in theſe individuals of which no idea can be formed in ſocial life. Hence I do not heſitate, notwithſtanding the ſmall number of obſervations made by me on the inhabitants of Diemen's Land and New Holland, nay, even of Timor, to look upon the reſults as much more preciſe than a more numerous ſeries of experiments made on European nations could poſſibly be. I am therefore far from diſpoſed to deduce any conſequence, from the few dynanometrical experiments made on the Engliſh and French, deciſive of the actual ſtrength of theſe two people. I merely preſent them as affording

affording ſpecimens by which a better judgment may be formed of the weakneſs of the ſavage nations before noticed; which ſpecimens alſo are the more adapted for this purpoſe as the individuals on whom the experiments were made, were of ſimilar ages, and of different profeſſions; merchants, military men, judges, naturaliſts, phyſicians, tailors, &c.; and as the experiments were made by them while under the influence of the ſame climate.

The manual ſtrength of ſeventeen Frenchmen gave for a mean 69,2°; that of the loins 22,1°.

SECT. V. — *Experiments on the ſtrength of the Engliſh.*

The mean reſult from fourteen experiments made on Engliſhmen, gave for the ſtrength of the hands 71,4°; for that of the loins 23,8°. The ſlight difference between this reſult and that of the experiments on the French, may poſſibly have been occaſioned by the latter having returned from a long ſea voyage, while the Engliſh, who tried the dynanometer, were principally thoſe reſident on ſhore *; other little circumſtances, local or individual, might likewiſe have been the cauſe of the difference; whence, to draw any deduction as to the relative force from theſe experiments would be ridiculous.

SECT. VI. — *General reſult of experiments on the ſtrength of the ſavages of Diemen's Land and New Holland, of the inhabitants of Timor, the French and the Engliſh.*

Combining the reſults of the ſeries of experiments on the four different nations, it follows that the manual ſtrength at a mean was in the following proportions expreſſed in kilogrammes and lbs. avoirdupois.

	Kilogrammes.	Lbs. avoird. and decimals.
Of the people of Diemen's Land	50,6	111,57
——— New Holland	51,8	104,21
——— Timor	58,7	129,43
The French	69,2	152,58
The Engliſh	71,4	157,43

The force of the loins in the undermentioned, expreſſed in myriagrammes, and lbs. avoirdupois, were

	Myriagrammes.	Lbs. avoird. and decimals.
Of the people of Diemen's Land	——	——
——— New Holland	14,8	326,32
——— Timor	16,2	357,19
The French	22,1	487,28
The Engliſh	23,8	524,77

Hence there may be drawn as concluſions,

1ſt, That the inhabitants of Diemen's Land, the moſt perfect ſavages, and thoſe who pre-eminently deſerve the name of the *children of nature*, are of all the weakeſt.

* The only exception was the captain of a merchantman, of the name of Smith, whoſe manual ſtrength was exceeded by that of Michaux alone on the part of the French, the compreſſion of the inſtrument by Smith giving 79, by Michaux 82; but if Smith found a ſuperior in manual ſtrength, in ſtrength of loins he ſurpaſſed all, either French or Engliſh, the dynanometer giving for his draught ſtanding on the foot of the inſtrument, and pulling upward, 31 myriagrammes, while the moſt powerful among the French, Lieut. L. Freycinet, could only draw the needle to 29,5. Tr.

2d. That

2d, That the inhabitants of New Holland, a degree removed from the former towards civilization, are much inferior in ſtrength to thoſe of Timor, though in a ſlight degree ſtronger than the Diemeneſe.

3d, That the inhabitants of Timor, both in the hands and loins, are vaſtly weaker than either the Engliſh or French.

And from theſe concluſions may further be deduced:

That phyſical ſtrength is not always the greater in proportion to the decreaſe of civilization; and that it is not a uniform and natural conſequence of a ſavage ſtate.

Such are the deductions from the experiments I was enabled to make with the dynamometer during a long and tedious voyage: I did intend to continue them at the Cape of Good Hope upon the Hottentot race; but the intereſt of ſcience impelled me to make a ſacrifice at the Iſle of France of the inſtrument to which I was indebted for theſe aſcertainments. I delivered it, by direction of the governor of the colony, to M. Chapotin, chief phyſician, and may reaſonably preſume that in his hands it will produce new information. No country indeed is better adapted than the Iſland of France for obſervations of this deſcription, where, on a limited ſpace, the inhabitants of all climates are collected: the negro from the banks of the Senegal and the Niger, the fierce Yolof, the proud Malyache, the warlike and coloſſal Caffre, the robuſt inhabitant of Mozambique, in ſhort, all the black legions of Africa are here confounded together; here too are ſeen the cruel Malay from the rocks of Macaſſar, and the peaceful inhabitants of the Sunda, and Molucca iſlands; the indolent, weak, and gentle race which drink the waters of the Indus and the Ganges, are numerous there; and ſome of the individuals of the iſlands of the great ocean begin to make their appearance: finally, thouſands of ſhips annually touch here from all quarters of the globe. What valuable information, provided experiments with the dynamometer were carefully made by an intelligent man, might there not therefore be obtained from ſuch a multiplicity of nations, ſo different one from the other! But, without anticipating the advantages of a work of this kind conducted with propriety, I ſhall make ſome general remarks on the preſumptive cauſes of the weakneſs of the three nations of which I have ſpoken.

SECT. VII.—*On the preſumptive Cauſes of the Weakneſs of the Inhabitants of Diemen's Land, New Holland, and Timor.*

Having eſtabliſhed the fact by direct experiments of the very remarkable weakneſs of the people of Diemen's Land, New Holland, and Timor, the enquiry follows: is this weakneſs to be attributed to their mode of life and the abſence of civilization? This problem, as difficult as it is intereſting, doubtleſs requires for its ſolution a greater number of data than I have collected; ſtill theſe appear to me ſuſceptible of throwing much light on the queſtion.

Modern phyſiologiſts agree that, every thing in other reſpects being the ſame, bodily ſtrength is beſt created and maintained by abundant and healthy nouriſhment, and by conſtant and moderate exerciſe. A temperature of the atmoſphere inclinable to cold is regarded as a third advantage, though of leſs general conſequence, and leſs indiſpenſable than the preceding. Regarding theſe as cauſes, the reverſe of them muſt be liable to produce oppoſite effects. Theſe elements admitted, the cauſes of the weakneſs of the nations in queſtion ſhould, in my eſteem, appear equally ſimple and efficient. To prove this it will be ſufficient I ſhould in a ſuccinct manner recapitulate the phyſical ſtate of the country, on which by nature theſe different people are placed.

1st. *The Inhabitants of Timor.*

The large island Timor, too little known to Europeans, and especially to naturalists, is in every respect one of the most fertile the world can boast. Without digressing [illegible] display of its vegetable and animal productions, it may be sufficient I should observe that every kind of fruit peculiar to the climate of India is found here in profusion, without requiring of man any other labour than to gather it: rice is of superior quality; the most valuable roots, potatoes, ignames, manioc, and many others unknown to me, are in greatest plenty; in fine, the vegetable kingdom exhausts here all its stores.

In the animal region nature is equally profuse. Round the cabin of the indolent Malay are constantly seen immense swarms of poultry, ducks, pigs, goats, sheep, buffaloes, horses, &c. All the neighbouring forests abound in flocks and herds of these animals, again become wild and wanderers. To these add numerous legions of monkies and enormous bats, the flesh of which is held a luxury by the Malays, and is truly tender and delicate; and it must be granted that here the inhabitants have nothing left to wish for. I say nothing of birds, however various their genera and species, since amid such profusion they are altogether disregarded. The rivers yield abundance of excellent fish; but nothing can compare for fecundity with the sea-shore of Timor, as all the naturalists of Paris may conjecture from the prodigious quantity of crustaceous and testaceous animals, fish, molluscæ, zoophytes, &c. which M. L. sueur and myself have transmitted. These are obtained at pleasure, and without the slightest labour; all that is required being to go down to the sea-shore at low water and select with the hand any of these animals, found in shoals in small hollows among the madrepores, where they have been left by the tide, the water filtering through the madrepores, and leaving the small pits dry.

With respect to aliment, therefore, no people was ever more amply supplied, nor more kindly dealt with by nature: excellence, abundance, and variety await merely selection; in point, therefore, of sufficiency of nutriment nothing is wanting for the production of strength in man.

But apply this facility of satisfying the wants of life, this superfluity afforded without either care or labour, have generated a universal apathy, an indifference, nay, an [illegible] for toil so great among this people, that the very thought of it is sufficient to render them melancholy. Part of the day as well as the night, the inhabitant of Timor is seen seated on his heels, beneath the shade of a tamarind or palm-tree, a banania or [illegible] angle, incessantly chewing his betel and drinking caloo; twice or thrice in the day he takes a slender meal; now diverts himself with a kind of guitar made of the [illegible] and a leaf of the latanier; now weaves some little mats or other trifling works of his exertion; and now again spends hours in bathing, combing his hair, and rubbing [illegible] with oil of cocoa, sleeping at intervals of both day and night. As for slaves, they are so numerous in every house, such little work is exacted of them, and this is done in such deliberation, that they live a life as idle almost as their masters. From the picture of their habitude this people must be regarded as sunk into a permanent state of inaction and rest. Does not a mode of living such as here described appear sufficient to account for that weakness denoted by the dynanometer, and which indeed is not less evident from their conformation? In fact, without being so weak in their limbs as the people of Diemen's Land and New Holland, the Malays of Timor in these parts are defective of strength and but little muscular; in consequence they possess a roundness and grace much superior to what is observable in Europeans, and naked, as they commonly are, appear with singular elegance.

From

From theſe remarks will be gathered that the extreme inactivity of the people of Timor is the eſſential cauſe of their want of vigour.

Next to it conducive to it is the temperature of the iſland, and that hot and moiſt atmoſphere whoſe baneful effects on health we experienced ſo fatally. We obſerved in ſome degree from its morbid influence by cold baths, by friction, by a multiplicity of bitter and aromatic ſubſtances, but moſt eſpecially by the preparation of betel, which they uſe for reſtoring its tone to the ſtomach, the debilitating powers of the humid atmoſphere are ſtill felt in ſpite of the neutralizing antidotes.

Theſe laſt facts correſpond with the reſults obtained by M. Coulumb, whoſe teſtimony, valuable in itſelf, is further corroborated by numerous experiments. "The mean capability of labour in man," ſays he, "varies according to the climate. I had the direction of conſiderable works at Martinico, in which the troops were employed, where the thermometer is rarely below 20° *: the ſame kind of works were executed alſo under my inſpection in France; and I can from experience ſafely affirm, that in 14° of latitude, where men are conſtantly bathed in their perſpiration, they are incapable of half the daily labour to which they are accuſtomed in our climates."

The high temperature therefore of Timor, the conſtant dampneſs of the air, and the indolent life of the inhabitants, in my opinion, furniſh collectively a ſatisfactory explanation of the weakneſs peculiar to the firſt of the three people of which we have to ſpeak. But here we muſt allow that the degree of civilization does not appear to have any eſſential or immediate influence on the ſtrength of the people. Far otherwiſe is it with the Diemeneſe and the inhabitants of New Holland.

2d. *New Holland and Diemen's Land.*

Nature ſeems to have acted the part of a ſtep-mother towards the people of theſe regions. The vegetable kingdom ſcarcely yields any thing: never did we meet here with any edible fruit that grew to the ſize of a cherry; nor are any nutritious roots known other than of fern or archys. Neither does the animal kingdom preſent any ſpecies of tolerable dimenſions but the caſſowary and the kanguroo, both the one and the other become rare on the continent from their being ſo conſtantly purſued. The fiſhery indeed might furniſh a more abundant reſource for the inhabitants, and one more certain; but the imperfection of their inſtruments and mode of fiſhing, ſimilar with the inhabitants of Diemen's Land, frequent ſtorms with thoſe of New Holland; and, above all, the migrations of the fiſh, all concur to render this laſt dependence precarious, and ſometimes abſolutely null. Then it is that thoſe dreadful famines take place, the lamentable conſequences of which Governor Phillips had himſelf occaſion to witneſs ſhortly after his arrival: "There," ſays M. Collins, "the unfortunate natives were reduced to ſuch a ſtarved condition, as to reſemble ſo many ſkeletons, and ſeem on the point of periſhing." The productions of the ſea are of no avail even to thoſe repulſed to the interior of the country: theſe ſubſiſt on frogs, lizards, ſerpents, various larvæ, and particularly on the large ſnails which collect in bunches big as the head round the branches of the reſinous eucalyptus. Spiders even, as in New Caledonia, form part of their diſguſting food: in many inſtances theſe wretched hordes are reduced to live on certain herbage and the bark of trees; in fine, there is nothing, not even the numerous ants which devaſtate the ſoil, but they are forced to uſe for nutriment.

* Here Reaumur's thermometer cannot be meant, but the centigrade, as on the former 20° is equal to no more than 68° of Fahrenheit, whereas the temperature of Martinique is conſtantly higher than this. By the centigrade thermometer 20° is equal to 77° of Fahrenheit. Tr.

nutriment. M. Collin * describes the horrid paſte prepared by the natives, by grinding theſe inſects and their larvæ, and mixing them with the roots of fern; a ſhockingly repulſive practice which the moſt hideous famine could alone originate, and of which a parallel, I think, can in no country be found.

Aſſuredly, ſimilar aliments are little ſuited to engender bodily ſtrength; and in this particular we ſhall ſeek in vain for human beings more deficient.

With reſpect to exerciſe: in lieu of moderate and conſtant exertion, the ſavage of theſe parts, impelled by the imperious cravings of hunger to ſeek for aliment, for days together undertakes tedious and fatiguing excurſions, his long courſes knowing no other intermiſſion than what are exacted by fatigue and exhauſtion. Should he chance to find abundant means of ſatiating his hunger, a ſtranger to other conſiderations than glutting his voracity, he never abandons his prey, but abides on the ſpot where it was found till neceſſity compels him again to renew his laborious chace. Now, what can be more deſtructive to the expanſion of ſtrength, and the harmony of the functions of the body, than theſe alternations of exceſſive fatigue and abſolute reſt, of diſtreſſing want and gluttonous exceſſes? In this ſecond part of the mode of ſubſiſtence purſued by the people of New Holland and Diemen's Land, we ſee another general cauſe of weakneſs, extremely powerful in itſelf, and which is of conſtant recurrence at every ſtage of life of theſe unfortunate men.

May not the cauſe laſt alluded to, joined to the ſcarcity, the occaſional abſolute want of aliment, and the bad quality of that they frequently uſe for deadening the pangs of hunger, have either originated, or much enfeebled that ſlenderneſs and exceſſive emaciation of the extreme limbs of theſe men? Yet, remarkable as it certainly is in this people, this characteriſtic does not appear to ſhew itſelf in them in an equally ſurprizing degree as with the wretched Peſcherais, of the Terra de Fuego. "Their ſhoulders," ſays Forſter, "and breaſt are broad and brawny; the reſt of their body is ſo ſlender that, on ſeparately obſerving the different parts, we could ſcarcely perſuade ourſelves they belonged to the ſame individual †."

Doubtleſs the conjecture is far from improbable, which aſcribes a vicious conformation ſo general and ſo evident to a radical defect in the organization common to theſe people, a people which in ſo many other inſtances materially differ from the reſt of the human race; ſtill, if regard be had to the circumſtance of individuals occaſionally being found among them, the proportions of whom are much more regular than in the majority; if alſo one computes on the natural tendency of famine, and exceſſive fatigue, and faulty nouriſhment, to impair the form of, and deſiccate and wither the human frame, (phenomena obſervable, according to M. Volney, among ſeveral Arabs of the deſert,) perhaps one may not be far from truth in attributing the defective conformation of the people in queſtion principally to the conſtant ſtate of wretchedneſs and want in which they live. This is the opinion of moſt of the intelligent Engliſhmen at Port Jackſon; it is that alſo of M. Collins, and certainly one to which it is difficult to refuſe aſſent.

Allowing then the weakneſs of this race of men to devolve eſſentially from want, the bad quality of their food, and exceſſive fatigue, theſe cauſes in their turn are aſſuredly the conſequence of the wild life of theſe ſavages.

Let us now look to the probable, nay, certain reſults of a departure from this wild life, an abandonment of their ferocious and vagabond habits. Let us ſuppoſe theſe people collected together in more numerous ſocieties, reſident in villages, and peace, with general conſent, ſucceeding to thoſe eternal and ſanguinary wars which deſtroy ſo

* Deſcrip. of N. S. W. p. 558. † Cook's ſecond voyage.

much of the population: property now will excite emulation, and the neceſſity of preſerving this property from individual depredation, induce the union of the force of the maſs, and the formation of laws or general conventions. In this ſtate, not ſuperior to that of the Kamtſchadales or the Samoyeds, however diſtant from a perfectly civilized condition, yet, what a beneficial change would be effected! and how much would their reſources be encreaſed.

Here fancy fondly pictures the domeſticated kanguroo ſwarming around the cabins of the improved natives; the caſſowary, even more readily tamed, preſenting them daily food, and its large and excellent eggs; the black ſwan, multiplying its broods on the neighbouring waters; and the beautiful lyre-tailed pheaſant, with the ſuperb minura of the Blue Montains, repaying, with their numerous progeny and their eggs, the attention and care of their maſters.

Leiſure, a communication of ideas, co-operation of efforts, effects which can only exiſt where men are collected in a body, by degrees will engender improvement in the arts of life, and furniſh them with more numerous and perfect inſtruments for fiſhing. With much diminiſhed toil will they obtain from the ſhores of the ſea a more abundant produce, and ſoon will learn to preſerve their fiſh by drying, or the uſe of ſalt, thus providing againſt thoſe ſeaſons when ſtorms or winter's ſway deprive them of daily ſupply. Their boats too, now of better conſtruction, will allow them to lengthen their excurſions from ſhore; the neighbouring iſlands will ceaſe to be unexplored by them; and the numerous ſeals and ſphenici, with which they abound, will furniſh them with a prey as eaſy of capture as inexhauſtible; the oil from them will give a new flavor to their food, and their ſpoils afford warmer clothing to ſhelter them from cold; by degrees, the beautiful gooſe of Baſs's Strait will be added to their poultry yards, and the wombat or phaſcolome, that ſingular animal ſo offenſive to the eye, yet ſuch tender and delicate food, and which we ourſelves noticed, as familiar as the dog in the cabins of the Engliſh fiſhermen, the wombat will become domeſticated among them; and the grey kanguroo, the fleſh of which is ſo far preferable to that of the larger ſpecies, will be another boon of theſe iſlands, an addition to the reſources of the people.

There is certainly nothing exaggerated in this picture, yet what a contraſt does it not preſent to the preſent condition of theſe ſavages! They become ſecure of ſubſiſtence, and ceaſe to be dependent on the ſeaſons, or the ſhoaling and migration of the finny race; their aliment too, as well as more abundant at all times, is of ſuperior quality. No longer ſubject to diſtreſſing privations, to thoſe exceſſive fatigues, and perpetual and exhauſting chaces, which conſume his vigour, and impair his form, the preſent ſavage will, in his changed condition, become of a conſtitution more robuſt; his ſtrength will at the ſame time be encreaſed: and if the defect of his conformation be, indeed, as every thing ſeems to indicate, the conſequence of his preſent wretchedneſs, and bad and ſcanty fare, may we not reaſonably forebode that this frightful emaciation will gradually diſappear?

Not only will this happy change be beneficially experienced by each individual, its effect will be to encreaſe the population. No more, as now is the caſe on theſe dreary ſhores, will the woman be obliged, from dread of incapacity to ſupport her offspring, to uſe the moſt cruel means of procuring abortion *; no more will fathers, unnatural from

* When in New Holland a woman has two children at a birth, whether males or females, the weakeſt and leaſt heavy is immediately ſtrangled by the mother; if of the two one ſhould be a male, and the other a female, the latter is put to death. (Obſervations communicated by M. Leſchenault, and attcſted by ſome of the moſt reſpectable inhabitants of Port Jackſon.)

neceſſity, cruſh to death, with ſtones, the too tender progeny of the deceaſed mother, as is related to be their practice, by Mr. Collins, (Appendix, No. XI.), and as we have been credibly informed is the fact. Barbarous expedient, which, however, the wretchedneſs, the poverty, of this miſerable race, have hitherto rendered inevitable, and which ſimilar circumſtances render but too common among ſavages in ſeveral other countries.

SECT. VIII.—*General Reſults.*

From the aſſemblage of facts expoſed in this memoir, the following general reſults are deduced:

1ſt. That the inhabitants of Timor, New Holland, and Diemen's Land, vaſtly behind the French and Engliſh in civilization, are nevertheleſs conſiderably weaker.

2d. That the moiſt and hot temperature of the iſland of Timor, with the too indolent and inactive mode of life of its inhabitants, are apparently the cauſes of their inferior ſtrength.

3d. That in Diemen's Land, and in New Holland, want of food, the bad quality of that on which the inhabitants ſubſiſt, and the fatigues they undergo in obtaining even this, appear to be the primary cauſes, not only of their want of ſtrength, but alſo of their defective conformation.

4th. That this continual want of food is excluſively the conſequence of the mode of life of theſe people; and that this mode of life, ſo long aſſerted to be productive of bodily ſtrength and vigour, is on the contrary, in this inſtance, proved to be the ſource of extreme debility.

And 5th. That the probable effect of an advance towards civilization on the part of theſe ſavages will be an expanſion of greater ſtrength, and the diſappearance of their preſent defective conformation.

What then muſt we think of thoſe eloquent exclamations againſt the ſocial ſtate, founded as they are on the ſuperior ſtrength of the ſavage, or, uſing the language of the ſophiſts, of the child of nature? What of the doctrine that the phyſical powers of man are in an inverſe ratio to the progreſs of civilization?

CHAP. XXI.—*Memoir relative to the new Genus Pyroſoma* *.

LONG as the ſtudy of molluſcæ and ſoft zoophytes was neglected by naturaliſts, a ſtill longer time elapſed before theſe animals excited the attention of travellers. For this indifference on the part of one and the other various cauſes may be aſſigned.

Among theſe cauſes may be reckoned, the diſguſt which the majority of theſe animals excite; their whimſical and inconſtant figure, equally difficult to deſcribe, to draw, or to preſerve; their colour, moſt commonly dull, obſcure, and diſpleaſing; their ſoft and viſcous nature, diſagreeable to the touch; in many ſpecies, acrid and corroſive fluids; in all, a rapid and almoſt inſtantaneous decompoſition.

An additional cauſe was the little intereſt they occaſioned, owing to the ſuppoſed inutility of the ſtudy; for naturaliſts were far from imagining ſuch important reſults could be drawn from a branch of the animal ſyſtem ſo much deſpiſed and ſo repulſive, as M. Cuvier has ſucceeded in effecting; or that it might ſome day throw freſh light on

* We ſo frequently have had occaſion in this firſt part of our hiſtory to ſpeak of molluſcæ and ſea zoophytes; and ſhall have ſo often to revert to theſe ſingular animals, that ſome general remarks appear to me neceſſary reſpecting them before I continue the detail of our voyage; to theſe I have added, the hiſtory at length of one of the moſt extraordinary genera of this great family of marine animals.

anatomy and phyſiology, and change the aſpect of ſeveral other portions of natural hiſtory.

Moreover, the greater part of theſe animals are either diſperſed over the ſhores of the ocean, or in its boſom; are far more difficult to preſerve than to deſcribe; and, finally, good works were wanting to direct the obſerver in this difficult ſtudy.

Fortunately I found myſelf placed in circumſtances far more favourable than any preceding traveller to proſecute this ſtudy. The idea of its uſeleſſneſs had given place to its being regarded with intereſt, which conſequently acted as an incentive to inquiry; and having ſtudied four years under M. Cuvier, I had not only his method and elements for my guide, but in addition, manuſcript inſtructions with which he had the kindneſs to furniſh me.

What I applied myſelf to deſcribing with much minuteneſs was, at the ſame time drawn or painted by my colleague and friend M. Leſueur with that ſkill and preciſion which have earned him ſuch deſerved applauſe, and all our remarks and ſketches were made from living ſubjects.

And finally my reſearches receive additional value from the immenſe field in which during four years they were made. Twice did we traverſe the whole length of the Atlantic, twice double the Cape of Good Hope; as often did we make the tour of Diemen's Land and double the moſt ſouthern cape of this part of the world; five or ſix times we ſailed through Baſs's Strait; at two different dates we coaſted a part of the eaſtern ſhores of New Holland and the ſouth-weſtern ſhores, even more intereſting than thoſe; twice did we viſit the archipelagos of St. Peter and St. Francis; twice range the ſeas which beat on Nuyt's Land; twice we doubled Cape Leuwin, and as many times explored the coaſts of Edels, De Wijts, and Endraght's Land; our navigation extended as far as to the Arrow Iſlands, nor did we arrive in Europe before we had four or five times croſſed the Indian Ocean, and ſeven times paſſed the tropic of Capricorn in different longitudes, having thus ſailed through more than 100° of latitude and 190° of longitude.

Let the reader figure to himſelf that throughout ſo many different regions one of my moſt conſtant and cheriſhed employments was collecting and making remarks on the animals in queſtion, and that, alternately ſuſpended from the ſide of our veſſel, M. Leſueur and myſelf ſuffered, as I may ſay, not one to eſcape us, and he will be enabled to compute the importance of our obſervations on theſe animals. Nor do we ſhrink from repeating the public declaration of the profeſſors of the muſeum of natural hiſtory, and the commiſſaries of the inſtitute, that no previous diſcoveries in this branch have been either ſo important or complete. Not only did we double, or even triple the number of ſpecies of all the genera before known, we likewiſe furniſhed many ſpecimens which cannot be claſſed under any of theſe genera, and which conſequently muſt form new heads.

Firſt among theſe new genera ſtands the one which forms the ſubject of the preſent memoir, and which was noticed with admiration on the waves of the Atlantic ocean, during our voyage from Europe to India, by all on board both our ſhips. Its truly prodigious phoſphoric property, renders it one of the moſt beautiful zoophytes known, and its organization ranks it with the moſt extraordinary.

PYROSOMA.

PYROSOMA.

Corpus gelatinoſum, rigidiuſculum, liberum, tuberculis aſperatum, ſubconicum, extremitate ampliore apertum, vacuum, aperturæ margine intus tuberculis cinctо.

PYROSOMA ATLANTICUM.

Æquatorio-Atlanticum, gregarie-pelagi-vagum, vividiſſime phoſphoreſcens, coloribus eximiis nunc effulgens, 22° R. (71. 6° Fahr.) cocalidioribus occurrens in undis; 10, 12, 14, 16 centimetros (digitos Ang. uſque 6¼) æquans.

FOR a long time we had been detained by calms in the middle of the equatorial regions, and were unable to advance towards the ſouth, except on occaſion of the ſlight hurricanes peculiar to theſe climates, known to French mariners by the title of grains des tropiques, when, on the 4th December, in the evening, we experienced one more violent than common, the ſky was every where obſcured by big clouds; the darkneſs was extreme, the wind blew with great force, and our ſhip made great way through the water. Suddenly we diſtinguiſhed at ſome diſtance a large ſcurf, as of phoſphorus ſpread over the waves, and occupying a conſiderable ſpace before us. The ſpectacle accompanied by the circumſtances I have noticed, poſſeſſed ſomewhat romantic, grand, and impoſing, which attracted the attention of every one. Every body ran on deck to enjoy the ſingular appearance. In a little time we reached this fiery part of the ocean, and perceived that this prodigious ſplendor was occaſioned by innumerous animals, which, borne upon, and carried along with the waves, floated at different depths, and appeared of different forms. In fact, thoſe moſt deeply floating, their form in part concealed, reſembled large maſſes of burning matter, or rather enormous red hot balls, while thoſe on the ſurface of the waves were like incandeſcent cylinders of iron.

Every naturaliſt in each ſhip was anxious to obtain ſome of theſe ſingular animals, and on board the Geographe, M. Mange was the firſt who procured any. He was ſo fortunate to draw up thirty or forty, on which I was enabled to make many obſervations.

All theſe animals reſembled each other in form, colour, ſubſtance, and phoſphoric property, and differed only in ſize, which varied from 10 to 16 centimeters *; all of them were ſeparate and not connected together.

They were of an elongated, and nearly cylindrical form; their fore part was the larger, and perpendicularly truncated, a wide circular opening admitted a view of the whole inſide of the animal, which was tubulolous and empty, exhibiting no other veſtige of organs than a very delicate viſicular net-work, which line the whole interior of this cavity. A ring of large tubercles occupied the whole of the interior raiſed rim of the opening of the fore-part, and thus diminiſhed to nearly one-half of its ſize the diameter of this ſpecies of mouth. The hind-part of the animal of ſmaller breadth than the fore-part, and obtuſe, ſhewed no trace of any opening whatever, even when obſerved with the microſcope.

The whole exterior of the animal briſtled with large and unequal elongated tubercles of firmer ſubſtance than the other parts of the animal, more diaphanous alſo, and

* 4 to 6¼ inches.

brilliant

brilliant and poliſhed as the diamond: in this part is the principal ſeat of the wonderful phoſphoreſcence of which I ſhall preſently ſpeak. Between theſe large tubercles others ſhorter and more obtuſe are perceptible, nearly joining each other, and endowed as the larger with a phoſphoric property.

Finally, within the interior of the ſubſtance owing to its tranſparency, are ſeen a multitude of ſmall glands, very narrow, and about a millimeter in length *, which likewiſe participate in a very high degree a phoſphoreſcent nature.

The colour of theſe remarkable zoophytes when at reſt and after death is an opal yellow, mixed with green, diſpleaſing to the eye: when, however, in their movements they contract themſelves, whether ſpontaneouſly, or on being irritated, the animal inſtantaneouſly aſſumes the appearance of molten iron, and ſhines with much ſplendor; but, as that metal in proportion as its heat diminiſhes aſſumes divers ſhades of colour, ſo this animal as its phoſphoreſcence diſappears, exhibits numerous ſhades of colour, extremely pleaſing to the eye, light, and varied; for example, red, the bluſh of morn, orange, greeniſh, and an azure blue: this laſt ſhade of colour eſpecially is equally lively and pure. With this ſhade it is repreſented by M. Lefueur, not only on account of its being that of all it aſſumes the moſt graceful, and beſt ſuited to give a juſt idea of this charming ſpecies, but alſo becauſe of its being intermediary between the red of molted iron which it exhibits in its higheſt ſtate of phoſphoreſcence, and the greeniſh opal yellow of its ſtate of quietude.

With reſpect to the phoſphoreſcence itſelf, whatever its nature may be, whatever means be employed for its production and maintenance, it conſtantly, in this ſpecies, ſhews the characteriſtics of a regular and natural function. Indeed, if in a vaſe of ſea water ſeveral of theſe animals be placed, they are ſeen at regular intervals to experience alternate motions of contraction and expanſion, analogous to thoſe occaſioned by reſpiration and drawing breath in more perfect animals. At each contracting motion the phoſphoreſcence takes place, and afterwards inſenſibly diminiſhing entirely diſappears, till again produced by a new contraction. The appearance of the phoſphoreſcence may at pleaſure be procraſtinated by irritating the animal, either with touching it or ſhaking the water in which it ſwims. In every inſtance this phoſporic property ſo completely depends on the organization and life of the animal that it totally ceaſes when life becomes extinct. Nor indeed is this a peculiarity of the pyroſoma, for the ſame takes place with all other marine animals of phoſphoric nature.

The locomotive faculty of this animal appears even more enveloped in obſcurity than its vital functions, and is very limited: it ſeems, in fact, to conſiſt excluſively in the ſlightly contracting and dilating movements I have noticed, the neceſſary effect of which will be to occaſion a trifling impulſe on the water and conſequently a retrograde receſſion.

Of what regards the mode of nutrition of this animal I confeſs that I have no poſitive knowledge, and merely give the following as a matter of conjecture. I have mentioned the ring of large tubercles diſpoſed round the inſide of the opening in the fore part of the body, and narrowing nearly to half its ſize the diameter of this kind of mouth; may it not be poſſible that the animal aware from the irritation they will cauſe of the entrance of ſmall molluſcæ with the water into the tubulous cavity noticed, is enabled to contract itſelf to ſuch a degree as to cloſe the opening of the ring? The ſmall molluſcæ thus confined within the tube, and unable to eſcape, in this caſe may there undergo a kind

* The 25th part of an inch.

of decompoſition and diſſolution which may render them capable of being abſorbed by the extremities of the veſicular not deſcribed.

Still more obſcure and difficult of comprehenſion than the mode of its nutrition is the ſyſtem of generation of this animal. As in certain polypi to which claſs this genus belongs is regeneration effected by a ſort of excreſcence? Do thoſe long tubercles of the animal after attaining a certain maturity become ſeparate and form other animals? And in this caſe, are the ſmaller and more depreſſed tubercles which cover the remainder of the ſurface deſigned by nature to replace the greater in proportion as they fall off themſelves in turn to become organized beings? I confeſs this opinion is conjectural, and altogether unfounded on exact obſervation, ſtill, when we reflect on the ſimple organization of theſe animals, and on the prodigious number of them that we remarked, which neceſſarily employs a rapid multiplication, one poſſibly may not be wide of truth in admitting this opinion which at once agrees with the ſimplicity of the organization of the animal and its prodigious multiplicity and appears to be ſanctioned by analogy.

I muſt not here, however, omit to add that, notwithſtanding our long and various navigation through ſo many different ſeas, we never met with a ſecond tribe of this ſpecies. The ſpot where they were diſtinguiſhed by us was between the 19th and 20th degree of weſtern longitude, from the meridian of Paris, and the 3d and 4th degree of north latitude. The temperature of the ſea at the ſurface was then 22° of Reaumur *. I carefully note theſe circumſtances; as it muſt be obſerved that the various ſpecies of zoophytes and ſea mulluſcæ are not ſcattered by chance over the ocean, but are each limited to certain latitudes and longitudes, and are conſtantly found on the ſame ſpots, where probably the temperature more than any thing elſe determines their abode.

* 71, 6° of Fahr.

END OF THE ELEVENTH VOLUME.

Strahan and Preſton,
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